"There is no true liberty for the

-EDWIN MARKHAM.

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Threepence

BIKINI NIGHTMARE

REPORT from Washington quotes Congressional officials as saying that "the hydrogen device exploded at Bikini on March 1 had a destructive power six hundred times greater than that of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki". They go on to point other hand declare their confidence out that the shock, which was felt 176 miles away from the test site, war far more powerful than was anticipated and was equal to the shock that would result from the exploding of more than 12,000,000 tons of T.N.T.

Later explosions in the present series of tests are expected to be even bigger, and one device, they said, may have a blast equal to that of between 45,000,000 tons and 50,000,000 tons of T.N.T. The explosion of this bomb is planned for the second half of April. American scientists say that they could also make one with a blast equal to 100,000,000 tons.

Our opposition to the development of these explosive devices is as unhindered by ifs and buts as is our opposition to War. But surely, even from the point of view of those people who in all good faith or even on grounds of political opportunism believe that only the present programme of rearmament, and the development of these nightmarish "devices", can ensure "peace", or prolong the truce, the speed with which science is discovering more effective weapons for man's destruction, should oblige them to re-think whether the methods with which they seek to ensure peace may not, in fact, lead to the annihilation of mankind.

HOW many people in this country we wonder, listened to that play broadcast in the Light Programme last Sunday, The Domesday Story? By a curious coincidence it was broadcast only a few days after the announcement of the effects of the "hydrogen device" exploded at Bikini on March 1. It is a prophetic play and one which faces the listener squarely with the moral issues involved in the continued development and experimentation on destructive devices. In the play the scientists have reached the H2 stage, and the governments concerned have announced the impending experimen-

COST OF THE FORCES

Mr. Collick (Birkenhead, Lab.) asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer what was the total amount spent on the armed forces in 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1945, 1950 and 1953, and what was the amount per head of the population.

Mr. Butler gave the following information, on the basis of financial years: -

| | | Amount |
|---------|------------------|------------|
| Year | Expenditure | per |
| | | head |
| | (£000) | (£) |
| 1900-01 | 121,505 | 2.9 |
| 1910-11 | 67,938 | 1.5 |
| 1920-21 | 278,922 (a) | 5.9 |
| 1930-31 | 109,971 | 2.4 |
| 1940-41 | 2,352,000 (b) | 48.8 |
| 1945-46 | 3,847,000 (b) | 78.2 |
| 1950-51 | 785,229 (c) | 15.6 |
| 1953-54 | 1,636,762 (d) | 32.4 |
| Notes - | (a) Evoluting av | anditure o |

Notes.—(a) Excluding expenditure of £16,124,000 on Ministry of Munitions; (b) including expenditure on Ministry of Supply and Ministry of Aircraft Production Votes; (c) including the Exchequer issues to Ministry of Supply for defence purposes; (d) Budget estimate of defence expenditure, excluding sterling counterpart of defence support aid granted by the United States.

(Times, 17.3.53).

tal explosion of this, the latest device. An independent international body of scientists have declared that in their opinion the explosion of the bomb might quite easily have the effect of destroying all life on our planet. The governments on the in their scientists who have assured them that they have everything under control. A section of the Press takes sides, and, for once, it is that the issue is one which only the people of the world have a right to decide. There is some sporadic opposition to the suave, confident, bedside technique of the Prime Minister in his broadcast in which he refers to the benefits of scientific discoveries, etc. . . and to the experiments as being for the benefit of mankind! Zero hour is reached; breathlessly we listen to the radio commentator as he describes the last minute preparations for the explosion from his observation post outside the danger zone. The pilotless plane carrying the bomb takes off in the direction of the target area. The bomb is dropped and the commentator describes the column of smoke rising from the bombed area ... suddenly one hears the sound as of a hundred hurricanes, and then utter silence as the commentator and his microphone are silenced for ever. In London panic seizes some of the listeners, some ask "how long should it take to reach us here", some scream their terror and at that point the play ends. Whether the independent scientists or the government were right matters little to the drama or to the moral issues which the author has stated so convincingly through the personality of a free-lance journalist.

TET us return to the Washington report and reality. We think the most significant admission in this report was that the explosion was far more powerful than was anticipated. It seems clear that the scientists' calculations can never predict with certainty the results of these explosions. Indeed it is obvious that one of the purposes of these experiments is to supplement and perhaps correct the answers which the scientists have obtained from their calculations, and so permit them to proceed a further step in their calculations and experiments.

According to the reports the Bikini explosion in March was equivalent to 12 million tons of T.N.T. and the discrepancy in the calculated power of the explosion and the reality was considerable. Let us quote again the actual words: "the explosion was far more powerful than was anticipated." Now in April the anticipated, that is the calculated, force of the explosion will be equivalent to 50 million tons of T.N.T. But what of the reality, bearing in mind what has happened earlier this month? How is one to know that the pattern of the new explosion may not defy all the accumulated knowledge of past explosions? How, indeed, are we to be sure that the April explosion will not in fact be "The Domesday

THE miscalculation of the politicians and the scientists in the March 1 bomb has already resulted in victims as the following report indicates:

"It apparently sent radio-active debris

and moisture out beyond the danger zone boundary of the Bikini-Eniwetok area.

Twenty-eight Americans and 236 residents of Pacific islands-believed to have been in a safe area-were unexpectedly exposed to some radiation. They received special treatment, and are thought to be alright.

Much worse, apparently, was the experience of a Japanese fishing boat. The captain thought it was 80 miles east of Bikini Atoll. Owing to sketchy fishermen's navigation, it is not certain whether the boat was inside or outside the prohibited danger area. Two hours after the mighty explosion, "white ashes fell like light rain" on the boat.

The faces, arms and legs of the crew members began to burn. The skin became swollen and red, then began turning black. The captain turned homeward, reaching Japan last Sunday. Twenty-three of the fishermen were suffering, and all had to be hospitalized.

The cargo of tuna which the boat brought home was found to be dangerously radio-active. Some of the fish were sold before Japanese police seized the cargo and buried it. The result was a widespreal scare; people were afraid to eat tuna, one of their favourite foods." (N.Y. Herald Tribune, 22/3/54)

Not much imagination is required to envisage what could happen as experiments on an exer-increasing scale are carried out. We do not believe that effective action will come which is simply motivated by fear. Rats caught in a trap are not a very dignified sight. We think effective action to stop the bomb will only begin when enough men and women in all countries feel that each new experiment diminishes them as human beings, as human personalities and that therefore their continued indifference to these questions can only end in their extinction as human beings long before they, along with all living creatures and organisms are wiped off the face of the earth by an unfortunate miscalculation of the scientists or a wrong decision of the politicians.

AT some time or other we shall have to face the future squarely or be destroyed. Those who are already aware of this, and whose lives are proof of this awareness,

tend to despair for it would appear that nothing short of a sudden, revolutionary change in our whole attitude to life can halt the mad rush to self annihilation.

The price Man has paid for his freedom to act and to think for himself, is the conditioned desire to acquire for himself and his dependents what are called "material comforts", and the assurance that organised for him whether at his work or during his leisure. The radio, the cinema, television, professional sport, the Daily and Sunday Press all conspire to reduce man to an illiterate, unskilled, inarticulate moron. The struggle in life is for material things, (and we are not referring to the real struggle for life

of the starving millions) at the exclusion of the moral issues, for which one is always hearing people say they have no time, as if the politicians can be relied upon to act as our guardians!

The revolution to which we refer. then, demands a reversal of the existing state of affairs. We must come to recognise that human values are more important than colour teleevery minute of his day will be vision; that the future of atomic weapons is more important than the future of football pools; that freedom from fear is more important than bathrooms in every house; that the rehabilitation of love is more important than the rehabilitation of the Comet airplane; that a good craftsman is worth a thousand successful business-men.

KENYA

TEWS from Kenya continues much the same at all levels. There have been more planters killed by Mau Mau gangs. There has been the curious manœuvres behind General China's letters to his fellow Mau Mau leaders to make peace. And there has been Mr. Lyttelton's political activities.

Despite the prolonging of the Kenya "troubles", the newspapers make no attempt at an understanding of the situation. The Mau Mau murders offer a case in point. These are reported as simply brutal murders of Europeans in isolated farmsteads. And in itself the violent killing of a man and his family is undoubtedly a brutal business. What is not asked is why are these brutal murders carried out? The newspapers act as though it were quite natural for the Kikuyu to organize themselves into murder gangs. They never ask their readers what was there to guarantee safety for the planters in the past, and what has happened to change that situation?

Clearly, until the 'troubles' began, planters were protected not by police and guns and concentration camps, but by the pacific attitude of the Africans generally. We have tried to show, ever since the beginning, that the land-hunger of the Africans, the insistent colour prejudice of the European settler, and the attitude of the Colonial Office have been the principle factors in engendering the present situation.

With the European settlers occupying the best land and in effect enclosing it from Africans, the latter must inevitably feel a sense of grievance. That they did so was clearly shown by articles in War Commentary (FREEDOM'S predecessor) a dozen years ago. It was confirmed by those who best knew Kenya at the outbreak of "the troubles", and it is confirmed yet again by the report on Kenya by the committee of M.P.'s from all parties who reported early this year.

It is quite plain that many Africans regard the European settlers as the cause of their economic destitution, and the administration as standing across any possible path to African advancement. Their situation is essentially similar to that of Irish land labourers thrown out of work by the change over about 130 years ago from arable farming to pasture. They retaliated in the same waythey formed gangs which assassinated landlords and stewards and men suspected of acting as landlards' agents. Their actions were motivated by hopelessness.

So it must be with Man Mau. Men do not behave brutally without reason. Governments may put down economic unrest for the time being by force but they cannot go on doing so for long without provoking an explosion. The pattern of Mau Mau is too close to that of other peasant revolts for its causes to be ignored indefinitely. This is however what the Colonial Office and the settlers are seeking to do.

General China

Meanwhile the extraordinary affair of General China reached a dramatic turn last Saturday when all Army activity against Mau Mau ceased in the Mount Kenya district. This was to allow Special Branch police (openly described by the Observer's correspondent Hugh Latimer, as "Kenya's Political Police") to parley with those Mau Mau leaders who responded to General China's peace appeal.

Elaborate precautions were taken not only against the possibility of an ambush, but also to exclude the Press. When the 10 "tough looking young policemen of the Special Branch" and their leader, Assistant Commissioner George Gribble, returned at 4 o'clock "they refused to make any comment."

This episode has exhibited a rather seamy side of the war against Mau Mau. China was sentenced to death and then reprieved in order to act for the government, while the government itself has yielded to pressure in some decisions from the settlers who were indignant at the sparing of "China's" life. Neither China, the Government, nor the settlers emerge from this episode without grime.

Lyttelton's "Multi-racial State" Meanwhile Lyttleton's adherence to the plan whereby government power shall be vested in a Cabinet in which there shall be only one African representative, chosen not even by Africans, but by the Governor General, has produced more bitterness and derision from the Africans. They regard any chosen "representative" as a stooge and the fear that such representatives become isolated from their cwn community is well grounded. Lyttelton's plan is therefore a farce, but he appears quite unconcerned about it. It is especially foolish since the chosen African is very unlikely to be a Kikuyu, despite the size and importance of this tribe. But one cannot sit on a powder barrel for ever.

Warfare of the Future

RECENT pronouncements in America and debates in the British Parliament show how far politics has advanced down the road to a new war in the 9 years since 1945. Mr. Dulles, the U.S. Foreign Secretary, has declared that in the event of aggression the United States will strike hard with weapons of its own choosing, at places of its own choosing. This statement was confirmed by President Eisenhower next day.

HOW FAR DISTANT?

It has created much comment, because this statement in its original form made no provision for consulting allies. Such an omission is hardly surprising in a major power, since consultation implies the desire to respect the wishes of an ally. Such concern is of secondary consideration to a great power.

Dulles' statement clearly hints at the use of atomic bombs and the some possibility was discussed by Lord Alexander of Tunis in opening a debate in the House of Lords on March 16:

"He said that when in 1949 the Soviet Union learned the terrible secrets of the atom bomb the nature of any future war was fundamentally changed. It meant that a war would probably start with an opening phase of unparalleled intensity lasting a few weeks or perhaps only days in which both sides would use the atomic bomb. Provided the American Strategic Air Command could retaliate immediately, the aggressor would receive or apparent success in war.

terrific punishment which might well destroy the whole of his war-making potential.

"This short period of intense destruction might, therefore, prove to be decisive-but if it were not decisive then there would follow an intermittent struggle, gradually spreading world-wide during which both sides would be recovering from the initial onslaught and rebuilding their fighting strength to carry on the struggle. No purely defensive system, active or passive, could be wholly effective in those circumstances. It must follow therefore that the importance of deterrent forces became paramount."

Debate in the House of Lords however was not concerned very much at the main horror of this speech-its tacit acceptance of the inevitability of warbut concerned itself more with details of disposition of strength.

At the same time the French discuss the question of the rearming of Germany for the European Defence Organization with considerable disquiet. Their assumption that war with Germany is quite likely also gives pause to those who imagine that peace time is a stable period. For the ordinary Frenchman the rearming of Germany must seem even more to underline the inevitability of war, for the cycle of war-German disarmament-German re-armament-war appears to be revolving once again absolutely regardless of hopes for peace

PRESCRIPTION FOR REBELLION

BEFORE the American Trade Unions became just another happy hunting ground for frustrated little Caesars there grew up a fine body of folk music. These songs crystallised some of the simplest and yet most moving indictments of the exploitation of Man by Man.

If there is one Trade Union that needs a good swift kick in the coccyx for having sold out to the bosses it is the not-so-Ancient and Honourable Guild of Psychomongers. Especially those brain-blasting, cortex-carving storm-troopers of the shock "therapy" brigade, the psychiatrists.

This, in brief, is the opinion of Dr. Robert Lindner,* a psychologist who sees the last hope for our civilisation being sold down the river. Psychotherapy, instead of being used to help people fight free of the shameful shackles rivited about them in their defenceless infancy, is directed towards making the victim content with his lot.

Do you remember the regiments of shining faces stacked up in neat rows in the Great Hall at school first thing every morning for the regular soulpolishing session? After a quick spiritual work-out splashing about in the Blood of the Lamb for hygienic purposes there followed the thin piping of childish trebles (under the threat of physical violence) giving voice to such humiliating incantations as

The daily round, the common task, Should furnish all I ought to ask.

Hymns like this are out of date. Nowadays the opium of the people is peddled not by the pie-in-the-sky merchants, but by that arch priest of the Twentieth Century—the man with the white coat who plumbs the depths of your sewer-like psyche with Rorschach blots and a sweat-meter.

How has this modern tragedy come to pass? According to Lindner it is because we have been induced to warble the swan-song of adjustment.

At this juncture it is as well to realise that Lindner is using adjustment in a special sense; that of conforming to external pressure. Of course, he is entitled to do so, since he claims that it is in this sense that the dogma of adjustment is being preached as the Eleventh Commandment by every apostle of Authority whether robed as a priest, politician, teacher or psychiatrist. It is a pity, though, that he fails to make a more careful analysis of this maligned word as it leaves a hostile critic room to confuse the issue by accusing Lindner of having missed the point.

In its biological origins adjustment suggests successful adaptation to the demands of the environment. Darwin's evolutionary theory is often paraphrased as "survival of the fittest". But there are two vital points here which if glossed over leave the unwary with a fascist

*Prescription for Rebellion, by Dr. Robert Lindner, (Gollanez, 1954).

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philosophy. In the first place the Darwinian hypothesis is not concerned with the adaptations that the animal may learn to make in its lifetime. Such changes are of importance only to a Lamarckian. In the second place we are concerned now with social evolution. As a species Man has virtually ceased to evolve.

To illustrate the first point consider the evolution of the giraffe. Couched in naive terms "adjustment" suggests that when food was short those giraffes who "adjusted" to this pressure by growing long necks were able to survive by eating food out of reach of their competitors. This is not Darwin. According to Darwin the famine selected or favoured those giraffes who already possessed long necks due to chance heriditary factors. These fortunate individuals survived to reproduce the next generation of giraffes who tended to be long-necked like their parents. And so on until we arrive at the present stage of the species where neck-length has reached an optimum for survival.

It was Lamarck who suggested that acquired characteristics could be transmitted to offspring. This alternative hypothesis has to meet two objections. First, it is unnecessary. It explains nothing that is not met by the Darwinian theory, a process which we know occurs—we observe and employ it in stock-breeding. Second, there is no known process by which acquired characteristics can influence the germ plasm and thus directly pass on these characteristics to offspring.

There is a marginal case to be considered: that of the giraffe who does

grow a longer neck under environmental pressure and passes this capacity to show similar growth under similar pressure. But it is the latent capacity and not the developed characteristic that is passed on. That is to say, without the additional environmental pressure its offspring will appear short-necked.

Mark well also, in the Darwinian scheme it is not the "normal" member of the species who is selected, but the eccentric. We shall return to this point

This account of the evolutionary process is all very well while we are considering animals earlier in the phylogenetic scale than Man. But, and it is a big but, whereas the lower animals have most of their behaviour already built into them at birth Man is unique in having to learn all his behaviour other than the simple reflexes like breathing, sucking, defecating, etc.

This alters the whole picture radically. The important aspects of Man's behaviour which has enabled him to dominate the Earth are not transmitted biologically. No longer are we considering a species that adapts to its environment generation by generation. Here we have a unique form of life which adapts the environment to itself!

When the Ice Age descended many species which had hitherto been highly successful were blotted out because of their physiological limitations. Man, a warm-blooded mammal, survived, not by virtue of his physiological capacity, but because he learned to use fire. Faced with a hostile environment he bent it to his needs.

By the same token, while the rest of the animal world went on grubbing for its food on the offchance, Man domesticated livestock and developed agriculture, and was no longer at the mercy of seasonal fortune to the same extent. These advances also left him more time to sit around thinking up further bright ideas.

Which brings us to the second main point in the evolutionary story. One of the bright ideas hit upon by pre-historic Man was that of living in a society. It was safer and more efficient. Joint enterprises prospered in ways that were denied to the solitary individual. Larger creatures that would have slaughtered the lone hunter were themselves slain. Divison of labour made life much easier.

Societies, like a new species, flourished in a myriad forms. Each grew, blossomed, competed, withered and eventually perished, giving rise to and being replaced by more virile variations, which in turn gave way to yet more viable sorts. Carried away by the power and success of the Darwinian hypothesis in the biological sphere many casual observers thought they saw a parallel in the field of social evolution. "Survival of the Fittest' became a slogan to justify the exploitation of the unlucky by a privileged minority. Competition was and still is extolled to the discredit of co-operation, despite the fact that the fundamental advantage of any society lies in its co-operative aspect.

Drawing comparisons is often a very fruitful approach, but noting similarities is only half the game and it is quite as essential not to overlook the differences. The evolutionary parallel conceals a vital difference.

Man has created his social environment and can destroy or remake it at his will. There is no earthly reason why he should adjust himself to it rather than adapt it to him. Societies were developed by Man for Man. The fact that he has so often failed to produce a culture that meets all his needs is due to his ignorance and the complexity and delicacy of the problems involved.

There is no argument for denying his needs and trying to cut the man to fit the coat. Now that anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, political economists, cyberneticists and the rest of the army of social scientists have laid bare so much of the structure of society we are in an unprecedented position to cut the coat to fit the man. No doubt there remains some latitude as to whether we prefer a sports jacket, hacking jacket or lumber jacket, but only the chronically insane will make a bee-line for the counter handing out off-the-peg strait inclusts.

There is one interesting way in which the parallel between the two sorts of evolution does hold. In the biological process it is not the normal or average member of the species who is responsible for evolutionary progress. The development of a species depends on the variations from the norm which occur sporadically. For the most part these sports or mutations are less viable than the standard product, but occasionally an abnormal individual turns out to be a distinct improvement on the old model and eventually replaces it. Every society has its nonconformists, too, and although most of these eccentrics must prove to be barking up the wrong tree the fact remains that it is from among these social mutations that the future society will develop its norm.

(To be concluded)

The Spirit of Contradiction

IT was quite frequent in the eighteenth century to mention strange customs from which a lesson could be learned as actually being practiced in a Pacific island, in China or Japan. To the lastmentioned country belongs the following which is, however, of twentieth century vintage. It was introduced by a shrewd Prime Minister and apparently came to a finish when he died. Instead of condemning his opponents to death or long terms of imprisonment he brought to bear upon them a little persuasion and then, according to how intelligent their opposition had been, he gave them responsible and well-paid jobs in some government service, with the result that he soon had no opposition to worry about.

Se non è vero è ben trovato. It would be interesting to see this system tried out in some Western country. Perhaps it would be a little too successful or would obviously tend to prove the old reactionary theory according to which revolutionists are men with abilities beyond their status, and ambition beyond both. Integrity, high principles and ideas thrive in penury and failure as in their natural ground, but have a way of withering quickly when rewarded with prosperity and success. The fanatic, of course, thanks to the cancerous condition of his mind, is ever incorruptible, but he is not such a common type as he appears to be. The so-called fanatic to-day is not so much a man of faith as a man only too realistic in his long-view appraisal of the strength of the organization he serves, and of the punishment it metes out to traitors and deserters.

The anarchist movement being what it is and not as it is painted by a certain fiction, the fanatical type is not often to be found in its midst. It has the privilege, on the other hand, of harbouring the type who, aware of the dangers of prosperity and success, does his best to keep the movement or the little group to which he belongs in a permanent state of inactivity and frustration with plenty of ostensible reasons and some secret satisfaction of a sadistic-masochistic kind.

Most anarchists, however, are not of this type, and if temperament more than reason and faith made them join the movement, the bases of it are broad and healthy. For many, in fact, anarchism is but another name for rebellion and I don't know of any issue, except Franco's rising in 1936, in which anarchists did not show sympathy for the rebels and hostility to those rebelled against as though it were axiomatic not only that authority is always wrong but also that any breach of authority must be right.

AN anarchist, however old in years, remains a rebel, sometimes only nostalgically so, in theory if not in practice, in sedate sentiment when not in

emotional fire. As adolescence is the period when one is most consciously and protractedly rebellious there is some truth in saying that anarchists are adolescent, and as between the age of two and three there is a markedly negativistic period. In that also there may be truth. But a fixation needs not be taken as the core of a neurosis. The child is the father of the adult, and any adult style of life is a fixation, albeit strengthened by conscious selection and made elastic by integration to other less pronounced elements in the psyche.

An intelligent government (and I mean by that a government that sees beyond politics into history past and future) should always make sure that there are anarchists among the governed. According to Vico, who certainly had a sense of history, a government must conform to the nature of the governed, and it is in the nature of at least some of the governed to be rebellious. There is intelligence in the institution of Her Majesty's Opposition, but there would be far more in taking into account all those interests and trends that cannot or will not be turned into an institution. The government that does not admit rebellion either in the rational or the natural order of things is bound to concentrate predominantly on measures of repression, and that gradually makes it indifferent to history, to society and mankind. According to the extent it concentrates on repression it justifies the anarchist objection to government, enhances the social and historical value of rebellion, and if Spirit is the need for new men to create new forms of life it makes rebellion the only way by which Spirit can act.

One old Anarchist to Another

"It was at Morrells that I once met Charlie Chaplin. He found it difficult, I think, to preserve his natural cheerfulness amidst the habitual gloom of the Bloomsburyites who formed the rest of the party, but his spirit was more than equal to these adverse conditions: he was not one to be silenced and he had the hearty backing of his hostess to count on.

While he was speaking on social conditions in a strain which seemed to me familiar and sympathetic, I was impelled to slap him on the back, saying 'Charlie, why, you're nothing but a dear old anarchist!' Recovering, he replied, 'Yes, that's about it'."

Augustus John in Chiaroscuro (Cape, 1952, 30s.).

Spirit hates uniformity or, to leave Spirit alone, each man has his own will, and as long as he remains a man he has a say in the choice of the ends he will pursue and in the means more suitable to their realization. This does not exclude co-operation or temporary acceptance of another's will for authority has a natural foundation in authorship. But individual autonomy is the basis of consent, and consent is the cement of societies and the link between generations. Prompted by reason or love, consent prevents the autonomy and diversity of wills from becoming mutually destructive. Love and reason are the specifically human way that harmonizes separate wills and develops life on an ever increasing multiplicity of planes.

But consent cannot be commanded. Rebellion sets in when wills are excluded from creativeness of love and reason, or from the enjoyment of the good things of life that owe their existence to love and reason. Rebellion sets in also when a will is denied full use of reason and choice in the objects and modes of its love. Thus freedom of choice is fundamental, and often seems to an impatient and narrow-sighted eye the greatest obstacle in the way of social peace and cohesion.

The best, as the saying goes, is the enemy of the good, because the best is not but is ever to come, and what is given as best is fraud or self-deception. Fortunately the good is also enemy of the best and never allows it to have the last word. The struggle in our times is more between best and good, than between good and evil. Good finally contradicts good, and it is good it is so because lack of contradiction would be the end of spirit, and it is by contradiction that the most finely adjusted balances and the richest harmonies are sustained. There can be a single and unopposed direction only where inertia reigns supreme, and inertia, whatever its lures, works with death and for death. To reach the beatitude of inertia the contradiction is never solved, but often killed. If spirit, on the other hand, were something quantitative and measurable that person could be said to have most

Continued on p. 3

THE BADGE OF SLAVERY

THE modern State is geared to war, its citizens are prepared for war by propaganda and military training and its total economy depends on war. The nightmare world of "1984" becomes more of a reality as man's best motives are distorted to fit him into the military machine and goad him into fighting his fellow men. In this bogus 'fight for freedom' liberties are withdrawn. The conscript is the unwilling pawn in this game of fortune played by the political leaders and industrialists. He finds himself forced willy-nilly into a conflict, which he barely understands. In fact, any original thought about his problems is discouraged by authority. On clothing himself in uniform he becomes a number and loses even that most simple of freedoms to dress and wear his hair as he wishes.

Objectors to conscription on religious grounds stand some chance of gaining exemption, those on humanitarian or political grounds very little. The reason is that the dangerous rebel Jesus Christ has now been dead almost two thousand years. Now he has become the monopoly of the bourgeoisie who ensure that the revolutionary aspects of the Christ myth are carefully obscured. Humanitarian feeling, such an essential part of man's make-up, is already weakened by the morals of an acquisitive society and it does not take much of the hate propaganda (based on all the racial and sexual prejudices and frustrations) to drive it underground.

The liberty of the individual man is not a mere talking-point, a plank in a political programme. Pitchforked into a strange world, at the mercy of a social system he had no hand in shaping, man's

only ultimate possession, his body, is forced into the drill-hall and the barracks or else the jail. "The mind is its own place and of itself can make a hell of heaven, a heaven of hell." Man's future lies with that rebellious spirit, Promethean, undaunted, which ever resists tyranny.

The war-resisters are on their own. The pacifist movements have gone soft, addle-pated, addicted to politics. The causes of war go deeper than the ballot-box can change and are inextricably bound up with the economy, the cult of leadership and the State. Befogged by non-essentials youth lets itself be drilled into obedience.

To be realistic the Anarchist appeal must be an anti-war one. This stand can only be based on a revolutionary awareness of the decaying society in which war is the chronic disease. Resistance to war is the most positive position we can take up now. It is an affirmation of human solidarity and the most effective means of asserting our belief in freedom. In Rome, Spartacus and his fellows revolted against slavery. In Russia there are hints of strikes and rising. In the Western world our aim should be to prevent the mad gallop to war, which would increase our slavery and put our masters more firmly in power. Witch-hunting for the unorthodox continues and conscription is still enforced. An end to this can only come when the peoples of the world recognise conscription of any kind as the real 'badge of slavery' and realise that the miseries of ignorance and servitude can be swept away by that upsurge of the human spirit which eventually unseats all tyrants. F.T.

Predom

Vol. 15, No. 13 March 27, 1954

A D E E E E E

STRAWS IN THE WIND

FLSEWHERE in this issue notice is taken of pronouncements by the United States Foreign Secretary and of high ranking politicians in England and France on the question of war. Mr. Dulles spoke of "decisive blows with weapons of our choosing" which can scarcely be other than atomic bombs, and another article on Page One discusses the features of atomic war which are beginning to emerge. These pronouncements indicate that men like Dulles and Lord Alexander are expecting war, and show that they are not afraid to anticipate its nature also.

Dulles' conception of instant retaliation in overwhelming force is essentially the same as Lord Alexander's of "an opening phase of unparalleled intensity lasting a few weeks or perhaps only days in which both sides would use the atomic bomb". This is all very plausible no doubt, but it is not so very many years since we heard it before, and that was not for the first time either. There is a kind of pattern in self-deception about "the coming war" which ought by now, surely, to put us on our guard.

In 1914 public figures were convinced that it would all be over by Christmas. Before 1939 there were many books and prophecies about the "blitzkrieg", the lightning war of tremendous decisive shocks which were to give early victory to one side or the other. Yet the war of 1939 in fact began with the prolonged nine months of so-called "phoney war", and even then the decisive victory of Germany over France did not shorten the war. Despite even more decisive weapons, the war in Korea managed to drag itself out for 3 years. Clearly there is something wrong with this conception of brief, intensive, decisive wars.

So far, indeed, the German Army is the only one which has actually employed the conception of decisive strokes at the beginning yet the Schlieffen Plan of 1914 which sought to overrun France had as its main object the removal of an active Western Front so that the war against Russia could be developed more freely. And the successful application of a similar strategy in the summer of 1940 had the same intention—to free one front so that strength could be concentrated in another.

Even in its only historical examples therefore the idea of decisive blows is not correlated with that of a short war. Indeed Lord Alexander does go on to envisage the settling down to what we have come to know as a "war-economy": "if it were not decisive then there would follow an intermittent struggle gradually spreading world-wide . . . "

The idea of quick immensely savage wars really arises from regarding war as simply a matter of strength in materials and the desire to win. We have to reiterate that to regard it in this way is wholly unhistorical and completely fails to take note of the other and, we venture to think, more important aspect of war, its economic function. Looked at from a distance the prolongation of the Korean War seems very difficult to understand. But when one correlates it with economic conditions and with such indications of production as unemployment figures (a recent article in FREEDOM did just this) the length of the war begins to have meaning and significance.

The differing attitude of British and Friench governments to German rearmament probably springs from similar considerations. For the newspapers the French can "never

MOONSTRUCK MILITARISTS

THIS is the age of science fiction, the imagination of the frustrated little "man in the street" roves outward into space in an effort to escape the claustrophobia of our shrinking world. It is not only the inhabitants of the United States who feel the effects of "the closing of the frontier". A world completely explored is indeed drab, hence the popularity of "The Kontiki Expedition" and "Exploration Fawcett". This is of course no new situation. In fact travel and adventure have been denied to the majority of men in all ages for many different reasons. But the state of affairs at present has probably reached the limit, with the whole world opened up and no new continents to conquer, no Eldorados to discover.

So civilised man turns his attention spacewards. Here as in the Middle Ages imagination can wander freely, many science fiction stories bear a strange resemblance to fairly tales, and the stories of Sir John Mandeville, who even in his own superstitious age was denounced as a "most robust liar". Equal in popularity to the science fantasy are the genuinely scientific accounts of future space voyages, written in a sober style (without Martians, etc.) as if they had actually happened. They are to be found in quite a number of fairly reasonable magazines, and can be taken seriously.

Quite recently I came across a back number of a well-known pictorial magazine, and found a quite interesting article on the first visit to the moon, set within the next twenty-five years. After describing the arrival and the settling in of the expedition, the author goes on to tell us with some enthusiasm of the various possibilities of lunar colonisation.

forget" the German invasion and occupation of their territories, but the British appear to have much shorter and more callous memories. What the newspapers do not speak of (outside those financial columns read only by a handful of the press' public) is the economic side of German re-armament. Germany as an industrial power is a much more serious competitor for industrial Britain than for agricultural France. And in peacetime the more German factories are developed to arms production, the less are available to compete for British markets. Similarly the intention to "control" German re-armament, proclaimed to be to prevent the re-appearance of German militarism, no doubt carries with it the power to control German competition.

These are the considerations which link war to peace and which make the transitions between them orderly and seemingly inevitable. If it is accepted that war is part of our social and economic life, then one gets away from the idea that "we" or "they" choose war, decide to make war. Instead it appears an inevitable outcome of the system of production for a market. If this is accepted, the way is open to remove war by removing its causes. But such a way of looking at war-it is also a way of looking at peace-leads straight to revolutionary conceptions of society and economy.

When the atomic physicists approached the allied governments with the idea that an atomic bomb was a possibility, they were no doubt actuated by the idea that such a bomb were better in the hands of the democracies than in those of the Nazis. But their idea has become a Frankenstein indeed, and is really a product of war-acceptance, a mentality which drives one down a road where rational choice is more than ever excluded. Already it is pointed out in Parliamentary discussion that civilian morale in war is as powerful a factor as military morale, and that the generals now look at civilians and their ability to take it with the same eye that studies the troops. Such an idea (foreshadowed in "1984") is of course absolutely totalitarian in its conception: yet it is entirely consistent with the necessities of war.

From whatever angle the problem is approached therefore it becomes plain that rational human choice is only to be recovered outside of the institution of war and the society that feeds, needs, and uses it.

"The possibilities," he says, "are exciting. Support we turn up a great store of raw materials; maybe then we'll want to recommend setting up a permanent community. We can make it practically self-supporting, securely encased inside a great plastic dome with its own synthetic atmosphere. Such an establishment could serve as a superb scientific laboratory—especially for astronomy and for research work requiring a vacuum; as a springboard for further ventures into space (if we can manufacture our own fuel on the moon, which is a possibility, we can make tremendous savings in the launching of a space ship); perhaps as a military base (the moon would be fine for launching military rockets, but hard to hit from the earth.")

I quote this paragraph in full because it is necessary to get the full flavour of it. The striking and terrible thing about it is its calm matter of fact air. Obtaining raw materials and developing supervacuum cleaners are urbanely and gently bracketed with launching rockets to obliterate cities, to burn and blast the bodies of their inhabitants, at least such of them as survive the explosion of the atomic warhead, with which the rocket will probably be equipped. One stands aghast.

It is terrifying to think that a man can easily write this, and that his fellow citizens can read it, taking it in their stride as it were, treating it as if it were something to be taken for granted. It may have aroused protests. The paper from which the quotation is taken may for all I know have been bombarded by indignant letters. But I doubt it. A popular paper will never go far from the desires of the type of reader at whom it is aimed. It cannot afford to take any serious risks. I do not think that it is unfair to say that the majority of people would accept that frightful paragraph, whether they thought about it or not. Most would, and probably did, just read

International Anarchist Holiday Camp

Anarchists in Italy organized a holiday camp last year which proved a success. Another is being organized for this year, and comrades in Carrara are looking for a suitable site. The camp will be open from July 1st to August 31st. In the words of the organizers "This appeal of ours is especially addressed to non-Italian comrades, because the young are keen on establishing solid international contacts in view of a concordant renascence of world anarchism." In conjunction with the camp efforts are made to organize a library and an exhibition of anarchist press. Any English or other comrade wishing to spend his Summer Holidays in Italy together with other European anarchists is asked to write for information and details to: ALDO Rossi, via Marco Tabarrini, 40, Roma, (Italy).

it and pass on without considering it at

Struck by the oddness of this indifference to the butchery of one's fellowmen, I go to the psychological dictionary. "A schizoid", it tells me, "a personality type, tending towards dissociation of the emotional from the intellectual life, a shut-in personality."

I do not know how far our author can be said to be "a shut-in personality", but he and his readers may certainly be regarded as suffering from schizophrenia, even if only (as yet) in a mild form. It is one of the most important and serious mental diseases of our civilisation, and everyone suffers from it. Here we have people who can regard slaughters that would have horrified a Genghiz Kahn or a Tamerlane as interesting and (Heaven help us!) as "exciting possibilities". "The moon would be fine for launching military rockets, but hard to hit from the earth." If this is not "dissociation of the emotional from the intellectual life" please tell me what is! And just a small point, the various butchers of humanity, the great warriors and conquerors, took the same risks as the common soldiers, in fact they could not have held their

position long had they not done so. In the world of to-morrow however a group of scientists will be able to sit secure in their lunar citadel and pepper the Earth with the various theories about the havoc supposed to have been caused when the moon was drawn into the Earth's gravitational field. Whatever truth there may be in these wild theories, there is no doubt that the moon has long been regarded as something rather sinister and romantic. But it will be nothing in comparison to the superstitious awe and horror with which our descendents, or rather the descendents of the survivors of the atomic war, will regard the satellite. No doubt they will have been reduced to complete savagery by then.

One can imagine them gazing in fear at the sky, watching the progress of the moon across the heavens, waiting for the rockets to come roaring down to destroy them, as happened in their forefathers' time. One can imagine the weird rites and sacrifices to propitate the harmless satellite that will be offered at the time of each new moon.

Such speculations may seem fantastic, but they are nothing like so fantastic as the schizophrenic attitude of the writer of this article and of the people who read it.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

India's Philosophy of Life

Some remarks made by John Seymour in a Third Programme talk and printed in The Listener of March 11th, may interest readers of FREEDOM.

Mr. Seymour attended an Indian Government school training officers to run the new Community Projects Scheme. Everyone at the school showed considerable fervour to do good by works, but there was a fundamental difference of opinion as to what sort of action to take. The majority of the students wished to see India develop, in a modified way, along the lines of the Industrial Revolution. The followers of Gandhi wished to avoid western materialism. Not only were they divided on what sort of action to take, but, more important, they were divided on what to take action for.

This debate, said Mr. Seymour, "seems of far greater importance to Indians than the dispute between the capitalists and the communists of the west. The great issue in India is not the issue between capitalism and communism; but the issue between capitalism and communism; but the issue between capitalism and communism, on the one hand, and the ancient Indian non-materialistic philosophy on the

"The first aim of both capitalism and communism is said by their adherents to be to end poverty. This can be done, it is thought, by creating more material wealth, or by distributing more fairly the material wealth which already exists."

We may well doubt that the methods of capitalism or communism are directed to such aims, but the follower of Gandhi has different ideas in any case, for "he is not interested in ending poverty—at least, in what we in the west are apt to call poverty. He wants everyone to have enough to eat of course, enough and no more, but he agrees with that other Asian who made the simile between a rich man and a laden camel."

It is a grave error, no doubt, to underestimate the evil effects of grinding poverty, and we must hope that these Indians will not do this. But their wisdom in looking askance at materialist doctrines is an oasis of hope in a world largely corrupted by the race for material gain.

"The Indian who looks towards Mos-

cow or Washington wishes above all to

mechanise agriculture." His opponent

"freely admits that an acre of land can

be ploughed in fewer man-hours if ploughed by a tractor, but . . . he does not see any advantage in saving manhours in the village, if all the result is that nine-tenths of the ploughmen are to be forced away from their homes, to go into the towns and, presumably, spend their lives producing more tractors. And he is obsessed with the old idea . . . that the ends never justify the means. If, for the laudable end of relieving hunger, it is necessary for even one man to spend a part of his life at a factory bench, or down a mine, and if these are not good ways for a man to spend part of his life, then there is no more to besaid about the matter. One must endure. hunger. Or, better of course, if it is possible, find some other way of relieving it. And of course, your Gandhian does want to abolish hunger. It is his first aim. But he thinks that this can be done by improving farming and village life in other ways than by mechanisation. A man can walk all day behind a plough and a pair of oxen, and, if he is not in debt or in trouble, his mind will be at peace. And if he wishes to do so, he can think and meditate. But no man can stand at a conveyor belt in a factory and meditate. Nor can he enjoy real peace of mind when he gets home. Then the Gandhian insists that whatever he

"The first thing which surprised me was the prevalence of this Gandhian way of thinking. And my first reaction to it was one of resistance. I have always disliked colour-prejudice, and I felt that for a coloured nation to enter world politics as a Great Power might do a lot to break this down. And to become a Great Power India must mechanise and industrialise. Then, as I wandered further and thought more, I remembered the behaviour of the existing Great Powers, and I began to realise that India could best assert her superiority by not becoming a Great Power."

uses shall have been made by a crafts-

man who enjoyed making it: not by

somebody who made it in boredom,

simply for commercial gain."

"I began to remember what was happening to my own country under the impact of modern commercialism and industrialism. I remembered the culture
in which music is something which dribbles out of a loudspeaker when you turn
on a tap, and in which art is an advertisement for hair-cream; where work
means standing and watching a machine,
and leisure sitting watching somebody
else play football."

"I argued with my Indian friends about it, always at first taking the western point of view. I pointed out that in Mozart's day, music was for the few, now, thanks to the wireless, it is available for the many." An Indian asked "What do the 'many' actually listen to? What will you hear coming from wireless sets as you walk along the streets of any city in the world?"

The Spirit of Contradiction

Continued from p. 2

of it who could best accept contradictions and keep serene.

*

A PPARENT as the rôle of contradiction may be in other fields it is not so in the field of education. To the objection which contains its part of truth that parents who constantly quarrel and disagree have a very bad effect on their children it must be answered that when there is perfect agreement among those in authority and with power to enforce it the child is hardly given the chance to think out for himself what is right and what is wrong, and if ever he should he would have to keep his thoughts to himself because he knows he would be alone and immediately squashed if he attempted to struggle. Guilt feelings would develop in him in connection with the very act of thinking for himself, and it would take him a long time as an adult to conquer the anxiety he would experience each time circumstances forced him to make a decision for which he would be alone responsible. Inner conflict resulting from different standards the child absorbs from the persons in charge of his education is usually regarded as an abnormal and morbid condition, but even more so must be a psyche with no conflicts, with no clashes even between masculine and

feminine trends such as are normally induced by the different sex of the parents.

It does not follow, however, that contradiction must be sought and cultivated for its own sake. Awareness of its importance almost unconsciously creates sometimes the habit of resorting to it on each occasion we are confronted with the products or the pressure of somebody else's will, and such habit generally turns out to be beneficient because everything can do with a corrective, and an obstacle is always a challenge that offers the possibility of further development. But contradiction should aim at resolution, at integration. The zone of battle between two wills or two intelligences should be turned into a zone of mutual understanding, co-operation and coexistence. There must be reasons, motives and aims on which to base contradiction as genuine and important as those it stands against. When this is not the case contradiction is still spirit but spirit in its poorest form. It still defends the autonomy of an individual but the value of this autonomy depends on what the individual lives for. Rather than die, when finding nothing to live for, spirit lives for the sake of contradiction; in its inability to commune and be vivified it still serves as a means for spirit in other persons to be strengthened and vivified.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

Continued on p. 4

HOMOSEXUALITY

I see the article by "Psychologist" has been countered by "Clinical Psychologist". I wondered briefly if One-upmanship had found it way into the columns of FREEDOM! As a humble electronic Engineer my views on the psychology of this matter must weigh very lightly in the balance, but one or two commonsense points occur to me. I would for example, while noting that at least Psychologist's article was written in a factual and dispassionate tone, repudiate the remarks by both of them on "curing" or "treating" homosexuality. It seems perfectly satisfactory to me to accept it simply as a sexual variation. Compared with most of the things with which men and women may seek to enrich their lives, consenting homosexuality, male or female, seems unusually free of social implications-less than what they think or say or write and certainly less than any heterosexual relationships which they may establish. Behind most of the the second must be reversed! opposition to homosexuality is distaste at anal coitus, and most people, including probably ourselves, use the two expressions as synonymous. That they are not follows, of course, not only from the existence of female homosexuality, but also from the fact that (according to Kinsey) coitus is present in only a minority of these male relationships. Also according to Kinsey, anal coitus is resorted to occasionally by some married couples as a source of variety, and he also points out that the anus is even richer in nerve endings than the deep vagina. So that the hedonists, at least, have a case!

It is clear that the same problem which must be faced-arises as for heterosexual coitus, that if there is too great a physical disparity between the partners (due to age differences for instance) physical damage will unquestionably result. Since one assault-and it would be assault in the exact sense of the word-by an adult on a child is presumably an act of desperation, such would be non-existent (or

nearly so) if the adult had an adequate outlet-homosexual if necessary-freely available. Any adult who in these circumstances, and being fully acquainted with the harm he would do, would persist in seeking coital relations with young children would be so lacking in sense of proportion as to invite psychiatric attention. This is where the idea of a "cure" acquires some meaning.

Mr. Leadbitter's contribution is a little surprising for the columns of FREEDOM, and I am led to wonder if he is a regular subscriber. I seem to detect the influence of a recent Anglican pamphlet on homosexuality (which is commendable for the distance it goes when one considers the Christian past in this matter) in his drawing of the distinction between the practiser (who must be "helped") and the practise (which must be suppressed). I can only say that to me it seems that to accomplish the first

As for his remarkable assertion that the "purpose of sex" is reproduction, not gratification, I have done a little computation based on Kinsey's figures and some intelligent guesses about countries which

haven't been Kinseyed. Each week, in this big wide world of ours, seething with human bodies from Seattle to Hong Kong, there must be at least 1,000 million heterosexual coituses, several thousand million kisses, perhaps a hundred million masturbations to orgasm, perhaps ten million homosexual experiences to orgasm, maybe a million instances of anal coitus, to say nothing of the muscle power expended in caresses. The total nerve currents involved all over the world at any instant must be several amps! If Mr. Leadbitter thinks that all this hard work is going on solely to produce a million babies each week (mostly unwelcome) then the efficiency of the whole business must be called in question. Perhaps for a start we should go back to the biologically natural practise of vaginal entrance from the rear, which greatly increases the chance of fertilization but which Mr. Leadbitter probably regards as a perversion!

No. Mr. Leadbitter, for people to enjoy themselves in ways that do not harm other people or themselves is, without any qualification whatsoever and in the words of "1066 And All That", a Good

COMPUTER PSYCHOLOGIST. Manchester, Mar. 15.

HAVE had several brickbats heaved at me, and as I am unscathed I should like to return to the fray in an endeavour to make some of the points in my letter

However libertarian our attitude to society may be, and however much we favour the freedom of the individual, we cannot overlook the famous "frailty of human nature". Whether we believe the Ten Commandments were inspired or invented, it is obvious they are a social cement; Elton Trueblood's book, "The Foundations of Civilization" illustrates this. It is certain that the disregard of these basic moral rules would, (and, of course, does), result in a great deal of individual and social misery. If Mr. Gamble is a true libertarian, how

can he suggest support for changes in particular point.

"Psychologist", we need no "over-

Exeter, Mar. 20. M. A. LEADBITTER.

Money or Wealth?

HOPE I shall not be dismissed as deviationary if I suggest that Comrade Nicholson's article "Money or Wealth" in last week's issue of FREEDOM gives a rather too facile analysis of the cause of economic ills. I share his disgust at the idiotic waste of the productive powers of mankind in wars and artificial restraints, and because I agree that men will not be free from hunger and cruelty until this waste is stopped, and because I think that this is one of the primary evils of this time, I am convinced that we must be certain that our fight is based in the truth, and that some temporary disunity is preferable to tilting at imaginary, or at least secondary, windmills.

In fact, I believe that the idea of the 'moniacs' the financial wizards, using algebraic (sic!) manipulations to make the price of a cabbage fluctuate between a farthing and a fortune is, like the Nazi image of the Jewish threat to Aryandom, and Mr. McCarthy's subversive underminers of the American way of life, one more example of the mass projection of irrational fears on to a convenient scapegoat.

Is it not true to say that capitalism is a wasteful economic system, leading to hunger, cruelty and other evils, which is defended by the owners of wealth because it gives them advantages over those without property and because they fear other consequences of the over-

throw of capitalism? But these owners are not a few financial wizards; they form a large, perhaps a major, part of the world's population-including every peasant owning an inadequate plot of land, every shopkeeper who has borrowed enough money to stock his shop, every man whose savings are invested in insurance companies, building societies and government loans, who by their ownership of wealth gain some small advantage over those who have none, as well as the few whose way of life is changed beyond recognition by their control of companies and estates. And those whose advantage is small will cling to it as strongly as the few of great wealth because they are so close to the plight of those without property.

If this picture is accepted, the task appears no longer to be the violent overthrow of 'moniac' tyrants, but the peaceful persuasion of a large part of mankind-and methods appropriate to one task will be useless for the other.

In conclusion, I think the weekly paid worker is very conscious that he works for the things that money buys-it is surely capital owners who work for money itself-and most workers have often scratched their heads and long ago decided that things make so little sense that living from week to week is the only reality, and the football pools the only hope.

M.S.F.

Malatesta Club The and water rates, etc.

Kent.

We publish below the latest list of contribution to the foundation fund for the Malatesta Club, and also a balance sheet to show income and expenditure to date.

Please note that the total of £95. 15. 0. includes a total of £14. 7. 0. paid as subs by existing members and associate members, and this has to be kept in hand against next month's rent and the regular outgoings we shall incur as soon as we open—rent of electrical applicances, rates

The foundation fund is still nearly £20 short of our original minimum target of

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED:

London: T.G. £2; K.L. 10/6; W.S. £5; J.B. £3/1/0; R.S. 2/-; Worthing: R.G.A. Total £10 18 6

Previously acknowledged £70 9 6

GRAND TOTAL £81 8 0

India's Philosophy of Life Continued from p. 3

"The 'many', at least, had a living folk ised canned drivel. Good music is available over the wireless for all, but only the 'few' listen to it: the same 'few' who listened to it before, only then they played it themselves, or listened to their friends playing it. And a live dog is better than a deal lion, any day. The living music of India, I discovered, is music that people make themselves, or listen to their friends making. It is not something that comes out of a machine when you turn on a tap. That is dead music."

"In short, the impact which India made on me, against my strong resistance, was to make me lose confidence in what we call progress in the west-even in our best sort of progress. I now find myself constantly asking as I heard so many Indians ask, 'Progress-to what?' And of our famous efficiency, 'Efficiency -for what?"

"The question that one constantly hears in India is: 'Does such or such a

E. A. GUTKIND:

V. RICHARDS:

M. BAKUNIN:

Lessons of the Spanish

Neither East nor West

MARIE-LOUISE BERNERI:

Workers in Stalin's Russia

Vol. 2, 1952, Postscript to

SELECTIONS FROM FREEDOM

Marxism, Freedom and the State.

Vol. 1, 1951, Mankind is One

"The inuccu!" (commues Seymour). thing get you any nearer God?' I am an agnostic, but I know what Indians music before, now they have commercial- mean. They mean 'Does somethingprogress, efficiency, productivity, television, whatever it may be-does it get you any nearer to fulfilling yourself; to achieving a keener awareness of reality, or a better communion with the rest of humanity, or with the Infinite; to justifying in any way your being here?' And when I ask myself this question about so many of our western plays and institutions and apparatus, I have to answer in the negative."

"I believe that nine-tenths of the product of our western industry is not only useless but is harmful. It simply serves to distract men's minds. It were better had it not been made. Made, it were better if it were destroyed. Further, I believe that if our civilisation goes on developing along the road of commercialism and industrialism it will destroy itself, not by war, but by destroying men's minds. The impact of India on me has been to make me lose confidence in the present trend of my own cilivisation."

Art and the Evolution of Man 4s.

HERBERT READ:

the law whereby "deviant sexual modes may express themselves"; that is, whereby members of society may be freer to submit to a moral slavery? Does Mr. Gamble wish to destroy society individually and communally? The libertarian who has the true interests of society at heart must feel he could have hardly selected a more powerful weapon. It is interesting to speculate what the views of Leo Tolstoy might have been on this

officious" people to demonstrate our moral health by sniffing out abnormalities, as such persons are as morally sick as their victims. The strength of society lies in the sum total of individual moral fibres. This is the dynamism which we must regard as subject to weakening and decay. It has been a characteristic of the great civilisations that periods of social progress and cultural development have coincided with an era of sexual restraint in society.

If we look to the advance of humanity, to the achievement of a non-coercive society, we must realise that this vice is characteristic of an adolescent temperament, of an immature community. Let us endure, therefore, that the spirit and outlook of society may be sufficiently enlightened to regard heterosexuality as characteristic of a mature, of a free people.

| INCOME AND | | | EXPENDITURE | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|------|-------------|-----|-----|---------|---------|---------|
| Contributions | | | 10 | | 911 | £ 81 | s. 8 | d. 0 |
| Subscriptions | ***** | | | | | 14 | 7 | 0 |
| | | | | | 117 | £95 | 15 | 0 |
| Cash at Bank | and | d in | Ha | and | | 19 | 11 | 5 |

Provision has been made for rates and future rent, and allowance made for subscriptions paid in advance.

Further capital expenditure estimated at some £40-£50 will be needed to equip the club with tables, cooking facilities, and crockery and kitchen utensils.

Cheques should be made payable to "The Malatesta Club" and crossed.

| for the period ended March 22, | 1954 | | |
|--------------------------------|----------|----|----|
| one of married time one | £ | s. | d. |
| Rent (4 weeks paid in advance) | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| Charge for carting away | | | |
| rubble | 8 | 5 | 0 |
| Electric wire and fittings, | | | |
| paint, distemper, brushes, | | | |
| and miscellaneous items | 27.10.00 | 15 | 0 |
| Drainage and water-supply | | | |
| pipes | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| Plumber | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Tubular electric space heaters | | | |
| (4, secondhand) | 1 | 16 | 0 |
| Timber | 8 | 17 | 11 |
| Chairs (10 at 11/-) | 22 | 0 | 0 |
| Stationery | | 6 | 8 |
| Sundry expenses | | 2 | 0 |
| Balance | 19 | 11 | 5 |
| | | | |

KAVANAGH MAT

IT is with deep regret—and this is no pious sentimentality—that I heard the news of our dear comrade's death. The tribute by John Hewetson was movingly and grandly written, because it was true to the character of Mat: his cheerfulness, his tolerance and his sincere convictions for the cause of freedom.

What can one say? Only a fortnight ago I sent him a fair supply of literature to ease the lack of contact with old friends; and how he did enjoy going over the past of his anarchist exploits. How too, one enjoyed every minute of his lively conversation on this topic, and never tired of his wit and vital interest in political developments throughout the world.

We wrote at add intervals of time to one another, and his letters always held for me great inspiration and practical commonsense. They were never very grammatical or even wholly legible towards the end, but they carried conviction and the honesty of one who scorned the conditioning of Authority and the whole mumbo-jumbo of political powerseeking and corruption.

I remember the first evening I saw him, at a Lancashire meeting. He was very happy in his anecdotes of anarchist tradition, and gave us a delightfully humorous picture of Labour and Communist careerists, eager to deny their previous Libertarian connections and past.

He must, indeed, have been a nightmare to those "safe" political leaders of the Labour Movement, whose early associations with Anarchism were to be erased from their memory, and from other memories, at all or any costs! Mat was the boy to remind them of certain principles which no amount of political opportunism could change or destroy. Their worship of mammon was not criticised as a religious deflection, but as a concrete fact, that they approved of the money system of buying and selling-

both commodities and human beingsand that the true community-purpose of living for each other, and for happiness and creative effort, was absent from every scrap of their mental and physical make-

Many of us stray off the path of Libertarian principles and fellowship, because, of course, we are human in an often very inhuman social environment. It is the facts of our failure that convince us of the needs for community effort and community feeling - but always as individuals.

Mat was always tolerant of others' failings as he admitted his own to be never ending! He was, however, downright critical of those who claimed the "Almighty" privilege of sending ordinary folk to their doom, in war and in political and economic slavery.

Indeed we have lost a dear friend, comrade and adviser in our Movement. May we remember his cheerfulness and his tolerance, but also never forget his deep convictions and struggle for a world of FREE MEN.

I would have his epitaph be: "TO MAT, WHO HAD GREAT HAPPI-NESS IN SEEKING FREEDOM FOR ALL MEN."

HENRY MOORHOUSE.

Aylesbury, Mar. 21.

Mat Kavanagh was as old or as young as the people he was talking to. He never used the old man's trick of falling back on his age and experience to make his point, or to crush his less experienced comrade.

There must be many like myself who did not know Mat well, but who feel that by his death, they have lost an old and well-loved friend.

PETER ANDERSON.

London, Mar. 19

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