

In this Issue :

Mat Kavanagh—A  
Tribute - p. 2

The Enslavement  
of Youth - p. 3

The Malatesta Club - p. 4

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The persecuting spirit has its origin morally in the disposition of man to domineer over his fellow creatures; intellectually, in the assumption that one's own opinions are infallibly correct."  
—JOHN FISKE.

Vol. 15, No. 12

March 20th, 1954

Threepence

One Worker in Every Twenty Has Joined the

## DOLE QUEUES IN AMERICA

UNEMPLOYMENT figures in the United States for February show an increase over the previous month of 584,000 bringing the total to 3,671,000 out of a total civilian labour force for the country of 63½ million. That is, more than 6% of the working population is at present unemployed. The number of persons claiming unemployment insurance rose to 2,211,300 in the last week of February, a new peak for this year. The figure was 43,000 higher than in the previous week and 33,000 higher than in mid-February, the previous weekly peak for 1954.

The Labour Department also reported that the number of persons filing initial claims—notice of unemployment—rose 10% in the first week of March, reversing a downward trend that began early in January.

The Census Bureau's new figures represent an unemployment increase of more than 2,000,000 in the three months from last November to February of this year.

The figures for February are not the highest recorded since the end of World War II. In February, 1950 they had soared to 4,684,000. It is also interesting to note that they had reached their lowest level by February, 1953 at 1,788,000. We say "interesting" because it seems fairly obvious that the war in Korea was largely responsible for absorbing the 3 million unemployed in 1950 who were no longer unemployed by 1953—but who, at the present rate of increase of unemployment, may well be without work again by the summer of this year. (It is true that the increase of more than

2,000,000 unemployed between November and February, is in part accounted for by the increase of nearly one million in the labour force since January, but even so there is still an upward trend in the number of unemployed, and in the numbers applying for unemployment allowances).

A statement by the chairman of the Economic Policy Committee of the C.I.O. (Congress of Industrial Organizations) on the growing unemployment in the United States calls on the Administration to recognise the realities of the situation and take steps at once to restore full employment.

"It is inconceivable that we should tolerate growing unemployment—growing with giant steps each month.

"It is essential that the Government stop whistling in the dark about the economic problems facing every American, and get to work—now—to halt this dangerous rush towards full-blown depression."

What are the "realities" of the situation? What steps can the administration take to restore full employment other than engaging in another Korea?

AT the same time as the Labour Department was announcing the unemployment figures the Agriculture Department was revealing that the surpluses of farm products—including wheat, corn, butter, cottonseed oil, cheese, peanuts, etc.—which are even being stored in the holds of the "mothball fleet" as the normal storage space has proved inadequate, will increase during the current fiscal year from their present value of 5,000 million dollars to at least 6,000 (that is more than £2,000 million).

The "realities" are therefore that the administration will seek to reduce production, for apart from having to buy up these surpluses, the storing of them alone cost nearly half a million dollars a day or nearly £70 million a year! Which will mean an increase in unemployment. Thus the achievement of almost unlimited production instead of benefitting man, is the cause of unemployment among the producers without relieving the lot of the world's underfed millions. As the *New York Times* leader for March 13th points out: "The world's needy are in plain view: Over 2,000,000 refu-

gees in South Korea; over 800,000 Arab refugees at the borders of Israel; Iron Curtain refugees still arriving in Western Germany; the needy in protein and other food deficiencies in Africa, in India and in Central and South American states."

IN spite of shrinking markets, unemployment, etc., the General Motors Corporation ("the world's largest manufacturing enterprise") has good news for its shareholders. It reports that its 1953 sales were the highest ever reported by any company: 10,028 million dollars (that is £3,500 million!) On this turnover a profit of nearly 2,000 million dollars was made of which sum the government took \$1,237 million in taxes and \$598 million was distributed among the shareholders. So that in spite of the government's rake-off, the dividend still represented 6% on the sales. But officials were still complaining that "earnings continue to be adversely affected by excess profits taxes!" Among the other big-money "earners" for 1953 are the Standard Oil Company with \$553,000,000 (£190 million) and the American Telephone and Telegraph Company's Bell System with \$491,000,000 (£170 million).

It would appear then that General Motors and the other big two have not yet felt the effects of the cease fire in Korea, the growing army of unemployed and the mounting stocks of unsaleable goods. But what will the future hold if in the midst of plenty the dole queues become daily longer? The American Trades Union chairman calls on the administration to solve the problem as if it knew of some magic formula by which the chaos of capitalism could suddenly be put right for the benefit of all.

### Conundrum for the Chief Scout

Mr. N. Birch, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, stated in a written reply recently that membership of the Communist party is not accepted as a reason for exempting men from their obligations under the National Service Acts. National Service men are not required to take any oath of allegiance.

From a letter in Reynolds News:

"When I told the Boy Scout Movement that I would rather go to prison than act contrary to my pacifist beliefs they replied: 'Only those who contravene the laws of the land are imprisoned and no one can remain a member of the Movement who is not prepared to respect the laws of the country.'"

### Another 'Human Angle' Story

They're proud of "our Pamela" in the village of Takeley, Essex. They are proud of her in Ward 11a of Rush Green Hospital, Romford. She is the girl who has recovered from the worst attack of Poliomyelitis the hospital has seen.

Eleven-year-old Pamela Archer has bright blue ribbons tied to her pigtails. Her brown eyes are still full of laughter.

It was in Class 1 of Takeley's primary school that she collapsed last October. She was taken to hospital, where it was found the disease had struck at the respiratory muscles. She could not breathe. She could not swallow.

In a week Pamela will be going home to Takeley—to the house at the end of the rough, muddy road, to Dad and Mum and seven-year-old Peter.

She will be able to walk about the village, although she still suffers slight stiffness in her right leg.

The doctors say: "She will be able to lead a normal life, except that her breathing muscles will not be quite so strong as they were."

Her life was saved by the Pneumoflator, a Danish invention further developed. It pumps air through a tube into the lungs.

But Pamela's will-power played a big part, making the life-and-death fight easier for the doctors. One said: "She was the perfect patient."

Every month 30 letters have come from her schoolmates. The villagers have sent eggs, sweets.

Last week Takeley held a benefit whist drive in which £28 was raised. It has been put into a Post Office Savings account in her name.

Pamela is grateful to all her friends. But most of all she says, "Mum has been wonderful." For her mother has spent every spare minute at her bedside—no easy task, for she goes out to work.

When she goes home, Pam will call at the café at the end of her road. Here lives her best friend, Tess Germain. Tess has written: "Please come home quickly. I'm encouraging my hens to lay more eggs for you."

—(News Chronicle).

### HOW TO BECOME A PROBLEM FAMILY

[From a Social Worker]

SOMETIMES when the Daily Press comes upon hard times; when there haven't been many interesting murders or rapes for a long time; when nobody particular is getting married in bizarre circumstances; or when there is nothing to print but that rather dull commodity, political news, newscasters often fall back on their stock of perennial hot-copy. One of the things they like writing about most—you know—something to give you a kick over your breakfast, or on the way to work—is the Problem Family. Sooner or later, something big will turn up—someone will change sex, or something like that—and the journalistic spotlight will be turned off the Problem Father, Mother, Son, Daughter, etc., and all eyes will turn to the new breakfast table thrill. All eyes, that is, except those of the Problem Subjects' neighbours, and an ever-vigilant body of welfare dispensers.

In case any of you feel that, you, too, would like to help out the Press in times of need, here's one of the ways you can do it.

It's better if you can find a house which is in the process of falling to pieces. One where you can rent one or two rooms for about 15/- to £1 a week, and where the landlord calls every week for the rent, but has no intention of re-

This is not a new problem, and in the past capitalism has only been able to find "solutions" through widespread misery for millions of people, and these "solutions" have only represented a breathing space between crises. Why then imagine that Governments have discovered the "secret" of full-employment within the framework of the capitalist system? All they have been able to offer since world-war two has been the "cold-war" (and even this appears not to have been self-sufficient, needing Korea to absorb and destroy men and materials at a faster rate than could be achieved by cold-war methods alone). Will their next solution to the economic problem be World War III?

LIBERTARIAN.

### Russia's Dust Bowls

IT has not escaped a number of observers that though the Russian press reviles America above all other capitalists yet they more and more imitate American methods (McCarthy shows the same process—the United States imitating Russia). This is strikingly illustrated by the new drive to plough up virgin territory. Here is Edward Crankshaw's description (*Observer*, 14/3/54):

"The curtain is going up on yet another tremendous and costly drama on the great Russian plain. At a wave of the party wand a mechanised host, 100,000 strong, equipped with 2,000 tractors, 10,000 combines, and ancillary machinery to scale, are to be uprooted from the established farmlands of the Soviet Union and transported to the virgin lands of Kazakhstan, the Urals, Siberia, and the Volga steppes to engage in the battle for grain."

"Their task for this year is to plough up 32,000,000 acres of virgin soil in order, next year, to add nearly 20,000,000 tons of bread grain to the national store. To maintain this army in the vast empty spaces, the relevant ministerial departments are instructed as a priority task to set up "field camps" with caravans, tents, kitchens and bath-houses, communal feeding centres, water supplies, cinemas, newspapers, and mobile shops."

"The Young Communist League is to organise the dispatch of the 100,000 tractor drivers and mechanics, 'on a voluntary basis', taking them from existing farms and filling in the gaps with 'organised recruitment'."

#### PATRIOTIC GESTURE

"Agriculturists and technicians of all kinds will also be required; and it is

the duty of the managers of all enterprises to let them go as a high patriotic gesture. All 'volunteers' are to receive a bonus of three months' wages on their present scale; and rates of pay are to be favourable. They are to regard themselves as pioneer shock-workers in a patriotic movement."

"This tremendous movement order is set out in bleakly matter-of-fact, almost casual, terms in the text of a new party decree on grain production and the reclamation of waste and virgin lands. It is sponsored by Khrushchev, agricultural boss and first secretary of the party. It is the most dramatic aspect of a new drive to fulfil the grain expansion programme demanded by the current five-year plan which was laid down in 1952."

"The whole operation is a calculated plan to exploit the stored-up fertility of the steppes for quick returns. In this it differs in no way from the American exploitation of the Middle West, which led in the end to the dust-bowls. The Russians have always been contemptuous of these raiding tactics and for years have laid every possible emphasis on the planned and balanced expansion of farming."

The mechanization of Russian agriculture under the First and Second Five Year Plans had already replaced small scale husbandry with methods which resulted in soil erosion. The present new drive represents an intensification of this trend. It is plain that the Russian government is driven to adopt these measures from an overriding necessity, just as the American dust bowls were the inevitable consequence of capitalism's hunger for quick returns.

pairing the fallen ceiling, or the crack in the wall through which you can see your backyard gate. If you are a woman, your next move is to have a lot of children, and marry, or better still, live with without marrying, a man who is unemployed because he has epilepsy, T.B., or similar disease. Having made sure about these simple things, all you have to do is sit back and let the Welfare State do the rest. You will not have to wait long. The National Assistance Board will make sure that you are not allowed enough money to ruin your health further on rich food and expensive drink. In fact, although the complaint may be levelled at you that you are an habitual drunkard, you will find that you will not now be able to drink anything very much stronger than tea.

The local Health Visitor will soon be round to inspect your younger children, (you will have received no Maternity Benefit for these, by the way, as your Insurance Card will not be stamped, and, as you are not married, the wife cannot claim because her husband is paid up or his cards franked at the Labour Exchange). The Health Visitor will be shocked—you need have no fear that this will not happen—Health Visitors are very easily shocked—and before you know where you are, your already too-busy life will be made busier still by the constant stream of officials and social workers who, will invade your home, inspect your bedding, your income, your morals. Your children will soon get lousy heads (either from the bedding which you can't wash because there is no room to dry it even if you are lucky enough to have enough blankets to change for the dirty ones—or from other children), the cracked and chipped plaster walls in your room, or rooms will provide an excellent hideout and breeding place for bugs.

You will probably soon qualify for a visit from the N.S.P.C.C. Inspector. Neighbours are often willing to inform him if one of the various officials who stream in and out of your home don't. If you are lucky, he will try to help you by getting a few more social workers to visit you. If you are not, he will probably threaten you with prosecution

Continued on p. 2

### Soviet Elections Communist Party Returned

ACCORDING to Russian sources, 120 million people voted "freely" in the "most democratic elections in the world" on 14th March. The Soviet elector has the right to vote for one candidate—there are no official competitors. And as only one party is allowed, it can be relied upon to get in. Elections are described as "a patriotic duty" for Soviet citizens. But the word "elect" means to choose. This aspect of elections is rather reduced in Russia.

Soviet citizens have no means of knowing what elections are like in the West, but one wonders if they speculate about the purpose of this pious patriotic duty which 120 million people dutifully perform?

## State and Ego Compared

**A**NALOGY helps to think consistently, and has an answer ready, though often a wrong one, for the most difficult and unexpected questions. To that may be due the success of the very old conception of society as an organism, which has changed in time as biology has progressed, but is still tenaciously clung to in spite of the growing variety and complexity of data this science collects and interprets. To think of society in a biological way, however many mistakes one may make in choosing, dropping, and replacing one's terms of comparison, is always more human, more satisfactory and truer than to think of it in mechanical terms. It is healthier to think of society as something growing or ageing but alive, than to view it as a big machine, dead and passive, with no inner motive or design. The individual also does not feel himself so cheapened and distorted when compared to a living cell as when his rôle is equated to that of a cog in a wheel, to a nut or a screw.

Apart from criticism applicable to all thinking by analogy, the strongest objection to a paralleling of society and organism is that in the latter different functions follow naturally from cells with a different structure while in a society of human beings there are no differences of form other than those deriving from sex, age, mutilation or illness, so that no good reason can be given to explain or justify social inequality.

Attempts to conduct thinking on society on non-analogical lines have frequently been made, and sometimes with success, but comparison of the less known with the better known still remains the basic way of obtaining understanding. Analogy, moreover, is inherent in language, and as it cannot be done without when new ideas have to be grasped and communicated, the suggestion of a new analogy may in turn give rise to new ways of looking at things, new thoughts and new ideas.

I suggest, then, that a human society be conceived as an individual's psyche. In it the anonymous and politically inarticulate majority would correspond to the Id or usually repressed libidinal forces while the ruling class might be the Ego. Conflict and compromise, minor and major adjustments constantly take place in a society, together with a less obvious circulation of energy from one class to another, and a shifting of elements from the plane of political significance to that of obscurity, and vice versa. The same as conscious elements of the psyche sink into the subconscious, and others emerge from it, become the centre of awareness, and sometimes, transformed and integrated, make the dominant traits of personality. Complexes (in the less technical meaning of the word used as when, for instance, we speak of a money complex) have their counterpart in economic and other interests which make a big society a constellation of smaller ones, and also create tensions in all directions, varying in magnitude, intensity and duration.

I need not elaborate the analogy any further. It is possible to think out a host of details, see where it applies and where it does not, correct, extend or restrict it according to whether it helps or confuses understanding. What is important here is to see how the State would fit into the picture.

At first sight it might appear that anarchists make the mistake of con-

ceiving society as a perfectly innocent, adequately strong and spontaneously happy Id that needs no discipline nor direction, no order and no ordering agency, in other words no Ego, no State of any sort. But as a psyche without Ego would hardly be human, so a society without some ordering agency appears inconceivable. That psyche-economy should be regulated is as uncontroversial as that the life of a society should be, but I think it equally beyond dispute that both State and Ego carry out activities which are alien to, and often defeat the purposes of regulation.

To say where society ends and the State begins is a task no anarchist has seriously undertaken, nor has any psychoanalyst made a philosophically satisfactory distinction between the Ego and the Id. Yet it is a matter of intuition and experience that a distinction and a conflict exist in both cases especially under what we rightly consider pathological conditions. In healthy conditions instead, the Ego can be regarded as the conscious effect of libidinal dynamics working according to inherent tropes, harmonies and rhythms, and a healthy society would be a stateless society in which balance and smoothness are achieved by awareness of its unity and love of its fate on the part of each of its individual components.

For the analogy still to be applicable it is then necessary to find some product or construction of the Ego not to be confused with the Ego itself and to which the State such as we know it in its antisocial aspects can be compared. Thanks to the clinical observations and speculations of Wilhelm Reich we find this product or construction in what he calls a "character armour".

A character armour, according to Reich, is developed as a protection against outside reality and the reckless demands of the Id. It can be defined as a hardened portion of the Ego, a particular mode of reaction that becomes chronic, automatic, and blind to many significant changes both in outside reality and in the Id. It originates under persistent frustration from outside reality, a false and one-sided internalization of outside reality effected through a marshalling of psychic energies against the psyche itself. Its apparent and more or less durable success depends on its ability to absorb libidinal and aggressive im-

Continued on p. 3

## MONEY OR WEALTH?

**I**T seems inconceivable that there should persist at this time any misunderstanding on the difference between money and wealth. The fault lies chiefly with the merchants of finance who have taken every care to perpetuate the money-myth, since it not only serves to strengthen their empire of financial tyranny, but it likewise provides a convenient excuse for the economic crises that constantly recur.

So far from money being wealth, it is nothing more than a fluctuating medium of exchange between wealth. True wealth is the natural resources of the earth, plus the productive capacity of society to create from those resources a commodity for consumption or use.

By cunning manipulations the financial wizards can play havoc with the economic stability and the peace of nations whenever it suits their peculiar purposes. They can make or break governments overnight—for after all government is nothing more than a marionette on the financier's strings—or make the price of a cabbage fluctuate between a farthing and a fortune, irrespective of the calories it contains.

The *moniacs* have it within their power to create surplus or famine, playing off one market against another, sending prices soaring and wages toppling, and despite it all strengthening their own grip and waxing fat.

The real government of nations is in the money chambers, and financiers do not care a Shinwell's hoot for whom the electors vote. After the Russian revolution, Wall Street bankers fell over themselves to offer loans to the Bolshevik government, and even to-day the understandings between Wall Street and the Kremlin are nicely accommodating. Also, perhaps it may not be without significance that the highest members of the Nazi hierarchy to escape with his neck intact at Nuremberg was none other than the financial wizard, Dr. Schacht.

What, in this artificial society, is considered the nation's wealth is wrapped up in a clumsy ledger. This is a jumble of cryptic symbols which are meaningless to the uninitiated; and whilst we may have the small consolation of believing that figures don't lie, it is not so consoling to know that liars can make figures.

Whilst coinage has a certain metallic value which (if the worst came) might

be disposed of to a scrap-metal merchant, paper currency (*viz.* the £) is nothing more than a dubious promissory note.

If all the money in the world were dumped into the middle of the Atlantic it would not make a shadow of difference to the nations' wealth or to the survival of humanity. The hen would still lay eggs, the cow yield milk; there would still be fish in the seas, and coal in the mines. What, then, is all this nonsense that says men cannot eat unless they have money? That the man who holds the purse controls the larder?

Let us suppose that two men are marooned on a barren island, one has a sack of potatoes and the other a sack of gold. Who then would be dependent on whom? It is an analogy from which a lesson can be drawn. What would happen to the financier if the worker withdrew his labour? Of what use would be money if the labourer did not till the fields and the miner hew the coal?

Not least among other fictions perpetuated by the money-wizards is that of using a price-index as a barometer of values. Whilst common-sense tells us that the true value of a commodity is its essentiality and usefulness the money-barons would have us believe otherwise. By devious algebraic manipulations they are able to create shortages to send prices up, or surpluses to bring wages

## FREEDOM

down; and whichever expedient they choose to adopt, their profits are not only maintained but enhanced.

In a free society as envisaged by anarchists, money would serve no purpose. The economy of society would be regulated not by artificial tokens called money, but would be determined by the natural resources available, and by the productive capacity and inventive genius of society. The reward of labour would be the gratification of need, and not as today determined by the artificial standards of prevailing price and wage fixtures.

The idolatry of money generates the most evil of human ills. Wars, famines, slumps and unemployment are directly attributable to the soul-less machine of high finance, which grinds out the destiny of men and nations. Yet how many do we encounter who idiotically proclaim: "Ah, but we must have money!" Money be damned! The world's reserve of gold could not grow a blade of grass or produce a sausage!

When the worker fully understands that he does not really work for money but in order to get the things that money buys, and that these very things are those which he has toiled to produce, he might stop long enough to scratch his head and ask what it's all about.

Man is no more free shackled by chains of gold than he is when engaged by bars of iron. Only when men have free and mutual access to the fruits of mother earth can the common sense of humanity be assured.

GEORGE NICHOLSON.

## How to become a Problem Family

Continued from p. 1

and withdrawal of the children; will open your cupboards (to look for food); take your beds to pieces (to inspect the mattresses) and generally upset both your home and your health. He will ask one or other of your neighbours to keep an eye on you, and report to him if there are any suspicious carryings-on in your home.

You may, by this time, decide that it is time for a move, and put your name on the local Housing List. You haven't a chance, of course, because your local authority will not want to take a chance on you in view of your present home set-up and the fact that your income is supplied by the N.A.B. Any rumours

of immoral conduct on your part might also reach the ears of the Housing Department, and that will also count against you. If you have a particularly large family, they can offer the excuse that there isn't a big enough alternative to offer you. (If there are ten of you, living in two rooms, for instance, you will only be rehoused when a place with four or five rooms becomes available. There is no question of finding you accommodation with three rooms to alleviate your position. That would be overcrowding!)

If you get so fed up with the dampness, the bugs, the water that pours onto you every time the rain comes through the ceiling (which is every time it rains), and stop paying your rent, the Housing Department has you there, too. They don't give new homes to people with rent arrears. If you are unlucky enough to land in prison after one of your illegal attempts to supplement your Nationally Assisted Income (and any attempt to supplement National Assistance over the rate of £1 per week, is illegal) you won't be rehoused either. The Housing Departments don't like 'gaolbirds'.

You read somewhere, or someone tells you that you can get aid from various charities, the British Legion, W.V.S., etc., so you go along there with your plaint—you need cash for bedding, clothes, food, etc. But before you can get it you must take a letter from some recognised social welfare agency, and off you trot to collect your letter. This means more visits, more inspections of beds, clothing, finances, etc. And whoever calls makes no secret of the fact that your home is miserable, your children filthy, and yourself fit only for the local gaol, with a nifty taste of the Cat thrown in.

You will soon become the despair of everyone you meet. The frequent visits from Local Officials (who either wear uniforms, or drive up to your front door in cars) and social workers (who also often arrive in cars, and who sometimes wear fur coats and fancy hats) will make your neighbours think that something is up. They will get together, some of them, and you will begin to hear stories about yourself: that you are always drunk; that you ill-treat your children by sticking their heads up the chimney, or some other form of torture; that you are immoral and leave your home to find sexy pleasure on the pavements and in the pubs. Your children will be bullied at school by your neighbours' children. In short, you will have become a prime Problem Family, and when you come to such a state of victimisation by the Welfare State that you commit some anti-social act which will attract attention, you might get your picture in the paper, and committees will be formed to decide whether to sterilise you, or simply give you a dose of the Cat.

This isn't the only way to become a problem family, but it is a way. In case you think that there should be a certain amount of anti-social behaviour connected with living the p.f. way of life, don't let that bother you—if you are subjected to the type of treatment mentioned above, that will come—that will come. P.A.

## MAT KAVANAGH: A Tribute

**A**FTER a brief illness, Mat Kavanagh died on Friday, March 12th; and with him a rich link with the movement's past is severed. Very few comrades have been so widely known in the anarchist movement in this country, for he addressed audiences in many towns right up till recent months. And wherever he spoke he renewed old acquaintances and made many new ones. His influence was especially strong with the younger members of the movement, for not only did he introduce many of them to anarchism, but he opened up for them a whole world of individual anarchists of the past who would otherwise have remained unknown to them.

Mat Kavanagh was indeed a "good old chronicle" of the anarchist movement which he had entered in early youth when he came to England from his native Dublin. He knew and worked with Kropotkin, Malatesta, and Rudolf Rocker in the years before the war of 1914, but he knew well also the less well known militants who helped to build the English and Scottish movements, and in later years he wrote a series of articles on the lesser known pioneers of English anarchism in FREEDOM. Just how far back his personal memories went was illustrated by his anecdotes about old Edward Craig whom Mat knew at the end of his long life, and who, in his early manhood had been the inspirer of the Owenite Commune at Ralahine in the years 1830-33.

During the war of 1914 Kavanagh, together with Tom Keell and Malatesta, adopted the anti-war position and opposed the paradoxical attitude of Kropotkin, Jean Grave, and others who supported the war. He was an equally determined opponent of war in 1939 and never deviated from the traditional anarchist posi-

tion of anti-militarism. A vigorous debater, he held his opinions firmly and stated them clearly. Yet one may doubt if he had any enemies at all, for he possessed a singular kindness and his most downright utterances were nevertheless clothed in the most genial form which made it impossible even for political opponents to take exception to them.

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Mat was the antithesis of the arm-chair revolutionary. He was always at the active centre of the movement's work and came into contact with almost all the continental anarchists who from time to time took refuge in this country. The sweetness of temperament which he shared with Kropotkin by no means inclined him to pacifism any more than Kropotkin himself, and he had much experience of clashes with authority. He was, in fact, imprisoned no less than 9 times, always on revolutionary issues, and could discourse most entertainingly on the prisons of these islands.

1916 found him in Dublin, for he had sensed the coming Irish rebellion and had joined with Larkin and Connolly in preparing for the Easter uprising. He was never, however, deluded by the nationalist aspirations of the Irish which finally triumphed over the revolutionary ideas of 1916, and his anarchism was just as unacceptable to the Irish Free State as to the British Empire.

During the years after the old FREEDOM ceased regular publication and Tom Keell had retired to White-way, Gloucestershire (a colony which in its earliest, anarchist, days Mat helped to establish) he was one of the most militant of those who kept the ideas of anarchism alive. Hence he was able to provide one of the links with the past for the

renewal of impetus which anarchism received from interest in the Spanish Revolution of 1936.

After the last war he spoke on behalf of the Union of Anarchist Groups at one of the International Anarchist Congresses in Paris (characteristically making new friends among some of the younger French comrades), and was probably the most regular speaker in the London Anarchist lecture series and at Hyde Park until in recent years he, too, retired to White-way. During the last year of his life he moved to the cottage of a comrade in the Wye Valley.

★

Mat was 78. His wealth of reminiscences continually reminded one of his age; but his upright brisk figure, his twinkling eye and his love of conviviality always contradicted his years and on his last visit to London a few months ago he seemed as full of youthful zest as ever. This effervescent love of life never left him though those who knew him well were aware also of private sorrows of which the death of his only son, when still not twenty, during the early years of the last war, was the most afflicting.

Wherever he found himself Mat was always an anarchist. His experience taught him to adhere to the traditional ideas of the movement and his judgment was always sane, well-balanced and expressed with characteristic humour. Few men of such determined views were less fanatical, yet Mat would say that that was simply the anarchist philosophy—to hold clear views and hold them firmly, but with tolerance and respect for the rights of other individuals. All of those who knew him will be sad at his death, but his life was a rich and a good one, and he lived it to the full. J.H.

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# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY  
Vol. 15, No. 12 March 20, 1954

## EINSTEIN

THE majority of people residing in civilized countries to-day believe that without restraints of some kind men would act in an anti-social manner. The great majority of religious teachings reinforce this belief with doctrines of "original sin", grace conferred from God, and so on. Briefly one may say that it is generally held that human nature is basically evil.

Anarchists point out that the restraints which are believed to hold anti-social ill-natured natural men in check, and which are embodied in the administration of government, do not in fact restrain anti-social acts. Often they encourage them. More specifically, by reducing people to a state of irresponsibility, they prevent them from ever showing what they are capable of, and emphasize the petty and trifling aspects of peoples treated like children.

But anarchists are not content to criticize adversely the machinery of restraints: for they could then be answered by those political idealists (who are not in power, or they could not be idealists) who want to replace the existing machinery with "something better". Anarchism is rather more positive than this, for it asserts that men are basically social and if permitted to act responsibly and organize their own affairs actually act in an entirely social manner. One may point to the arguments adduced by Kropotkin in his book *Mutual Aid*; or, more simply, one may assert that people are more likely to behave well if you behave towards them as though you expected them to do so. People, like children and animals respond to trust. Treated with suspicion (as government and most of those who believe in government do) they respond with suspicion and more or less hostility.

Now anarchists are in a minority, conscious anarchists that is to say. But if their basic beliefs are well founded, everybody is capable in suitable circumstances, of behaving in an anarchist manner. It is for this reason that anarchists welcome the work and findings of many a distinguished thinker who in some degree works along anarchist lines: some a group of workers who at some time or other, and quite without prompting from anarchist agitators, suddenly show initiative and act in a responsible and fruitful manner. If we are right about "human nature" (that difficult and question-begging concept) then it is to be expected that the basic anarchism of human nature will break through from time to time without prompting from anarchists.

Yet one has to realize that such outbursts of rational activity or thought appear in despite of a world and a social structure which is very hostile to them. Anarchism exists in the teeth not merely of government, but despite all those people and institutions which believe in leading and led, and exhibit no faith whatsoever in man's capacity to live rationally and well. One should be thankful for these spontaneous manifestations of the original anarchism in all men. Yet there are many all-or-nothing anarchists who contemptuously point out that such thought, such activity is not carried through to its logical conclusion. Such anarchists are very unwilling to join hands with those who are loosely called "people of good will" and are almost more suspicious of those who express near-anarchist opinions than of frank opponents of anarchism.

FREEDOM has always tried to make its position on any given topic as clear as possible, and in the main has very seldom had to alter its line. Yet its editors have also sought to avoid any kind of sectarian position which implies that the anarchists are the minority who

have seen the light and are patiently waiting for their benighted fellows to see it too. For this reason we have often sought to include in our columns activities and opinions of non-anarchists which nevertheless tend in an anarchist direction. Albert Einstein provides a topical example.

Einstein is 75. He has been one of the most powerful influences upon the thought of the twentieth century. But he is also a scientist who holds opinions upon world problems and who does not use scientific research as a kind of retreat in which to evade life's problems. Before the war he endeavoured to enlist the minds of the most outstanding intellectuals in the task of preventing the coming débâcle. He wrote an open letter to Freud on the causation of war to which Freud, immersed in the idea of the death-wish, made a very disappointing and inadequate answer.

Recently Einstein has returned to the fray by openly opposing the trend towards the police-and-fear-state which is such a plain danger in the country of his adoption, America. He has called upon Americans to refuse to co-operate with "requisitions" which violated the civil freedom of the individual. Einstein told enquirers that everyone has a duty to defend constitutional rights, but that "intellectuals were in a special position since they had a strong influence upon the formation of public opinion. "This is the reason," he went on, "why those who are about to lead us towards an authoritarian government are particularly concerned with intimidating and muzzling that group."

It argues great courage on the part of a 75-year-old immigrant to criticize the government of the United States like that. It is courageous to use one's eminence as added strength to help fight against social wrongs. Einstein is by no means an anarchist: but his stand is really a plea for individual responsibility and for non-interference from governments, which is not far from the anarchist position.

## STATE & EGO

Continued from p. 2

pulses, and to release them through reaction formations, compensations and other neurotic attitudes. Unpleasant situations strengthen a character armour while pleasurable ones tend to soften and break it up with inversely corresponding decrease and increase of total psychic motility.

Now the State can also be conceived as an armour developed out of society for its own protection and defence against external and internal dangers. But with the disappearance of dangers this armour still remains, and neurotically imagines and creates dangers in order better to remain. With a logic of its own it succeeds even in persuading the social body that since it is supplied with an undetachable armour it must be a permanent situation of danger, and that the thicker the armour grows the greater must be the danger. In reality, however, with each increase in civilization, understood as mastery over nature and dropping of hostile behaviour among men, it is the State and not society that is in danger. State ideologies, whether their garb be ethical, religious or scientific, all spring from the need to justify the State's existence, and to hide the fact that the State is an internalization of the physical world's hostility to mankind. When the physical world fails to make human existence uncomfortable the State takes over and performs the same task with a vengeance.

Man and not the physical world, some one will point out, is now the greatest enemy of man. But modern societies are not inimical to one another in the sense that barbarian or primitive societies were in the past when their differences were greater and their means of communication and co-operation still rudimentary. It is common knowledge nowadays that societies have nothing to gain by fighting each other. States on the contrary need wars if they are to survive, and the more afraid they are of punishment because of their parasitical, constructive and death-serving nature, the more desperately and ruthlessly do they absorb the energies of society, growing thicker and stiffer until they either burst or make society as good as dead by blocking all its avenues to happiness.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI

# The Enslavement of Youth

PUBLIC attention at the moment is focussed on the problem of juvenile delinquency, various do-gooders put forward the usual solutions, more religion, more authority, etc. The young people themselves are rarely consulted, in fact they are rarely regarded as people at all. It does not seem to occur to the well-meaning individuals who concern themselves with the problems of youth, that a great many are caused by adult interference.

"Parents of teen-age dancers have told Worthing's director of entertainments, Mr. John Coates, that they will ban their children going to Corporation dances if unrestricted jiving does not stop.

Careful watch is to be kept to-night among the 500 dancers who regularly visit the Assembly Hall.

Mr. Coates said to-day that jiving, which a few enthusiasts carry on all through the evening, is ruining the Corporation's Saturday night dances.

He added that the jivers had broken an agreement not to perform outside the 15 minutes session specially set aside for jiving after a petition by the local jazz club.

"If the jiving continues the entertainments Committee will be recommended to end the jive session altogether." (*The Star*, 6/3/54).

During my adolescence I was frequently bitterly humiliated by the way the adult world treated the adolescent, who was so nearly an adult himself. I lost all faith in democracy when I found that I was expected to submit to conscription to defend a country in whose government I had no say. This little news item sums up the prevailing outlook to the adolescent most beautifully. Let us examine it.

First of all we are told that "The parents of teen-age dancers . . . will ban their children . . ." Now this is just the sort of thing that used to set my teeth on edge. It is ridiculous to order people of fifteen or sixteen about as if they were five or six. The anarchist is opposed to authority being used against even children of this age, but it is an absolutely ludicrous situation when a young man or woman allow themselves to be bossed around in this manner.

A normal person becomes sexually mature at the beginning of his teens. To regard people as children after this is an artificial convention. They are capable of having children themselves! Nevertheless every effort is made to keep them childlike and dependent as long as possible.

The results are either servile and obedient youngsters, who are images of their parents (like some public school boys who have the bodies of adults and the minds of children, and who seem like babies to younger members of the working class), or irresponsible delinquents, who feel no loyalty to the community which treats them as inferiors.

I am sure that the prevailing atmosphere of contempt for young people is felt by all of them. When I was in my teens my parents exercised no authority over me but I still felt this atmosphere acutely, though I could find no means of expressing my discontent.

The majority of young people similarly situated can see no alternative to the present system, and in the end they submit to it. Their rebellion peters out as they get older, and become assimilated into the adult's world. The result is that nothing is done.

We have progressed a little since the days when a father had the power of life and death over his children, and his wife. All the same the old attitude persists.

However the tragedy is that the majority of adolescents do not rebel at all. They are too afraid of their parents, although in many cases they are too big for their parents to dominate by physical force alone. The Law is on their parents' side, and one does occasionally hear of parents invoking it to defend themselves against their offspring who are "beyond control" (lovely phrase!)

This passive submission is not due to fear of the Law though, it is usually a product of habit. After all to the young person it was not so long ago that the parents were really too strong to be defied. Considering the power that habit exercises over the human mind it is perhaps surprising that so many adolescents do in fact rebel at all.

But even those who do rebel do so spasmodically and turn their rebellion in the wrong directions. Some turn to criminal activities. Dr. Lindner in his interesting book "Rebel Without a Cause" describes just such a case.

The majority do not go so far, but they do not achieve much of value by their rebellion either. The life of the "gang" leads nowhere, and eventually its members, despite their staying out late, their hanging around cafés, and their petty violence, are reabsorbed into the respectable world at the time of their call-up. Indeed one of the reasons why the call-up has been accepted so pas-

sively is that it provides an escape from their homes, and the frustration of their lives there, for those involved.

It is tempting to suggest that if there was a big anarchist movement it would draw unto itself many youthful rebels, whose energies at the moment go to waste. This may well be the case in countries where anarchist and other revolutionary movements are strong, but I do not know. However the ideal would be a society where the adolescent revolt did not need to exist. Anthropologists have described for us several savage societies, such as those in the Trobriand Islands and Samoa, where the Oedipus Complex is not known, and the friction between the adolescent and the rest of society does not exist.

But to bring such a situation about without a complete social revolution would be impossible. In the savage societies mentioned above sex was free at least for the young, and they could slip away to make love, free from interference. In our society that is impossible, and lovemaking in the open air impractical during most of the year in our cold Northern climate. It would mean that young people would have to have homes of their own, and be freed from parental control, and from financial dependence.

Quite frankly I am pessimistic about the possibility of doing away with juvenile delinquency, which in any case is no new problem, though the do-gooders would like us to believe so, because they can then put it down to the godless state of society compared with fifty years ago. Possibly the war and the general state of insecurity may have caused a slight increase of wild behaviour among young people, but I doubt it.

It seems to me that the only hope lies in trying to show them why society treats them so unfairly, and to persuade them to take a constructive revolutionary stand. Some time ago I attended a lecture on this question given by the well-known educationalist, Robert Copping. He made a spirited, and very much needed defence of the so-called "delinquent", but on his own showing these defiant fighters against authority, being without any theory of revolt, drifted back into respectability via Her Majesty's Forces.

When I first read FREEDOM I was still a mere baby of sixteen (with a moustache!), and it filled me with enthusiasm. Anarchism should appeal to adolescents from all sections of the community. At present the "teen-ager" is in a position not much different from that of the freedman or half-caste in slave or colour-bar societies. He, or still more she, is suspended between adulthood and childhood, belonging neither to one nor the other, a creature without status or respect.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

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## International Education

[We reprint below from a feature which appeared in *Worldover Press* recently under the title "Newsbriefs on International Education". We give these examples of international co-operation no political label; a careful analysis might reveal all kinds of motives behind these apparently good actions. But we find it much more refreshing to report cases where young people from all countries mingle in the pursuit of better things than killing one another in the name of patriotism].

Needy students in Israel are being helped by German students in a campaign inaugurated by the Socialist German Student Union together with the German Catholic Student Union. Food and other necessities are distributed through the American Care organization in Israel.

An international relations club, founded recently by students of Laval University, Quebec, Canada, is planning to hold a series of conferences on various international issues, such as Canadian foreign policy, U.S. foreign policy, political problems of Scandinavia, etc.

A mobile van circulating among 12 different villages and reaching some 400 children between the ages of 5 and 14 have been operating as an experiment of the International Children's Centre in Paris. The aim was to bring rural children into contact with cultural influences through books, exhibitions of photos and colour reproductions, film shows and musical concerts on phonograph records. It was found that book-borrowing averaged 20 books per year for each child. Another mobile unit has begun touring French provinces, conducted by the French Association for Increasing Pro-

ductivity. It emphasizes the use of audio-visual methods to help teachers.

The Darmstadt, Germany, Technical High School is carrying on negotiations with the Nigerian Minister of Education regarding study opportunities for African students in the German city. Several African lands intend to finance the building of student hostels in Darmstadt and Frankfurt, to enable an eventual 6,000 Negro youth to study in Germany.

Students from Asian and Pacific countries have had scholarships in post-graduate and technical training at Australian institutions of higher learning since 1949. In 1953, students also arrived for secondary and primary education. More than 3,000 of these, from 30 countries, were in Australia at the end of the year. Many hold scholarships provided by U.N. organizations, the Commonwealth Technical Scheme, the Commonwealth Southeast Asian Fellowship Scheme, the Colombo Plan, or are sent by their own governments. The largest numbers of foreign students come from Singapore and Malaya.

For the first time since the end of the war, German art students have exhibited their work at Paris in the International House of the Cité Universitaire. Under the patronage of the French High Commissioner in Germany, André Francois-Poncet, the State Academy of Art in Duesseldorf and the State Art School of Mainz shared in the exhibition.

A friendship contract has been signed between the Universities of Helsinki, Finland, and Mainz, Germany to intensify cultural relations.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Conservative Anarchism

WAS it unconscious irony which caused the editors to place George Nicholson's excellent article on "The Simplicity of Anarchism" next to Giovanni Baldelli's "Conservative Anarchism"?

Being still in the throes of adventurous and illogical youth, I had previously considered that the fundamental point which our 'great masters' continually strove to hammer home was that liberty could not be achieved by the use of authority...

Comrade Baldelli terms his attitude 'conservative anarchism'. He writes disparagingly of what he terms the "nihilism and 'barbarism' of such anarchists as Bakunin."

The first is Luigi Fabbri. In 1931 he wrote (my italics): "If a revolution to-day would do away with the present State, we can be sure that a government of some kind would

be organized—it would inevitably emanate from the authoritarian mentality and psychology of the masses. And if the latter wish to have a government, we could not deny them the right to have it.

"Indeed, a government that is the outcome of a revolution will be less tyrannical—it will tolerate more freedom and be able to do some good things in spite of the evil which is inherent in its functions—

"And the function of Anarchism is precisely to constitute, so long as governments exist, this very force of opposition; an opposition which must not only consist... of negation and destruction, but also of the affirmation and reconstruction of the proper forms of an autonomous life in complete freedom."

(From an English translation by J. Scarceriaux, "Man!"—April 1939).

The second is Malatesta. In the early 'twenties he wrote:

"Our task after our participation in the struggle to overthrow the existing régimes, is that of preventing, or trying to prevent, the creation of a new government; or, in the event of not succeeding, at least of struggling to prevent the new government from holding absolute power in its hands; seeing to it that it remains weak and unstable, and unable to command sufficient military and financial means, and is obeyed as little as possible."

(Quoted by V.R. in the "Anarchists and Collaboration", FREEDOM, —December 19, 1953).

A few months before his death Malatesta reiterated his warning:

"Let's be on our guard against the deviationists, and let us not forget the fundamental criterion of anarchism: to arrive at freedom through freedom."

Comrade Baldelli should realize that we can recognise, and prepare for, the complexities of a revolutionary situation, without being false to our principles and assisting our enemy—government.

London, Mar. 13. S. E. PARKER.

Homosexuality

I WOULD like to comment on the two letters published in FREEDOM (March 6) which deal with the question of homosexuality, as I consider them to express sentiments dangerous to a libertarian attitude to society.

Ford and Beach in their authoritative "Patterns of Sexual Behaviour", a biological and sociological study of human sexual activity, state that "human homosexuality is not basically a product of hormonal imbalance or perverted heredity. It is the product of the fundamental mammalian heritage of general sexual responsiveness as modified under the impact of experience".

Concerning the letter of "clinical psychologist" I would refer him to Robert Lindner's "Prescription for Rebellion", where the terrifying results of non-analytic psychological treatment are scientifically exposed, and I would add that I do not think it is just coincidence that psycho-analytic treatment has been rejected in modern totalitarian states, and is surrendering all along the line to pre-frontal surgeries and electric shock methods in the United States where the teachings of the Army "psychiatrists" are becoming more and more accepted.

greatest single danger to the continued evolutionary development of man. Hornchurch, Mar. 7 A. G. GAMBLE.

I SHOULD like to reply to the two letters on Homosexuality (FREEDOM, March 6).

I am not attempting to claim that psycho-analysis provides a cure in all cases. My use of the word "probably" indicates some uncertainty on the issue. I have no intention of engaging in ill-natured polemic with "Clinical Psychologists" outraged professionalism.

As to Mr. Leadbitter, I am sorry to hear that tolerance will result in catastrophe (I have heard this argument advanced to defend many kinds of intolerance) I may be "morally indolent" but I see nothing impossible in society tolerating homosexual activity in those who desire it.

As to homosexuality not fulfilling the "purpose of sexual activity" I can only say that the amount of sexual activity indulged in merely for gratification is vastly greater than that needed for reproduction of the species. No one has been born of a kiss but is Mr. Leadbitter against kissing—what does he intend to do to stop that purposeless activity? Presumably anarchists (and many others) are not against activities which gratify people and have this gratification as their only aim.

By weakening society I presume he means in the military sense (enough said). As to a "healthy society" and "moral health" have freedom and tolerance of other people's diversities no part in these concepts. Are the blackmailers and over-officious people who report such activities an example of moral health? "Normality"—a very difficult concept.

Progress Report and Appeal

The Malatesta Club

PROGRESS upon the decoration and preparation of the anarchist club is proceeding steadily, if slowly. It is bound to be slow since all the work—painting and distemping, electric wiring, concreting, fitting up the kitchen, etc., etc., is being done by volunteers in the evenings and week-ends, and such arrangements as meeting the landlord, buying supplies of materials and so forth have to be fitted into working time as well as possible.

As the initiator of the idea in the columns of FREEDOM last year, it has been very gratifying to me to see the amount of support for the club which has rallied from unexpected sources. Readers of FREEDOM whom we had never met before have turned up and buckled into the work with enthusiasm and vigour. Money, too, has come in fairly well, as the printed acknowledgments have shown.

It now looks as though my original target of £100 will not be enough for our needs. We shall publish a Balance Sheet to show where the money has gone—but the unfortunate fact is that nearly all that has so far been received has gone. We are still a long way from our £100 and some items have made a big hole in our receipts to date—like £22 for chairs, for example.

We have had access to our premises for a month now, in order to work there, but by arrangement with the landlord we did not have to start paying rent until last Monday (15th March). This means, however, that from now until opening day—or rather night—we shall be paying rent without getting any return from use of the premises.

But this will be covered by the monthly or weekly guarantees originally promised, and we shall be grateful if guarantors will begin to send these in

Perhaps if Mr. Leadbitter had been born in another society he would be defending homosexuality on very similar moralistic grounds.

I still think that the problem of homosexuality is too large to be forcibly banished from society—either by treatment or punishment. I fail to see any grounds for intolerance of this portion of the population. Threats that we must persecute them or decline seem to have no evidence to back them. Homosexuals, as a class, do not seem to be inferior but only different. Anyway as the class is so large any persecution is more likely to lead to bad results for society than the cultivation of a more tolerant attitude.

BOUQUET

As an avid reader of political literature, I should like to comment on two aspects of FREEDOM which distinguish it (favourably, in my opinion).

First, there is a high proportion of its space devoted to discussion of long term objectives. In contrast most Left Wing writers merely indulge in ill-natured polemics against the present situation and consider such of the party's tactics which they deem should be made public. They do not describe the aim of their political and social efforts. The charge of Utopianism may be made, but this is preferable to having faith in such a man as Beria has turned out to be.

Secondly, the wide range of the articles. Apart from any question of one's political views, FREEDOM performs a useful preliminary screening of interesting material. If a brief account is required of some fairly unfamiliar field then FREEDOM frequently offers this together with a list of sources. This social co-operation in explaining new fields is, of course, the only possible way of finding footholds before attempting a detailed study, if this is desired.

Manchester P. H. Cox.

now. We hope it will be necessary to depend on these for only a short period, since, as shown below, details of membership, etc., have now been worked out which should provide us with a steady income from subscriptions.

Once the club starts it will be open every evening and week-end afternoons if required and we think that its original conception of being a social centre for anarchists and libertarians will be fully satisfied. The premises are modest, but we are doing our best by the decoration to make them gay and interesting.

URGENT!

In order that our opening date shall not be needlessly delayed, however, our urgent need is—more cash. All those connected with the preparatory work are convinced that the club will represent a great advance for the anarchist movement—and not only in London. But we must hit our target of £100 at least.

WILL: 1. All comrades who have not yet sent their contribution to the foundation fund, and 2. All comrades who guaranteed a regular weekly or monthly sum

PLEASE REMIT IMMEDIATELY TO THE TREASURER. (Address below). P.S.

Further Details

MANY readers will have been waiting patiently for more detailed news of the club than has so far been given in the brief announcements that have appeared in FREEDOM. Enough progress has now been made to enable some sort of idea to be given of what the club will be like when it shortly opens its doors.

Several problems arose at the outset, and the solutions decided upon have not satisfied everybody. However, after some experience of actual running of the club has been gained it will be possible to see more clearly what alterations will be advisable.

Finding a name for the club was not easy, and not everyone is happy about the present choice. It was felt that such a name as "The London Anarchist Club" would frighten landlords and other creditors. On the other hand, the suggested "London Libertarian Club" was criticized as being rather woolly and too much like Civil Service English in its vagueness.

Another major problem arose over the question of membership. One of the main objects of the club is to encourage social contact between anarchists and those who are interested in our ideas and want to learn more about them by informal discussion and conversation.

This has the advantage that membership can be granted with a minimum of inquiry and fuss, and in addition gives the members a chance to size up the new associate during his "probationary" period, so that when he is invited to become a full member and take his share of responsibility for running the club and its activities the existing members will be able to accept him with confidence.

It is thought too that there will be a number of people who will be interested only in using the club and who will not want to undertake any of the tasks involved in keeping it going. Members and associates will have equal rights to use all the facilities provided at the club. Subscriptions have been fixed at 2/-

per week for members and 1/- per week for associates. Those living outside the area of Greater London who have contributed to the foundation funds, however, will be granted membership as associates without payment of subscriptions.

Membership cards will be issued and these will also record subscriptions paid.

A rather formidable list of conditions of membership has been prepared at the request of the club's bankers. It was thought advisable to include two prohibitory rules dealing with gambling and the sale of alcohol, but apart from these the conditions do not attempt to regulate the conduct of members at the club premises and merely record the decisions already unanimously and voluntarily agreed upon concerning organization and function.

The foundation members of the club, who are at present engaged in preparing the premises, agreed to pay their subscriptions from Feb. 27. To date this has yielded an additional £10 odd for the foundation fund, but even with this it will be difficult to satisfy our minimum needs. The premises were in a very dilapidated condition when they were taken over, and a large pile of rubble had to be carted away before the Decorating Committee could get to work.

Contributions to: E. PEEKE (Treasurer: Malatesta Club), c/o 27 Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

Foundation Fund

Table with columns: CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED, London: P.S. 6d.; R.M. 6d.; J.B. 1/-; A.U. 3/-; F.C. 7/-; E.P. 4/-; S.W.T. £2/2/0; D.R. 10/-; M.K. £1; Dudley: C.B. £1; Warrington: J.H. 2/6; Greenford: A.E.B. £1; Tropic of Capricorn: R.M. £1. Total £7 10 6. Previously acknowledged £62 19 0. GRAND TOTAL £70 9 6

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting HYDE PARK Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS IN EAST HAM Alternate Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m. MARCH 24.—Jack Robinson "WILL MEN TAKE THE PLACE OF MACHINES?" APRIL 7.—S. E. Parker "PROBLEMS OF ANTI-MILITARISM"

GLASGOW

INDOOR MEETINGS every Friday MARCH 26.—Archie Cox FREEDOM & RELIGION Will be held at 7 p.m. at 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow.

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