"If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever."

-MACAULEY.

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Threepence

H-BOMB THEIR DEBATE

NOW WHAT?

THE much awaited Parliamenary debate on the H-bomb took place last Tuesday. It started as a damp squib; spluttered about halfway through the debate when the Prime Minister revealed the details of a secret agreement made with Roosevelt in Quebec in 1943; and ended in smoke and hot air. And the question that faces the people of this and all countries remains. When do the people overrule the scientists and the politicians and call a halt to this insane drive towards total destruction?

MR. ATTLEE'S speech for the opposition was uninspiring, and unconvincing; he fell over backwards in not offending either the Government or the American administration, and all he could offer as a practical suggestion was that the heads of the Big Three should get together to remove the imminent danger of an H-war from which only a "broken-back civilisation" would emerge. The rôle he assigns to the people in bringing the world to its senses was expressed in these terms:

"I believe the minds of the people all over the world are disturbed at this hydrogen bomb explosion . . . I think it is a world wide fear which will grow and should be encouraged to grow. I want every man and woman in the world to be actively aware of the danger they stand in-the danger that concerns civilisation. (Cheers) . . ."

But it is fear that prevents men and women from acting as responsible human beings; that made possible the concentration camps in Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia; that results in such phenomena as McCarthyism. Fear encourages despondency, and apathy, certainly not the determination and the respect for the dignity of the individual which alone will ensure that the horrors of new wars will be actively resisted.

IN his speech Mr. Attlee made quite clear his contempt for the people when he said: "There is a danger that people may chance making war in the belief that this

So what was the Fuss About?

IN Birmingham, the Corporation bus workers who resisted the idea of coloured workers being taken on as conductors and, eventually, as drivers, passed the buck by giving the city's Transport Committee the responsibility of deciding the issue.

In view of the rumpus the attempt at a colour bar had caused, the Committee could hardly do other than come out against it, and they announced that coloured workers would be taken onif they proved capable and suitable. This last proviso left it possible to re-

strict entry if the Committee thought fit. Now, however, the first Jamaican has started work as a bus conductor in Birmingham—and strange to say, there have been no riots, no raping on the bus routes (or at least not more than usual) and as far as we can see no unpleasantness at all.

The fact is, though, that it has been a private company-the "Midland Red"that has given the first chance to coloured workers on Birmingham's buses. The Corporation has yet to follow suit.

Bus conductors have to take a short training course. It will be very interesting to see whether West Indians show themselves perfectly capable of learning the job of conducting for the Midland Red, but not for the Corporation.

weapon will not be used, but the threat of its use is dangerous because it may provoke anticipation".

But "people" do not make wars. It is just those people who are herded into the armed forces by conscription laws, and who do the killing and the dying, who have the least say in the events that lead to war.

"I cannot think of any democratic statesman-continued Mr. Attlee-initiating this warfare, but one must always remember the difference between the democratic and authoritarian States. The advantage for unexpected action is always with the authoritarian States. The attack by the Japanese on the American Fleet was one thing. One cannot imagine a similar attack by Americans on the Japanese Fleet. Yet another suggestion is made—that the results of hydrogen warfare are so devastating that neither side will ever resort to it. I would like to believe it. The fact is that once there is an absolute war in the modern age, in the last resort, if the existence of a nation is at stake, any weapon will be used. We have seen it ourselves.

"No one could doubt, after reading 'Hitler's Last Days,' that even at the very end of that war, if he had had the atomic bomb, he would have used it. He would have used it even if there would have been retaliation, because he was completely reckless and anarchistic and would rather have seen absolute destruction if he failed to get his end. The danger here is obvious."

Was Roosevelt, in Mr. Attlee's opinion, "reckless and anarchistic" when he ordered the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at a moment in the war in the Far East

when Japanese political leaders were seeking terms for an armistice? On Mr. Attlee's argument, what devilish weapons might the Democracies have used in the last war if their "existence had been at stake"!

SINCE 1945 the two power blocs in the world have been engaged in a rearmament programme of stag-

gering proportions. It has been possible to pour man's energies and intelligence into perfecting these terrible weapons of destruction (at the expense of millions of human beings who are undernourished and starving), through a widespread propaganda based on fear. In the West the fear of Russian expansionism; in the East fear of American encirclement. But these are not the conditions that will determine the next world conflagration. They will be the justification, the excuse, but not the fundamental cause. The cause existed before Stalin or Hitler ever loomed on the horizon, or before man's twisted intelligence thought up the hydrogen bomb. For the cause of modern wars was, and still is, the injustice of our economic system. All the rest is a smoke-screen to hide this fundamenetal truth which, once the toiling masses of the world were to become aware of it, and act accordingly, would have repercussions more far reaching than the largest hydrogen bomb-but for the good, and not the destruction, of mankind.

Reich Persecutions The Lewiston Maine Daily Sun for Continue

Saturday, March 20, 1954, contains the following agency report:

PORTLAND, March 19-A.P.

A Federal judge to-day ordered a halt to distribution of "Orgone Accumulators" which Dr. Wilhelm Reich allegedly claims can funnel from the air cures for many ills, including atom war wounds.

Judge John D. Clifford, Jr., also ordered destruction of a dozen books or pamphlets distributed by The Wilhelm Reich Foundation of Rangely.

At the request of U.S. Dist. Atty. Peter Mills he also issued an injunction barring distribution of other printed matter unless representations pertaining to the existence of orgone energy and its accumulation by the accumulators are deleted.

The action stemmed from a U.S. Food and Drug Administration complaint in February. U.S. Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, Jr., said then that Dr. Reich claims he has discovered atmospheric phenomena which he calls "orgone energy", allegedly capable of being transmitted into human bodies by accumulators for sale and rent.

The attorney general said Dr. Reich claimed that Orgone energy helps in treatment and prevention of a wide variety of ailments ranging from colds and bruises to cancer, bone fractures and "the effects of atomic warfare".

Named in to-day's injunction were the Foundation, Dr. Reich and Ilse Ollendorff, clerk of the Foundation corpora-

The injunction ordered a stop to interstate shipment of the accumulator devices allegedly misbranded; that all such devices already shipped be recalled to Rangely and destroyed or dismantled; that purchasers destroy their devices.

The government claims the accumulators are misbranded because of false and misleading claims. It said that "Orgone energy, which supposedly accumulates

It will be recalled that Hayward

was 17 at the time these incidents

occurred. He joined the Kenya

Police Reserve at the age of 15 yrs.

8 months, although he represented

his age as 18. That the officials

should have been taken in about his

age seems quite extraordinary-per-

haps too extraordinary to be credi-

ble. But it is surely strange that

someone even of his supposed age

should have been in charge of the

conduct of interrogations of sus-

One cannot help wondering what

would have been the sentence if it

had been a Mau Mau torturing a

white official, for the death sentence

is easily dispensed in the Kenya of

1954. £25 is a small sum. Africans

may be wondering what a "technical

assault" means. There is something

very odd about a 'justice' which

fines white men small sums, but

hangs coloured men and women for

possessing so little as one round of

ammunition (see last week's FREE-

DOM). Especially when the accused

is an executive officer of the law

who might be supposed to have

been expected to act in an exemp-

lary fashion. Is one to think that

this is indeed the kind of example

which is held up to discontented

The Government are fond of

claiming that they are eliminating

the colour bar. Guchu may doubt

that, and so may the many Africans

who observed this trial. Is it too

much to say that the judgment is

almost a signal for the police to pro-

ceed without fear of serious

pects.

Africans?

criticism?

inside this box without any electrical or other energy connection, is alleged to enter the bodies of sick individuals who sit inside and thus effect curative results."

The Food and Drug Administration said extensive investigation has concluded that there is no such energy and the accumulators are worthless in treatment of disease.

The Foundation had 20 days from Feb. 13 to answer the complaint but Mills said no response was made.

Dr. Reich, a psychoanalyst, was associated for a time in Vienna with the famed Dr. Sigmund Freud.

Dr. Reich Replies

Wilhelm Reich, in fact, did answer the Court, and we print below a slightly abridged version of his Response.

"Love, work and knowledge are the well-springs of our life. They should also govern it."

RESPONSE

Regarding the Request of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to Enjoin the Natural Scientific Activities of Wilhelm Reich, M.D.

In order to clarify the factual as well as the legal situation concerning the complaint, we must, from the very beginning, distinguish concrete facts from legal procedure to do justice to the facts.

Technically, legally the US Government has filed suit against the natural scientific work of Wilhelm Reich.

Factually, the FDA is not "The US GOVERNMENT". It is merely one of its administrative agencies dealing with Foods, Drugs and Cosmetics. It is not empowered to deal with Basic Natural

ORGONOMY (see BIBLIOGRAPHY on the HISTORY OF ORGONOMY) is a branch of BASIC NATURAL SCIENCE. Its central object of research is elucidation of the Basic Natural Law.

Now, in order to bring into line the legal procedure with the above-mentioned facts, the following is submitted:

The common law structure of the UNITED STATES rests originally on Natural Law. This Natural Law has heretofore been interpreted in various ways of thinking, metaphysically, religiously, mechanistically. It has never concretely and scientifically, been subjected to natural scientific inquiry based upon a discovery which encompasses the very roots of existence.

The concept of Natural Law as the foundation of a secure way of life, must firmly rest upon the practical concrete functions of LIFE itself. In consequence, a correct life-positive interpretation of Natural Law, the basis of common law, depends on the factual elucidation of what Life actually is, how it works, what are its basic functional manifestations. From this basic premise derive the claims of natural scientists to a free, unmolested, unimpeded, natural scientific activity in general and in the exploration of the Life Energy in particular.

The complaint of the FDA is factually intimately interconnected with a basic social issue which, at present, is reverberating in the lives of all of us here and abroad.

Abraham Lincoln once said: "What I do say is that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. I say this is a leading principle, the sheet anchor of American republicanism."

Reich goes on to point out that people "whose aim it is to destroy human happiness and self-government" have to be restrained: "Is now the right of the conspirator to ravage humanity the same as my right to free, unimpeded inquiry? Obviously it is NOT THE SAME THING." And he then asserts the right of everyone to pursue free scientific enquiry, and denies all legal right to interfere with, or presume to direct, such enquiry.

No man-made law ever, no matter whether derived from the past or projected into a distant, unforeseeable future, can or should ever be empowered

Continued on p. 4

Kenya Police Officer Found Guilty FREEDOM has already commented "The judge also expressed concern at of Cruelty on the trial of a Kenya Police the failure of the two officers to make

Reserve Officer on a charge of torturing a Mau Mau suspect. The Times' Nairobi correspondent in a despatch dated April 4th describes the outcome:

"Barry Harvey Hayward, aged 17, a Kenya police reserve officer, of Nairobi screening camp, was fined £25 in the Nairobi Supreme Court on Saturday for a technical assault on a Mau Mau suspect during his interrogation at the

"His action in flicking lighted matches at the suspect after water had been poured over his head (the suspect had been told that it was paraffin) was described by Mr. Justice McDuff as a 'form of mental torture' and 'almost criminally silly.

"Sentence of two years' hard labour was passed on Guchu Gathiongo, a former Mau Mau leader, who worked with Hayward's screening team and who was found guilty of assault occasioning actual bodily harm on the suspect. He poured paraffin on the man's head and then set him on fire. The judge said to him: 'You are not wholly to bame, and possibly from the moral point of view others are even more to blame."

"After a probation officer had read a report on Hayward, the judge told the youth that he was extremely fortunate in the lenient view that the jury had taken of his activity in the incident. The judge said he appreciated that Hayward was a youth, and that there was another K.P.R. officer present senior in rank and service, and also that Hayward's part of the interrogation inflicted no bodily harm. 'On the other hand,' he said, 'you had the strictest orders from your superiors about ill-treatment of prisoners. You were the officer in charge. and you not only lacked moral courage to carry out your duty and stop this illtreatment but you even went so far as to join in with the others in what you regarded, according to your evidence, as the fun.'

a full disclosure at the earliest opportunity of the whole circumstances. He told Hayward that he had suppressed his part in the early stages of the interrogation and had deliberately tried to suggest something which was undoubtedly false. The other officer had gone further, and had failed to admit his presence at all in the early stages or his active participation in it until he had been recalled by the court for further examination. 'I am forced to comment that this court anyway has always trusted a police officer or a K.P.R. officer as a truthful witness. This suppressio veri et suggestio falsi practised by both K.P.R. officers in this case suggests to me that this court may have been wrong in its assumption that such officers can be believed. In the result, if those officers had been successful in their efforts at suppression the second accused would have borne the full blame for the second and the most regrettable incident-a situation that would have been most unfair to him'."

have begun to work to rule as a protest against the rejection of their 18s.

The men are in the parcels sections at Mount Pleasant and the Royal Agricultural Hall, Islington, and so far postmen

The action has started following a decision reached at a union branch meeting, but of course union officials are desperately trying to get the dispute settled, by getting the work-to-rule called

A ban on overtime is part of the campaign and if no results on their pay claim is forthcoming, there is a likelihood that the go-slow may spread to other districts next week and eventually

POSTMEN WORK TO RULE

MORE than 2,500 London postmen pay claim.

in the letters section are not affected.

off first.

affect 25,000 men.

THE STATIC SOCIETY

IT was not so long ago that Science was regarded by radicals of every sort as the great emancipator. It had freed, or was engaged in freeing, us from the chains of degrading superstition. It was to free humanity from the slavery of poverty, ignorance, and brutality. Progress was the order of the day, and everybody from anarchists to Primitive Methodists believed that the future was theirs. And there seemed no reason to doubt this. For was not European civilisation, with its humane outlook, spreading over all the globe? At last man's long martyrdom was bearing fruit.

This ideal seems a bit fly-blown now. It seems to belong in the junk shops that one sees in the back streets of London, among the hideous gloomy ornaments of the Victorian age, the gilt-framed mirrors, the bronze statuettes, and the dusty volumes that no one will ever read again, sermons and naval history, etc.

But far from being dead this ideal is very much alive and active in our midst, though in a disguised form. I read some years ago a book on space travel. It ended with the words, I quote from memory but I think I have got the gist of the thing, "If humanity refuses to face the challenge of this new adventure [i.e. space travel] it will have turned its back on progress, and will be headed back to the primeval slime from whence it came." A depressing choice indeed. We are either to accept all the horrors of a scientific Utopia, or go back to savagery. But there is in this sentence something more than statement of a probable situation to arise in the future, there is also a threat. "If you won't do as we, the adventurous ones, the space pioneers, want, then you will not be any the happier for it. You will go back to the horrors of barbarism, that will be your punishment." I don't think that the writer would claim that space travel would of necessity increase human happiness, but we must have it all the same or else . . .

A Reichian might see in this an attempt to escape from one's sexuality. "Primeval" slime he would point out is the equivalent of "the animal side of our nature" that religionists urge is to subdue. Reich does in fact say somewhere that there are those who turn to pure mathematics as an escape from the impurity of their bodies and their sexual desires. Perhaps this is the case. Certainly the sterilised Utopias of the science enthusiasts are pretty depressing. They are like those hospitals where the newly born baby is taken away from its mother at the very time it needs her most, and in the name of hygiene a terrible crop of neurosis is sown. "Man's inhumanity to man" did not stop when the Inquisition closed down, and Science can perpetrate barbarities when hardly realising it.

Against this ideal of scientific advance I feel that we should set that of a static society. That is to say a society in which such technical advance as there is should be slow. In fact there would be virtually none at all. Of course in the present state of affairs such a thing is not

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Publications . . .

Encounter, April 1945 Auden, Sykes, etc. 2/6 . We have some copies of Politics (1945-47) for sale each 2/-Postage extra on all items.

Obtainable from

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

possible, but after the anarchist revolution I envisage the formation of a society much after the fashion of William Morris' "News From Nowhere". This society would remain without any essential change for many thousand years.

To a modern man such a situation is repulsive to contemplate. Saturated as he is with ideas about "Progress", the great god, he associates staying in the same place with decay and death. The static society would be to him the "stagnant society". We must progress or perish. You cannot halt the wheels of change. What nonsense!

Rapid progress is a new thing. Before the eighteenth and nineteenth century no one had ever thought of it. It had gone on slowly in Europe, in the East hardly at all. For the greater part of its existence the human race has lived in static societies. China is the greatest example. If an authoritarian Confucianist society can endure unchanged through the millenia why not an anarchist one? All over the world even to-day there exist static societies. There are the Eskimoes, the Pygmies, the Bushmen, the Pueblo Indians, and many others. If they have progressed it has only been the result of European influence, they would never have made any advance of their own. Why should they? Their ways of living may not have been anarchist, but they worked and seem to have suited them. We believe that our way would be the best of all and suit those living in it better than any other way has ever suited anybody. Why should not our anarchist society endure through the centuries unchanging in its fundamentals?

"But failure to advance spells decay", it will be objected. However the societies mentioned did not decay. In fact it is empires not peoples who decay. The Chinese Empire was not really an empire at all. It hung together in a vague sort of way, but it did not grow much nor shrink. After its establishment it became a static society and remained so, though by no means a stagnant one, until the arrival of the Europeans.

The case of Egypt was somethat similar. And some of the modern static societies have succeeded in resisting even European progress and continuing their old ways, assimilating some of the benefits of Western progress and adapting them to their own use, but not submitting to the way of life that usually goes with these things.

No one would maintain that all the products of Western technical achievements are bad. The society of the future will we hope retain those worth keeping. An anarchist society would however not probably have much use for airplanes. They would be used for flying urgently needed medical supplies to isolated places and so forth, but in general they would not be used as a means of transport, though they might form one of the attractions at fairs and pleasure resorts. In fact life would conform to a much slower tempo altogether, and speedy means of transportation would not be much used.-Readers of "News from Nowhere" will recall that when the characters of the story went to help get in the harvest they travelled up the Thames by rowing boat. There is little point in travel if one can get from London to Shanghai in 15 minutes or so by transcontinental rocket. Shanghai will have by then become so much like London that it will not be worth going there.

These thoughts were produced by reading the account of the latest experiments with the hydrogen bomb. Our technical achievements are rushing ahead at a terrifying rate. It is no doubt true that it is our authoritarian society that produces things like hydrogen bombs, but I feel that in a free society this rush will be slowed down to such an extent that it will seem to have been halted, by our present standards.

Anatole France ends his book "Penguin Island" with a young revolutionary blowing up civilisation with well-placed time-bombs, while he passes his spare time talking to his girl friend. But although humanity, or at least the Penguin Island section of it, return to barbarism and the simple life, they eventually rise again, reconstruct their civilisation and end up with all the horrors of capitalism all over again. However it need not be so. In a free society I suppose rapid technical development of itself would be harmless, since the organs of power would not exist to corrupt it and pervert it. But I do not think that the need for such development will be felt. People will be too interested in matters of life and love to be bothered with flying to the moon. We have the earth, why should we reach for the stars?

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Theatre

White Countess

"THE WHITE COUNTESS", the new play by J. B. Priestley and Jacquetta Hawkes, has been ridiculed in the Press as a "novelettish romance", as "a curious entertainment which lurches between plain dullness and absurdity". Actually it is a play of arresting frankness, searching wit and sincerity; it makes a plea for true purity and freedom in our lives. It exposes the stupidity of marriage and denounces man's arbitrary standards of "purity" for women. J. B. Priestley has never revealed such a libertarian attitude towards society as he does in his new play. Sexual purity is that kind of relation, whatever it be between the sexes, which contributes in the highest degree to their mutual health and happiness taking into account the remote as well as the immediate results. At the end of this play, the Countess von Erdenstein, who has been spiritually suffocated in an Austrian castle, tied to a loveless marriage with an elderly and effete husband, leaves to begin a new life with a musician. As she says, he, of her several lovers, "is the only one who has not told me what I ought to be." Each and every individual should be the supreme arbiter of his or her own destiny; we should all develop our own personalities uninjured by the domination of other people and their moralising. The theme of this play seems to be that no individual must accept any restriction that will check his development, nor must he submit to the yoke of authority under any pretence whatever. "The White Countess" shows that man complains habitually of the waywardness and perversity of woman and never suspects that he himself, and his own false relation to her, are the key to the thousand apparent contradictions in her deportment and character. In a passionate speech in the last act the Countess defends her right to live her own life and denies that she should have remained faithful to her husband. Marriage deprives woman of her very soul, of her inexpressible and unfathomable all, to make her a mere incident in the great sum of man. The Countess's speech is most beautiful and moving; she says that, although she has spent the night with the General, she feels more innocent and

more pure than she did before, that she has found a "living conscience of innocence". "We women have no morality; it is life that we love". She says that she cannot be happy by conforming to the ideals of womanhood, of virtue, of duty, but by being herself. "The rules of your Church and laws mean nothing to me now. I am as I am." She refuses the General's offer of marriage. After he has left, she says: "If he were to come back again and touch me again now, I might agree to leave with him. He said that I belong to him. But am I his? No, I am I." The musician is truly in love with her, but her husband, who offers her the past with all it involutions always waiting for Proustian recovery, the General, who does not perceive that she has a soul as well as a body, and her soldier-poet cousin are not. The musician makes not demands on her. True love is inseparable from intelligence and dominates the instincts of animal life. Morality destroys love. True love is freedom; for love is above all powers and prevails over all constraint. To love is to wish the happiness and the good of the person we love, and to devote oneself entirely to the happiness of another. At the end of this play the Countess and the musician leave to be happy and free together in Vienna. The last act of "The White Countess" is inspiring and superbly written. The Countess's three lovers represent the past, the present, and the future. But, as the musician says, "there is always something else". "The White Countess" was taken off after only five performances. The critics killed the play by condemning it in their adverse, sneering notices. But it deserved to be a success, and it may be revived some day. Viveca Lindfors is an actress of great beauty and charm: she brings to the rôle of the Countess a tender, luminous dignity.

I AM A CAMERA

I am a Camera is one of the few intellireally suitable for the theatre.

the girl who is drawn to any and every sort of excitement as a moth to the flame, and Michael Gwynn as Isherwood. were to me quite inadequate. Acting is pre-eminently the art of expressionexpression of the sentiments and emotions by speech, look, gesture, movement-in every way that one person can address the mind or the eye of another. The Englishman's conversation is destitute of vivacity and unaided by gesticulation. Now acting requires the acutest and alertest sensibilities, faculties all responsive to subtle stirs of feeling. Are these English characteristics? Clearly not, they are those of the people that (in England) are despised as 'volatile', 'garrulous', 'excitable' - the French and Italians, who have produced the only really good actors of modern times. To suppose that great actors can come of a race like the English is to trifle with the

Among the plays John Van Druten has D.M.M.

gent plays to be seen in London just now; it is adapted from Christopher Isherwood's stories of Berlin during the early Nazi rioting: out of this series of vivid literary snapshots John Van Druten has made a fine though episodic play, although the material does not seem Both Dorothy Tutin, as Sally Bowles,

laws of nature.

written are Young Woodley, his first, which captured attention because of its interesting theme of an elder schoolboy's infatuation for the young wife of his master and for its excellence of construction, Old Acquaintance, The Distaff Side and The Voice of the Turtle. He is gifted with a strength out of the ordinary; and yet he always fails to bring to the stage more than a series of relatively trivial plays, each likely to be a current success and each likely to be forgotten once its run is over. I am a Camera is another example of this.

The Idolatry of Adulthood

IN spite of its being no longer "fashionable", the influence of psycho-analysis is steadily spreading. It may not be the type of influence for the type of psychoanalytical thought that would most please the experts, but it must be a comfort and a satisfaction to the oldest among them to see principles and theories for which they were once hated and ridiculed play now a lively and important part in the mental equipment of the average educated man. Not only are problems of character and personality dealt with in psycho-analytical terms, but a psycho-analytical solution is also sought for problems of ethics and morality.

The object of psycho-analysis is to restore people to health, and make them capable of reasonable happiness. It does this by freeing them from conflicts rooted in some childhood experience, and by developing thereby their power of clearly understanding social reality and adapting themselves to it as closely and smoothly as they possibly can. The whole process may be summed up as one of growing up mentally, for it is people who failed or refused to grow up at the proper time who most need and benefit from psycho-analytical treatment. Their trouble lies in that they think, feel and act like children in a society of adults who may be kindly disposed to children but are intolerant of childish and childlike behaviour anywhere but in the nursery.

I have the greatest respect for the contributions of psycho-analysis to the understanding of men, and am impressed by its therapeutic achievements, but I have great misgivings about the trend it has helped to stress and validate towards a rapid and thorough shedding off of infantile and adolescent ways of approach to people and reality. Perhaps still a child and an adolescent myself, the people I like most are those who have some childish or adolescent characteristic in them. The adult ideal that is generally striven after strikes me as terribly efficient, positively repellent or deadly uninteresting. Adulthood seems to consist mostly in having no emotions to encumber one's course of action, in remaining perfectly unruffled in any situation, in checking wonder and excitement, and leaving to no person or event the power to alter one's personality which

must accordingly be assumed to be either

perfect or imperfectible. In Western history, on the other hand, if I look for an ideal or idealised type of humanity my choice falls on the Greeks of the classical period and the Renaissance man, who sympathetically, and objectively by modern standards, can both be defined as great children.

Emotions in general, and in particular those stemming from some childhood complex or fixation, can be a constant source of anxiety and humiliation, and cause conflicts and failures whose cumulative effect will bring about severe, even incurable illness. One would like to be able to experience only pleasurable emotions, but the capacity to feel is always ambivalent, it is linked with desire, and if desire is impeded or frustrated the result is unpleasure. As in the society we live in we mostly meet with frustration and unpleasure we learn a technique, with or without psychoanalysis, by means of which we gradually limit and suppress desire until we so mould our life that we stolidly strug-



KAVANAGH 1876-1954

Several comrades have asked us to print a photograph of Mat Kavanagh, who died last month, and we have pleasure in reproducing the one above. Although not the last photograph taken of Mat, it is, we believe, the best portrait from his later years.

gle through a desert of emptiness and boredom, with no other satisfaction than that of keeping on going in what we think the only manly way, and a mixture of pity, contempt and misunderstanding for anyone who stops at some oasis, turns back or breaks down.

If people with a childish mentality or a child-like character happen to be chronically and increasingly unhappy, they are told that it is their parents' fault if they have become like that, but if they remain in that condition they have only themselves to blame. An

Continued on p. 4

Exhibition ADLER

IANKEL ADLER'S works at the Matthiesen Gallery (New Bond Street, London) make an interesting and well hung exhibition. It is especially useful in that it helps us to assess Adler's achievement and to definie some of the faults which so often detract from the excellence of his paintings.

Adler's ability and skill as an artist were very considerable and his knowledge of the technique of modern painting must have been immense, yet in spite of this, or more probably because of it, his work nearly always has a pronounced experimental appearance; it is a continual insistence on the process of manufacturing pictures; they often appear concocted and this laying bare of the technique is seldom justified in the result. They lack, or rather they are entirely without, humour; and this deficiency leaves a chilly vacuum and a strong feeling that the artist had not quite finished.

Adler was a very politically minded artist. A Jew, born in Poland, he knew at first hand and understood the forces which disrupted the entire social pattern of European life and culture, and much of this deeply felt social awareness is very evident in his work: Nos. 1 and 2 in the catalogue—large oil paintings with richly determined design, magnificent colour and completely uncomplicated in their appeal, demonstrate very ably the power and organisation which Adler could command on these occasions.

He is not always so successful—some of these works are very skimpy things

indeed; little essays in painters' tricks which are as pictures of interest, so completely unconvincing; Nos. 28 and 29 are among those that offend. There are others and it is a pity that these works, which make so inconsiderable an addition to the exhibition should have been included. Jankel Adler nevertheless will occupy a major place in the history of modern art. I can think of few painters who absorbed the lessons of Picasso with so much intelligence and skill and yet managed to develop so far their own original contribution; perhaps—and this might be said with reference to more artists than just Adler-Picasso, far from enriching modern art, has as an indirect consequence of his outstanding success as an innovator, greatly impoverished painting.

Breedom

Vol. 15, No. 15

April 10, 1954

INTOLERANCE

GALILEO studied natural science; he was lucky that the Catholic Church only made him recant his heretical view that the earth goes round the sun rather than vice versa. Luckier than some of his fellow scientists of the Renaissance. The same Church burned Giordano Bruno for his scientific investigations. The Calvinist Church burned Michael Servetus (whose 400th anniversary falls this year) for his. These men employed the method of scientific enquiry on which all progress in Western knowledge since Ancient Greece is founded, and their names are now revered.

Intolerance of inconvenient enquiry, regardless of its sincerity or truth, has become commonplace again with the rise of totalitarianism whether Communist, Fascist, or clerical fascist on the Portuguese or Spanish model. FREEDOM has frequently pointed out that this recrudescence of the Inquisition in modern dress is not exclusive to the opponents of the Western Democracies. Elsewhere in this issue there appears an account of the extraordinary judgment against Wilhelm Reich.

FREEDOM has had many occasions in the past for bringing Reich's work before its readers. His researches into the rôle of sex-denial as a factor in reactionary society are, we believe, the most radical and revolutionary that have yet been published. His books, "The Sexual Revolution" and the "Mass Psychology of Fascism" should be read and weighed by everyone concerned in changing our present form of society, for this sexual-sociological work is of tremendous significance to the revolutionary movement.

It has not been the policy of FREEDOM to enter into the field of Reich's bio-physical and bio-energetic studies. They are of a technical nature not to be discussed in a journal such as ours, and agreement or disagreement is only possible after prolonged and profound study of his work and as with any other scientific work, experimental confirmation. But whether one agrees or disagrees with Reich's orgone findings or with his theory of the function of the orgasm, there can be no question at all that anarchists are absolutely opposed to governmental legal measures aimed at restricting and stifling such research.

In Austria and Germany Reich was denounced and defamed by both the Communists and the Nazis. When in 1933 he moved to Denmark

and to Norway, orthodox medicine and orthodox psychoanalysis (whose colleagues in Germany, had capitulated to Hitler's anti-semitic race theories) instigated an infamous slander campaign against him, and drove him to take refuge in America. Now, after fifteen years, and nine years after the "war against fascism and for the defence of freedom", the same persecution pursues him.

The virulence of the present attack is shown by the really extraordinary order that private individuals using the proscribed "devices", (the orgone energy accumulators) must dismantle or destroy them. Such an order runs completely counter to all the tenets of a property-society, and one wonders whether it is possible to enforce it.

It is all the more extraordinary in America which is of all countries the home of cranks and montebanks whether para-medical or religious. Property is so entrenched that New York possesses only one general hospital where treatment is free. Individualism (in these matters is so firm that Jean Harlow the blonde film star of the thirties was allowed to kill herself from nephritis, because her Christian Science would not permit her to call in orthodox medical aid. Yet Reich is the object of legal injunctions, and the Court presumes to prohibit individuals from using, or testing, his orgone accumulator. It is an indefensible incursion on individual liberty anywhere: in America absolutely fantastic.

Reich has repeatedly refused to be drawn into polemics: instead he has simply stated that his conceptions are the result of experiments, and that such experiments are open to confirmation or refutation. Serious enquirers will accept or reject his views on such experimental findings, and their own results will be a valid commentary on Reich's work if they seriously and sincerely try to repeat his experimental work. Such is the ordinary procedure of science, and scientific hypotheses are not usually overthrown (or supported) in courts of law.

That the Food and Drugs Administration presumes to act in this way against Reich serves to confirm his contention that the study which began in 1918 with enquiry into the physical nature of this life-energy (libido) postulated by Freud, and into the function of the sexual orgasm, is the study of the life-force itself: that this study will help to free man from the shackles which bind him to a life-denying, joy-destroying society; and that such a study excites a profound, though irrational, hostility in authoritarian breasts. All men and women who value freedom, and specially freedom of enquiry, will regard the attack on Reich as an attack on themselves, their own happiness and that of their children and the future.

LITERARY NOT ES

HE LONDON

THE LONDON REVIEW, ed. by John Lehmann, Volume I, Nos. 1 and 2.

T IP to the end of last year, it seemed as though every month brought the obituary of some magazine that had fallen a casualty to increased costs of production and to decreased purchasing power. Some of these magazines were good, some indifferent, and some so poor that they would have died in any case of sheer inanition, but their very disappearance meant a steady constriction of the means of expressing opinions and of publishing literary work. It also meant a concentration of editorial power in a few hands, and a vast diminution of the possibility for young authors to find that rather tentative field of publication in which they can try out their abilities and prepare for wider projects. For, unlike other periods, the six or seven years after the war were not a time when the magazines that vanished were replaced by others; the cost of production has gone up so greatly that it is no longer possible, as it was in the 1930's, for a young man with five or ten pounds to bring out the first number of an experimental little review. At the same time, I am sure my memory does not deceive me when it asserts that before the war there were far more bookshops in London which were willing to sell and encourage any number of small magazines, no matter how ephemeral.

It is difficult at such a close range to assess the reasons for the lack of enterprise and originality in the writing which seems to be characteristic of England today, for the fact that, as Walter Allen rightly said in his New Statesman review of the first number of John Lehmann's new London Review, this is the first time since the 1870's that there has been no literary avant-garde in England. But I feel sure that one contributory factor at least has been the sheer lack of that necessary encouragement in the way of means of publication which even the most individualist and iconoclastic writer needs. Undoubtedly the part played by magazines like the original Little Review, Wyndham Lewis's Blast and Geoffrey Grigson's New Verse in avant-garde movements of the past have been great indeed; they may not have provided the original impulses, but they nursed them and gave them a patch of warm and fertilised earth in which to strike their roots. I have often wondered in the past seven years what would happen to a really revolutionary writer if he appeared to-day, whether he would make any impression on the established literary strongholds, which tend to face the

world with their drawbridges up against all newcomers, or whether he would in some way be able to find a new channel through which to make his appeal to the public. Perhaps, in fact, the situation has a double aspect; perhaps the absence of little reviews and of avantgarde writing are two facets of the same phenomenon, for one would think that a really positive surge in the literary world would bring forward people who would be willing to risk their money. even if they had very little, in an even hopeless little review gamble, provided they had the feeling that something positive might emerge from it.

At least the trend towards the restriction of the literary field has finally been halted, and, with the appearance of two new magazines, Encounters and The London Magazine, we can perhaps celebrate the beginning of a new trend towards the re-opening of means of publication, for established and apprentice writers as well. Not that either of these magazines has the look or the feel of "little" or avant-garde reviews. Both have that portentous heaviness of format which seems to go with the nuts and port-wine, the embonpoint of taste, both are subsidised heavily and carry a dazzling array of advertisements which will turn any former little review editor green with envy, and both are edited by lions of the Thirties, Stephen Spender and John Lehmann respectively. Since I am not reviewing Encounters, I will leave a full consideration of it for some other time, and will merely remark that it shows some signs of intellectual daring which one hopes may be further devel-

The two issues of The London Magazine which I have before me contain a mixture of experienced writers and novices. And the wholly disconcerting thing about it is that the trends of half a century are indeed, as Walter Allen suggested, reversed. It is some of the old gang, like Louis MacNeice, George Barker and Vernon Watkins, whose poems seem alive and positive and forward-looking, and whose reviews, as in the case of Tom Hopkinson, Rex Warner and Roy Fuller, are acute and perceptive. These men have kept at least something of an edge on the weapons they wielded in their youth; the young who are represented in The London Magazine, are, one is saddened to admit, going out to battle with wooden swords. The fiction is mostly of Jamesians who have not even got as far in their reading as the Master's most experimental periods, and it is significant of the general literary withdrawal which is taking place these days that no less than three stories

in two volumes are written around titled people ;even the shabby remnants of the country-house culture seem to represent a shell which our hermit crabs of literature find preferable to a direct consideration of the world as it is. One must, indeed, admit that to-day we have no new and living culture to compete with that which flourished in the houses of the old aristocracy, but our nostalgic dwellers on that past should remember that its lords borrowed and bought all their art. Without plebeians like Beethoven and Mozart to compose for them, without men like Wilde to grace their salons with a wit that laid bare the pretence of their lives, without novelists like James and Proust to chronicle their corruption, they would have been nothing. Now the ghosts of Mozart and Wilde and James haunt other minds and other homes than those of the departed "men of quality", and a pre-occupation with a dead aristocratic life can only show the disinclination of younger writers to face up to the less romantic and more drab real life that exists to-day.

REVIEW

It is perhaps surprising to find a man who in the Thirties was so dogmatically committed as John Lehmann declaring that he will keep the pages of The London Magazine closed to those "who in their writing put political propagandaor any other kind of propaganda-before art". That is doubtless a laudable intention, but it will be interesting to see how Lehmann applies it. Obviously, it will be a good thing to see the absurdities of literary Communism and literary Fascism kept out of a magazine. But exactly where is the dividing line between art and propaganda? Where would The Ballad of Reading Gaol stand, or much of Lawrence, or Spender's early poems, or Dostoevsky's The Possessed? In all of these it is hard to say which—the art or the propaganda—comes first. And, while I agree that literary magazines should not be dominated by specific political groups, I think there are some occasions when even a literary magazine should speak out on some subject which touches on politics. Can a writer remain silent about threats to basic freedoms? Can he be expected to ignore such a contemporary phenomenon as McCarthyism? I must admit that Cyril Connolly went up vastly in my estimation when he spoke out in the pages of Horizon against capital punishment.

Inevitably, much attention in The London Magazine centres on the death of Dylan Thomas. The poems in memory of him by Louis MacNeice and George Barker are fine tributes to a good poet, a good companion and a sturdy individualist, a man whose passing all free men must mourn. But there is also a piece by James Michie which reflects the rather nauseating flapdoodle with which the mandarins of London and New York have chosen to try and claim Thomas for their own now that he is safely dead. It is true that Michie does not, like Time, tell us that Thomas was the greatest poet since Keats (a piece of presumption I am sure Thomas himself would have resented), but he does declare that "Now he is gone, something like a panic descends on the world of letters

The gloom it has caused is almost patriotic." Nonsense like this, as Donald Davie appropriately points out in No. 2 of the magazine, can only harm Dylan's memory, and it can only play into the hands of those who are anxious to smother the iconoclasm of his poetry by making it respectable.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

The Idolatry of Adulthood

Continued from p. 2 analyst can only help them to help themselves. The stark truth is that nobody is ready to help them in the way they would like to be helped, that is by changing the people they live with, or, rather, the social conditions or standards of behaviour for which they evidently are not fit. Even if it should be proved beyond doubt that everybody is unhappy because the child still lives in everybody, yet through an idolatry of adulthood that infests our society like a plague no concerted effort would be made to make the human world a better place for human beings to live in. The child, it seems, must be killed at all costs, and, paradoxical as it may seem, the deep reason why the child must be killed is that the child has a capacity for happiness which the adult has not. The idolatry of adulthood has no rational foundation but a bitter resentment against a childhood that is irretrievably lost.

It is a great comfort, however, to know that there are still people and societies in which the grey pall of adulthood has not yet stifled the child entirely. There are still societies where work is not allimportant, where there is still room for desire. There are people who are not

ashamed of love although they are fully aware that it means want and dependence. They ask for love unashamedly, and unashamedly enjoy the pleasure of being desired. Openly or with but a thin disguise they devote the best of their thoughts and energies either to desire or to make themselves desirable. With them to have a parental fixation is not a burden nor a perpetual source of misery and frustration. Members of the opposite sex, sensitively aware of these fixations, are ready and fitted to play the rôle of a father or mother substitute. So, also, pre-genital sexuality need not be a check in sexual or character development, but can be a stage that is assimilated and preserved, that can be fully gratified and gratifying. It is an entirely wrong idea that because of genital sexuality all its preceding stages should be brought to an end as though the nongenital zones of pleasure ceased automatically to be zones of pleasure when genital maturity is achieved. It is possible to love and to be happy in love in a variety of ways, but the sweetest, the lightest, and the most deeply fulfilling is that in which lovers succeed in being like little children.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

The Italian Communist Party

THE man in the street does not know, for example, that the Italian Communist Party, with its two million members and its five million trade unionists, has at its disposal an annual income in the region of twenty billion lire. The bulk of this income derives from the various undertakings it successfully manages and develops: transport companies, farmers' co-operatives, cement factories, film productions, theatres, cinemas, art galleries, newspapers, magazines, publishing firms and bookshops. Rather than a party, it is a kind of 'holding' managed by shrewd men who know all the tricks of commercial, industrial, and financial life. The man in the street is also ignorant of the fact that the Communist Party holds the monopoly of legal and illegal trade with the U.S.S.R. and the popular democratic countries. This trade, which represents the 6% of Italy's total imports and exports, passes practically all through the various communist commercial firms, which alone can find buyers and sellers beyond the so-called 'curtain'. These firms deduct between 2 and 2.5% on each transaction in return for their services. All this seems to be supervised by Eugenio Reale, who in order to attract as little attention as possible is no longer a deputy or a senator.

So this is to-day the Italian Communist Party. It speculates on the Stock Exchange, and nearly all the leaders own villas and flats. In Rome the architects and decorators who have provided a home for these men can be met ten at a time on the pavements of Via Veneto or at the Canova in Piazza del Popolo. Not to mention, then, all the communists that have something to do with films, who go about in the most expensive motor-cars. Just recently a famous painter who practices 'socialist realism' has bought a flat outside Porta San Giovanni worth 12 million lire

To-day Togliatti runs a business concern which earns 20 billion lire a year. Round this group of businessmen and middlemen who travel in luxury cars and

divorce their old and useless wives (Togliatti, Longo, d'Onofrio, etc.) and take a leading part in the high life of the capital, there is a little group of deluded people: newspaper men with a minimum salary (together with newspapermen who earn four or five thousand lire a month), poor painters from Via Margutta, and gullible people from the provinces . . And one wonders: what difference is there between a Togliatti who sups with his girl-friend in a fashionable restaurant of Trastevere and any Italian businessman who goes to have a good time on a Saturday with a peripatetic from Piazza di Spagna?

FREEDOM PRESS

(From Il Borghese, 1st February, 1954).

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London, W.C.I.

The Simplicity of Anarchism

IMAGINE that George Nicholson wrote this excellent article mainly with a view to influencing those who are not yet anarchists. Myself I think it is just the message that anarchists themselves need to take to heart, especially some of the contributors to FREEDOM'S columns. I offer my criticism kindly, constructively and for the good of the cause as one who greatly appreciates our anarchist weekly and is grateful to its zealous staff. I wish to make two points.

Firstly in our crusading let us not harm the cause by complicating or confusing the issue. Anarchism is simply the refusal to govern or be governed and the organisation of society by voluntary co-operation and consent; nothing more, nothing less. The fact is however, that anarchism is presented in such a way as to imply that one cannot become an anarchist without first being a materialist, rationalist, anti-religionist and what have you. That may not be the intention, but it is certainly made to appear so. I cannot help thinking this would be a stumbling-block to would-be adherents. Persons may become anarchists quite conscientiously for a variety of reasons: religious, rational, philosophical, political, etc. The anarchism in each case is equally valid. I think FREEDOM could render good service by publishing a series of articles by different contributors on anarchism from the above respective viewpoints and perhaps others. It would be essential for each contributor to be writing about his own approach to anarchism.

Secondly I consider simplicity of exposition to be just as important as simplicity of issue. Here I feel so many writers in FREEDOM fail. The "straight" news columns and the commentaries are usually simple, direct and lucid. The same cannot be said (with few exceptions) for most of the articles dealing with historical or philosophical aspects of anarchism. Formerly a schoolmaster, consider myself to be reasonably intelligent until I try to understand some of the involved sentences and unusual vocabulary with which views are often expressed. I read and re-read. Sometimes I understand. Very often I don't. I can't think I am so abnormal as to be the only one experiencing this difficulty, If I am not then I suggest the cause is suffering.

I offer these criticisms for what they are worth.

CHARLES R. W. SLATTER.

Newlyn, Mar. 29.

Homosexuais

MAY I take up just a little more of your correspondence space in commenting on some of the historical, psychological, and semantic fallacies which Mr. Leadbitter in his letter of March 20th, puts forward as serious arguments?

Historically, there is no evidence whatever that homosexuality destroys the social fabric. In Athens it was an integral part of a brilliant culture, and in all those other societies which did and do permit it the social structure has been unaffected, as is the case with most European countries to-day. It is true however that every reform is opposed on the grounds of it being dangerous to social stability and reformers attacked as wishing to spread destruction. Also Mr. Leadbitter makes the Judaeo-Christian morality universal, whereas it is only one of many possibilities, but one responsible for the institution of the Patriarchal Family, which is based on the degradation of women and has caused untold human suffering.

Psychologically, Freud and others have proved that whenever sexual restraint is culturally enforced individual neuroses multiply, individual hostility and aggression mount, and the instincts of death and destruction are strengthened against the forces of life. G. Rattray Taylor's "Sex in History" describes in cold scientific detail the way in which the Christian Churches have tried to destroy men's instinctual sex manifestations.

Semantically, all authoritarian thinkers have claimed the use of the word libertarian to describe their own methods of control over others. They have said that

slavery is the following of one's own responsible life-aims and freedom the compulsory submission to another's values. The church, burning the heretic at the stake, claimed it was protecting the real, i.e. moral, freedom of the victim, and the Communist claims he is giving the deviant real, this time social, freedom when the latter is sent to a labour camp. So also do the thought-police of 1984 rescue the individual from the slavery of thought-crime. If we use correct meanings of words the only moral slavery I could submit to would be to have Mr. Leadbitter's doctrines made the only pattern of life I was able to follow.

Running through Mr. Leadbitter's letters are words and phrases like social cement, normality, etc., which aptly illustrate the society of the ant-hill. Here the problem of the deviant ant has been solved even more efficiently than the problem of deviant and human man in totalitarian and ecclesiastical society. If this is the type of social organisation he wants at least let him not call it a libertarian one. I am afraid that his correspondence will only confirm the belief of most Anarchists that freedom and organised religion are quite incompatible, and will incline them to accept the anthropologists' view that in its sex life the Christian culture of the west is the most abnormal and unhealthy of all recorded civilisations. In passing let me say that Elton Trueblood is in no sense an authority on any of the social or psychological sciences but is an apologist for religious dogma.

Hornchurch. A. G. GAMBLE.

[This correspondence is now closed-EDITORS].

Wealth Money or

NOT being averse to healthy criticism, I am not subject to regarding anyone "deviatory" because they do not hold opinions completely in agreement with my own. However, I rather think that M.S.F. may have read something in my article "Money or Wealth" that was not consciously intended.

I do not regard financiers as the sole cause of human misery, but at the same time I do not think I have allowed my imagination to overstep itself in drawing attention to the widespread misery resulting from the monetary system. It is just because they are able to manipulate this system by means of inflating and deflating the purchasing power of money that the financial wizards can cause (by what I meant figuratively) the price of a cabbage to fluctuate between "a farthing and a fortune", and in fact when the moneysystem has broken down there have been times in living history when people have carried around stacks of banknotes (which a few weeks previously could have represented a fortune) and have considered themselves lucky to get a pair of boots in exchange.

I must quote a passage (with my own italics) from M.S.F.'s letter regarding owners of wealth. "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 . . .

I would consider a peasant's inadequate plot of land, poverty; and shopkeeper's borrowed money, a debt; and in neither

with profit, but not now." How does

this compare with Ruskin's contention

that it is not his business, or gift, to look

case wealth, and so far from giving them a small advantage over others would make them very dependent on others. As to a man's savings representing wealth, that depends entirely upon its purchasing power at the time of spending it might procure him a house or a rabbit-hutch.

M.S.F.'s "-it is surely capital owners who work for money itself-" hardly supports his earlier statement that my dig at the money-system was a "rather too facile analysis of the cause of economic ills." To what can we attribute our present economic ills if not to the fact that money has been made the basis and substitute of wealth? And that on the possession of artificial tokens called 'money' depends the poverty or wellbeing of the people; despite the abundance, or overabundance of the natural wealth by which they are surrounded? Bristol, Mar. 29. GEORGE NICHOLSON.

THE MALATESTA CLUB

As can be seen from the attached list of contributions, the Malatesta Club Fund has now topped £100, our original, modest, target.

Progress is still being made and we hope very shortly to be able to announce the commencement of activities in the Club.

Initial expenses still have to be met, and until we build up a sufficient paying membership we shall be in need of the original monthly or weekly guarantees. Would comrades who promised these please remember to send them regularly?

We regret that owing to a typesetter's error we showed an item in the Income and Expenditure Account a fortnight ago as "10 chairs at 11s: £22". This should have read "40 chairs at 11s.: £22" (the chairs are there-now nicely painted-for all to see as soon as we open!)

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED:

London: R.P.M. £1; K.L. 10/6; C.W. £4; A.N. 10/-; Mr. P. 1/3; J.B. 6d.; P.K. £2; N.J.T. 5/-; R.H. 12/6; Birmingham: R.A.M. 5/-; Newton Abbott: P.H. 10/-; Bradford: S.T.R. 2/6.

£ s. d. 9 17 3 Previously acknowledged

GRAND TOTAL £108 17 3

Cheques and P.O.'s should be crossed and made out to The Malatesta Club. and sent to The Treasurer, c/o 27 Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

Origin of the Welfare State

"The knowledge of all this distress, even when I can assist it-much more when I cannot, and the various thoughts of what I can and cannot, or ought and ought not, to do are a far greater burden to me than the mere loss of my money. It is peremptorily not my business-it is not my gift, bodily or mentally, to look after other people's sorrow. I have enough of my own; and even if I had not, the sight of pain is not good for me. I don't want to be a bishop. In a most literal and sincere sense, 'nolo' episcopari'. I don't want to be an almoner, nor a counsellor, nor a Memben of Parliament, nor a voter for Members of Parliament. (What would Mr. Holyoake say to me if he knew that I have never voted for anybody in my life, and never mean to do so!) I am essen-

tially a painter and a leaf dissector; and my powers of thought are all purely mathematical, seizing ultimate principles only-never accidents; a line is always, to me, length without breadth; it is not a cable or a crowbar; and though I can almost infallibly reason out the final law of anything, if within reach of my industry, I neither care for, nor can trace, the minor exigencies of its daily appliance. So, in every way, I like a quiet life; and I don't like seeing people cry, or die; and should rejoice, more than I can tell you, in giving up the full half of my fortune for the poor, provided I knew that the public would make Lord Overstone also give the half of his, and other people who were independent give the half of theirs; and then set men who were really fit for such office to administer the fund, and answer to us for nobody's perishing innocently; and so leave us all to do what we chose with the rest, and with our days, in peace."

From Time and Tide, Letter XIX,

JOHN RUSKIN.

THE various social ideas and ideals which Ruskin and Kropotkin formulated were based on their experiences of human life in its hardship and happiness-their reactions in certain instances could not have been more different and they provoke comparison between these spokesmen of Socialist and Anarchist thought. In his "Memoirs of a Revolutionist" Kropotkin describes how, on a geological expedition in Finland, he thought a great deal during the journey about social matters and these thoughts had a decisive influence on his subsequent development.

"It often happens that men pull in a certain . . . familiar harness simply because they never have time to ask themselves whether the position they stand in and the work they accomplish are right; whether their occupations really suit their inner desires and capacities, and give them the satisfaction which everyone has the right to expect from his

I would suggest that the remarkably frank statement of Ruskin's is escapist, arises from an uneasiness derived not so much from the frustration of his work by external agencies as from an unconscious inward feeling of frustration de-

riving from a sense of self-inadequacy. In the leisure which he has when nothing of geological interest is on hand Kropotkin describes the lot of the Finnish peasant, the immense amount of labour put in by him for meagre return, the poverty of food and money for rent and taxes. Then he asks himself how in view of the peasants' appalling circumstances he could dare give word to his thoughts as to what benefits science could confer upon the lot of the tiller of the soil. How dare he talk of machines and manures? "He (the peasant) needs me to live with him, to help him become the owner or the free occupier

after other people's sorrow, the sight of which is, in any case "not good for" him. Kropotkin is inspired by love, brotherhood and a feeling of mutual aid to the conclusion that he must identify himself with the human object of his sympathy and help to alleviate his lot-geology and misdirected advanced sciences going by the board. On the other hand, Ruskin, hardened by his reluctance to give up painting and leaf dissecting (whatever net benefit the pursuance of such an occupation might contribute to the common good of mankind), would estrange himself from human sorrow and instead of administering himself his own monetary and spiritual funds of charity, would choose to delegate this function to perfect administrators (bless their bureaucratic bottoms!) who, unfortunately, can only be made to answer for somebody's perishing innocently after the perishing has taken place, and therefore when the position is irretrievable. He might have added to his life of "don't wants" a conscience, sympathy and individual responsibility. He is essentially something which is at once parasitic and specialistic yet he apparently, at least in the context of this passage, never had the courage and discernment, as Kropotkin had, to ask himself, "But what right have I to these higher joys, when all around me is nothing but misery and struggle for a mouldy bit of bread; when whatsoever I should spend to enable me to live in that world of higher emotions must needs be taken from the very mouths of those who grew the wheat and had not bread enough for their children? From somebody's mouth it must be taken, because the aggregate production of mankind remains still so low." More wielders of crowbars and espec-

ially of agricultural implements are required in this world. There can be no Art for Art's sake and Science for Science's sake until these resources have fully satisfied the essential and simple demands made upon them by mankind for the purpose of bringing peace and plenty on earth, and happiness for all men. Until that remote date, Mr. Ruskin, I regret to inform you that you will be unable to lead a quiet life. This is not at present a "quiet town". People will insist on crying and dying and being poor. We cannot make Lord Overstone and the lesser Overstones do something about it; neither can the public make them do something about it because Lord Overstone and the lesser Overstones in this case are effective public opinion. We must each of us be prepared unconditionally to do our utmost about it ourselves, gracefully too! Much though I venerate many of John Ruskin's writings, I have tried to show that his ethics were not those of an Anarchist, even though he never went to the

CORRIGIBLE.

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. APRIL 21—SECOND THOUGHT

GLASGOW

Open Discussion

INDOOR MEETINGS

every Friday Will be held at 7 p.m. at 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow.

FRIDAY, APRIL 9th-Tom Laydon WHY I BECAME AN ANARCHIST

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Reich Replies Continued from p. 1

to claim that it is greater than the Natural Law from which it stems and to which it must inevitably return in the eternal rhythm of creation and decline of all things natural. This is valid, no matter whether we speak in terms such as "God", "Natural Law", "Cosmic Primordial Force", "Ether" or "Cosmic Orgone Energy".

The present critical state of international human affairs requires security and safety from nuisance interferences with efforts toward full, honest, determined clarification of man's relationship to nature within and without himself; in other words, his relationship to the Law of Nature. It is not permissible, either morally, legally or factually to force a natural scientist to expose his scientific results and methods of basic research in court. This point is accentuated in a world crisis where biopathic men held in their hands power over ruined, destitute multitudes.

To appear in court as a "defendant" in matters of basic natural research would in itself appear, to say the least, extraordinary. It would require disclosure of evidence in support of the position of the discovery of the Life Energy. Such disclosure, however, would invoke untold complications, and possibly national disaster.

Proof of this can be submitted at any time only to a duly authorized personality of the US Government in a high, responsible position.

Scientific matters cannot possibly ever be decided upon in court. They can only be clarified by prolonged, faithful bona fide observations in friendly exchange of opinion, never by litigation. The sole purpose of the complainant is to entangle orgonomic basic research in endless costly legal procedures à la Panmunjon, which will accomplish exactly NOTHING rational or useful to human society.

Inquiry in the realm of Basic Natural Law is outside the judicial domain, of

this, or ANY OTHER KIND OF SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION ANY-WHERE ON THIS GLOBE, IN ANY LAND, NATION OR REGION.

Man's right to know, to learn, to inquire, to make bona fide errors, to investigate human emotions must, by all means, be safe, if the word FREEDOM should ever be more than an empty political slogan.

If painstakingly elaborated and published scientific findings over a period of 30 years could not convince this administration, or will not be able to convince any other social administration of the true nature of the discovery of the Life Energy, no litigation in any court anywhere will ever help to do so.

I, therefore, submit, in the name of truth and justice, that I shall not appear in court as the "defendant" against a plaintiff who by his mere complaint already has shown his ignorance in matters of natural science. I do so at the risk of being, by mistake, fully enjoined in all my activities. Such an injunction would mean practically exactly nothing at all. My discovery of the Life Energy is to-day widely known nearly all over the globe, in hundreds of institutions, whether acclaimed or cursed. It can no longer be stopped by anyone, no matter what happens to me.

Orgone Energy Accumulators, the "devices" designed to concentrate cosmic Orgone Energy, and thus to make it available to further research in medicine, biology and physics, are being built today in many lands, without my knowledge and consent, and even without any royalty payments.

On the basis of these considerations, I submit that the case against Orgonomy be taken out of court completely.

Wilhelm Reich, M.D. Chairman of Basic Research of WILHELM REICH FOUNDATION. Date: February 22, 1954.

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of that land. Then he will read books

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