

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The greatest thing in the world is for a man to know that he is his own."

—MONTAIGNE.

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April 17th, 1954

Threepence

THE ADMINISTRATIONS TAKE OVER THE WITCH-HUNT

OUT-McCARTHYING McCARTHY

IT would seem that Mr. Eisenhower and his administration are concerned at the way Senator McCarthy has been stealing the headlines at their expense. As much as for some Americans McCarthy and McCarthyism leave a bad odour in their democratic nostrils, for a very large number, the Senator from Wisconsin is the man who has saved his country from the Communist threat, and they compare unfavourably the administration's activity in the matter with the enthusiastic crusade of the Senator. To remove McCarthy from the limelight, to steal his thunder, the administration has decided to out-do McCarthy at his game, and during the past fortnight the television conscious American nation has seen and heard both the President himself and his Attorney-General expound on the Communist threat and the energetic steps they propose to take which, in the latter's words are "basically fair in accordance with the traditional American conception of due process of law", perhaps a hint that much in McCarthy's investigation lacks 'fairness' or 'legality'. Mr. Charles Wilson, Secretary of Defence has also announced that security measures are being taken by the armed forces similar to those adopted by the Eisenhower administration for its civilian employees.

Opening this campaign to virtually rehabilitate the authority and prestige of the Administration, so battered by McCarthy's 'revelations', the President without minimising the danger of communist infiltration thought it folly to exaggerate the numerical strength of the communists at large.

If fact he estimated that there were some 25,000 party members and

added that the F.B.I. "knows pretty well where they are". And one does not doubt that with a growing army of informers, ex-communist narks and renegades, the F.B.I. has got the party members well and truly taped. One therefore cannot help coming to the conclusion that the legalised witch-hunt will extend well beyond the ranks of the Communist Party, to include all radicals who dare to do their thinking for themselves.

MEASURES to be taken by the armed forces include the following:

Known Communists will be barred from the service. Witnesses before Congressional committees who have claimed the privilege of the Fifth Amendment to avoid self-discrimination will be rejected as volunteers; and when they come to be drafted they will be given "non-sensitive" duty at the lowest rate of pay. All new officers and enlisted men must sign loyalty questionnaires. There will be no distinction made for the record between those dismissed for disloyalty and those dropped or allowed to resign for drunkenness, gossiping, homosexuality, or any other of the human disabilities that now mark Federal employees as security risks.

One can expect some alternative

to the Services, such as labour camps, or brain-washing institutions for those rejected as security risks, otherwise the authorities might find suddenly an increase in "communist" sympathisers at calling-up time!

But most sinister of the measures taken is the order to all ranks in the Services which quite unashamedly declares that

"It shall be the duty of every member of the armed services to report to his commanding officer any information coming to his attention which indicates that retention of any member of the armed services is not clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

As the *Manchester Guardian* puts it: "Each man a McCarthy", each man a potential spy on his fellows. What an atmosphere of suspicion, of mental atrophy, of fear must result! What distinguishes such a situation from the political climate behind the Iron Curtain?

In his television report on "The Fight against Communism" last Friday week, the Attorney General, Mr. Brownell outlined what had been done so far by the Administration and the steps that were going to be taken to intensify the "anti-communist drive".

Continued on p. 4

New Offensive Against Mau Mau

The following material is taken from a despatch in the *Manchester Guardian* for April 12th:

NAIROBI, APRIL 11.

"The Kenya Government to-day withdrew its 'mass' surrender offer to Mau Mau gangs and began a new offensive against the terrorists. Royal Air Force bombers flew over forests, dropping high-explosive bombs on terrorist hide-outs as British troops began the dawn offensive. The Commander-in-Chief, General Erskine, announced: 'We are going to hit these people harder than they have ever been hit before.' Already to-day 273 known Mau Mau members had been arrested."

"General Erskine felt that the surrender attempt had been worth while. 'It nearly came off,' he declared. The general revealed that two Mau Mau 'generals' who had surrendered to the Government last month to join in peace efforts were now believed to be either dead or prisoners of their own followers in the Mount Kenya forests."

"They gave themselves up after 'General China'—a captured Mau Mau leader—had written to 26 other leaders inviting them to talks on a 'mass' surrender. They were later allowed to go back to the forests to negotiate with other Mau Mau leaders. The two men should have met Government representatives in Nyeri yesterday to report whether the gangs had agreed to surrender. When they did not appear surrender attempts were abandoned."

It seemed likely that in framing its surrender offer, the Kenya Government had as an unavowed aim the spreading of

confusion and dissension in the ranks of the movement of discontent in Kenya and this seems now to be confirmed:

A Government statement said to-night: "There is little doubt that the majority of terrorists are now convinced that the whole surrender project was a Government trap designed to bring them together so that they could be slaughtered..."

"The final collapse of the surrender negotiations came yesterday morning, when Superintendent Ian Henderson, of the Special Branch, drove through rain into the forest to meet Mau Mau negotiators. He found a letter in a cleft stick at the agreed meeting place. The letter, signed by "General Karugo", informed the Government that all the Mau Mau delegates who had attended the surrender talks in Nyeri on March 30 had been arrested on suspicion of having led their followers into a trap. General Erskine's Chief of Staff, Major-General Heyman, said that Karugo's letter had suggested that all the Mau Mau delegates would be killed unless the Government sent a "sky-shouting" aircraft over the Mount Kenya area. The letter, however, had not specified what the aircraft should say."

"Major-General Heyman told correspondents that Mau Mau negotiators who had attended the talks on March 30 had been "very intelligent" and "men of personality." They were clean and tidy, all wore insignia of their rank, and their manner "was perfectly correct."

Africans are simple people. In colonies like Kenya it is scarcely surprising that they regard Europeans as slippery customers, seeing that Continental Europeans have long distrusted the British Government as "perfidious Albion". When Africans feel that they are out-smarted every time when it comes to discussion, is it surprising that they see their own strength as lying in their numbers and in violence? Europeans doubtless console themselves with an up-to-date version of Hilaire Belloc's rhyme

"We have got
The Maxim Gun
And they have not."

by greater militancy and increased demands.

In reply to the inevitable howls from our rulers that our economic situation cannot stand improvements, we should answer that we are not prepared to work without improvements—and if our economy cannot stand them—so much the worse for our economy.

So Much the Worse

The working class answer to the perpetual pressure that capitalism puts upon us should be even more ruthless pressure in return. Our demands should be even higher and harder—for more, "uneconomical", wages; for a shorter, "uneconomical" working week—until the capitalist economy cracks under the strain.

That, after all, is what we want. The collapse of capitalism will give the workers the opportunity to come into their own. The process of collapse can be hastened by the workers—but not if we are servile and accept the austerities and demands put upon us. Neither shall we come into our own and establish a free, moneyless society unless we take the trouble to think. We must know what we want and we must know how to get it; we must steer clear of politicians and leaders; we must trust nobody with power over us; we must recognise that our emancipation is our own concern and cannot be achieved for us by somebody else.

This, then, is where Anarchists stand on wages:—

1. The wage system, an aspect of capitalism, must be abolished along with capitalism.
2. Instead of work for wages and production for profit we should establish free production according to ability and free distribution according to need.
3. This can only be achieved through the waging of an economic struggle against our ruling classes, with the object of straining capitalism to breaking point, when the workers should take over the means of production and distribution and establish workers' control in the interests of all in the free society.

P.S.

WAGES: WHERE WE STAND

ANARCHISTS are opposed to the wages system. We want to see it abolished, together with the money system in its entirety and capitalism in all its parts.

Anarchists maintain that the money system in general is stupid and wasteful, productive only of untold misery, and that the wages system reduces workers to the level of slaves, drains the dignity out of labour, and is the chief means by which workers are exploited—and en-

couraged to support their exploitation.

The development of market economy, inseparable from the money system, and the struggle to retain or expand markets and financial interests, are the prime causes for war. We need hardly stress here that the methods of modern war have developed to such a stage that they now threaten the annihilation of countless millions of the world's peoples; it is enough to note that this development, and even the destruction it causes, also serve the interests of those who manipulate finance throughout the world.

War, which has already brought such misery to this century alone, will not become a thing of the past until the lunatic economy which needs war and the preparation for it has also been left behind.

The Insulting Fraction

For the workers—i.e. for the vast majority of mankind who have "nothing to sell but their labour power"—the impact of capitalism is made, day in and day out, through the wages system.

There is little we can do about higher finance—nor should we wish to. For the workers of to-day to replace the financiers of to-day would simply make them the financiers of to-morrow—and capitalism would continue—freshened and strengthened by new blood. This we have seen in this country and elsewhere, when "working-class parties" have gained political power; the social and economic structure has remained fundamentally unchanged.

Where finance hits us, however, is through the wages system. Our wage is the insulting fraction of the value of the goods or services we produce which our employer hands back to us to keep us going week by week. The larger part he keeps for himself and those with interests in common with him—his shareholders, and his government.

As workers, we have no interest in

Summer School

The London Anarchist Group are prepared to organise this year's Summer School in London. The most suitable date seems to be August Bank Holiday (31st July—2nd August). Will comrades from the provinces and abroad interested please contact us at once, stating accommodation required. London comrades are asked to offer and accommodation they may have to: Rita Milton, c/o, Freedom Press, 27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

You take your choice

"NOT THE BRITISH WAY"

The following despatches appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* for April 6th and April 7th:

I

PARTY NOT TO BE PROSECUTED
BELIZE (BRITISH HONDURAS),
APRIL 5.

Mr. Patrick Renison, Governor of British Honduras, said to-night the Government had taken no action against the People's United party for taking money from its Communist-led neighbour Guatemala, because "it is not our way in the British Commonwealth." He said in a broadcast:

The Colonial Office inquiry has proved conclusively without a shade of doubt that the P.U.P. leaders, who are also controllers of the General Workers' Union, received money from Guatemala, received help and advice from Guatemalan officials and were in communication with the Guatemalan Government. "We are not afraid of these misguided people. We are trying to help to produce leaders, not martyrs. We do not take judicial, police, or military action against people for political deviations involving no legal crime whatever."

The Governor said that a lot of people were watching the colony's first universal suffrage election. "Let there be no risk of our having to delay them to let emotions cool down, which would make the world think British Honduras was not yet ready for such responsibility."

—Reuter.

II

PARTY OFFICES CLOSED
GEORGETOWN, BRITISH GUYANA,
APRIL 8.

Tension is mounting here after demonstrations against the refusal to grant bail to the deposed Chief Minister, Dr. Jagan,

and other People's Progressive party leaders who are charged with holding an illegal procession. P.P.P. leaders are reported to be seeking support from other trade unions for a general strike. So far, however, most union executives do not favour a strike.

Last night's disorders began after a crowd collected near Georgetown Prison. They were moved on and went to the party headquarters, where they attacked a riot squad. The police then used tear-gas for the first time in the colony. They closed the party headquarters and posted a guard there. Six people were arrested outside, including Mr. Rudy Luck, junior counsel to Mr. Burnham, the party chairman, who is defending Dr. Jagan.

The police also closed the printing works at which the party newspaper "Thunder" is printed. Later they raided a beer garden owned by Jessie Burnham, sister of the P.P.P. leader, and dispersed a crowd there. Assemblies of more than five people were banned under the Governor's emergency orders.

Twenty-six people appeared in the Magistrate's court to-day charged with breaches of the emergency regulations—holding illegal meetings and taking part in unlawful assembly—disorderly behaviour, and assault. Among the accused was Mr. Rudy Luck, who was charged with assaulting a police officer and disorderly behaviour. He first refused bail but later agreed to it.

Dr. Jagan did not appear on the substituted summary charge of violating the Governor's order restricting his movements to Georgetown. His case was postponed till Monday.—Reuter. (Dr. Jagan has since been given a six months prison sentence.—EDITORS.)

[See Editorial Comment, p. 3]

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The Co-operative Movement and the State

CO-OPERATION AND THE STATE, 1814-1914, by B. J. Youngjohns. Co-operative Union, March 1954, 1/-.

OH DEAR OH LAW!

THE law occupies a very special position in our society. Whether you think it right or wrong you have to obey the law. You must not kill your neighbour, but neither must you evade income tax or dodge your compulsory contributions to National Insurance because the law says so. You may neither smuggle nor may you do certain private things in your private life. It's the law.

Not only does law pervade one's life to an ever increasingly tiresome extent but it also is supposed to possess what is called "majesty". If a man persistently disregards the order of a court the judge or magistrate will say that he must be made to recognize "the full majesty of the law of England." If you openly flout the law or make an open mockery of it you are held to have committed "contempt of court" and for this a judge can commit you to prison and keep you there indefinitely until you have "purged your contempt"—which usually means writing a belly crawling letter to the judge admitting your error and promising to do better in future. A humiliating position for a person of spirit: but humiliating also in the last resort for the apparatus which extracts hypocritical, resentful, surrender by fear and force.

The host of trifling orders and regulations brings the law into contempt anyway, but so also do the pretences about the sanction of the law as the will of the people, beloved by democracies. Several news items in this issue of FREEDOM illustrate this. Americans and Britons regard the law in the Russian satellite countries as a hideous sham and an instrument of the totalitarian party, and they are right. But the new laws legalising wire tapping in the U.S.A. and enjoining service men to spy on each others conversations and opinions is hardly different. The law is changed to suit the need of the governing class whether bureaucrats or bourgeois. Another news item provides another instance.

The Governor of Honduras said in his broadcast that "we—the British—do not take judicial, police, or military action against people for political deviations involving no legal crime whatever". The purist who goes on to read that the British way in Guiana involves arrest without trial, police raids, and tear gas will draw attention to the fact that the accused politicians have violated the law—committed a legal crime. Those who are less concerned with fine distinctions will say, however, that although what is a crime in Guiana, is not necessarily a crime in Honduras, the law can very quickly alter that. Old laws can be adapted, new ones quickly made. For anarchists the law is rapidly going down to the position described in "Animal Farm" where small additions made all the difference to the law-slogans. In our eyes the law has never merited respect, but the time is coming where legal precedents which would have been unthinkable 20 or 30 years ago are now accepted despite denunciations of similar procedures in Fascist and Communist countries. Instances are the legalising not merely of telephone tapping but of the admissibility of information so acquired as evidence in court; and the order to spy on each other issued to American service personnel. (See page 1).

Such laws obviously have to be fought and resisted. But also to be resisted is the public opinion which pats itself on the back for the "British way" for allowing certain nominal political freedom on the one hand, while on the other, in another area where the situation is different makes the same activity unacceptable, it cheerfully regards it

IN one of the clichés which serve as a substitute for thought, Labour propagandists are wont to refer to the Co-operative Movement as the third wing of the Labour Movement—the other two being, of course, the Labour Party and the Trade Unions. It is only when the Co-operative Insurance Society objects to being nationalised or a few vocal Co-operators protest at the omission of all reference to Co-operation in the Labour Party's new programme, *Challenge to Britain*, that one begins to doubt the solidarity of the alliance. A little history soon reveals that the disputes between the Labour Party and the Co-ops. are not just domestic squabbles incidental to a happy marriage but the product of a genuine *mésalliance*. For, as this booklet shows, Co-operation, considered as a social theory, has nothing in common with the State Socialist utopia beloved by Labour Party pundits. Co-operative M.P.s may, for all intents and purposes, continue to be indistinguishable from Labour M.P.s but they do so only because they have succeeded in burying the essential principles of Co-operation.

This booklet is part of a larger work which took the story down to 1952. The editor of the new series in which it appears—*Co-operative College Papers*—has omitted, perhaps for tactical reasons, Mr. Youngjohns' devastating critique of Co-op. politics since the Movement abandoned in 1917 its traditional political neutrality in return for such crumbs as the Labour Party has seen fit to give it. What remains, however, is a stimulating essay in social theory which any anarchist with a shilling to spare would do well to invest in.

It is curious that British anarchists have paid so little attention to the Co-operative Movement—though perhaps no more curious than that they should choose to call the new club after Malatesta rather than after the father of

British anarchism, William Godwin! The neglect of Co-operation is, of course, understandable. It requires a considerable effort of imagination to recall in crossing the threshold of a Co-op Store that one is crossing what was once thought to be the portals of the free communist society. Co-op business looks and behaves very like capitalist business. There is no doubt the famous dividend on purchases, now lower on the average than ever before, but too often that seems to be a belated and inadequate recompense for inferior service and poorer quality goods. And then there is the much vaunted co-operative democracy—one member, one vote whatever the share-holding—which on investigation turns out to be in fact a co-operative oligarchy more narrow than the oligarchy which rules the trade union world. Above all there is the aura of dullness which seems to pervade all co-op activities and the insufferable petty shop-keeper mentality of many of those who run the local societies.

But these are excuses not reasons for putting a metaphorical peg on one's nose whenever the subject of Co-operation turns up. The Co-operative Movement is after all a working class movement. In fact it is much more truly a working class movement than the socialist (or for that matter the anarchist) movement has ever been. It has not thrown up a succession of power-hungry flashy intellectuals eager to lay down the law of its social development. For a hundred years it resisted, as Mr. Youngjohns shows, the blandishments of those who wanted to use it for political ends and as a stepping stone to political office. It eschewed the perilous long short-cut of State Socialism and instead sought to lay hold directly on the means of production, distribution and exchange—beginning with distribution. For, in the faded vision of the Co-operative Commonwealth, Co-operation was scheduled to expand indefinitely until, by peaceful means and through the application of its own superior principles, it had vanquished its capitalist competitors. To the Co-

operative pioneers Co-operation presented itself not as a road to freedom but as the road to freedom—a road along which it had no need to bum a lift from the State Socialists.

Taken all in all and from a sociological point of view the Co-operative Movement was (believe it or not!) the natural complement of the syndicalist movement: the one a movement of consumers, the other a movement of producers. Both were genuine forms of 'working class socialism' which, if they had succeeded, would have prevented the emergence of the managerial state. Both were non-political, non-sectarian and essentially libertarian in outlook. Both taught (and the Co-operators practised what they taught) that the working class must, through mutual aid, work out its own salvation. The great difference was that Co-operation was 'reformist' whereas Syndicalism was 'revolutionary'. It was this difference which made possible the ill-fated union of the Co-operative Movement with Fabian State Socialism but the moral is not quite so obvious as might appear at first sight.

The peaceful emergence of the Co-operative Commonwealth was no doubt a pathetic fallacy. No ruling class would ever have stood by and watched the preparation of its own funeral. But Co-operative 'reformism' is not to be condemned for that. The stock antithesis between reformism and revolutionism is in any case a false one. A movement is not reformist simply because it chooses to work for limited ends within the framework of the existing society. The workers in building up their co-operative stores and co-operative factories were on the right lines. They were creating the new social tissues to replace the old—the only way in which genuine social revolutionary changes are ever made. The tragedy of Co-operative 'reformism' is that the limited ends came to replace the wider ends: the revolutionary objectives of Co-operation were forgotten or ignored in the process of building up the movement. It became a business; a working class business, it is true, but a

business: only the trappings of a social movement remained.

The use of the past tense is intentional. The Co-operative Movement, as Mr. Youngjohns makes plain, gave up the ghost about 1914. Since then the State Socialists have succeeded in taking it over. As a consequence Co-operation has silently changed its character. It has lost the quality which distinguished it from State Socialism and has become, as the Webbs planned, merely an alternative form of so-called social ownership. The Socialists are prepared to make use of it as a method of 'socialising' the distributive trades until such time as they see fit to integrate it completely within the State system. Co-operators may still protest occasionally that theirs is the 'higher' form of social ownership but to socialists it is simply a rudimentary form of State ownership. British Co-operation is travelling the same road as Co-operation in the Soviet Union, but at a slower pace.

That the socialist conception of Co-operation is incompatible with Co-operation as conceived by the pioneers of the movement is obvious when one recalls how heavily indebted both Robert Owen and William Thompson were to the theories of Godwin. As Mr. Youngjohns says, "The classical theory of co-operation is closer to Godwinian anarchism than to anything else." If, as is sometimes said, an anarchist is simply a more logical liberal (small 'l'), classical co-operation was simply the left-wing of liberalism. It shared all the basic premises of liberalism; it differed only in its faith that environmental changes would one day make the continued existence of the State unnecessary and in its belief that Adam Smith's 'unseen hand' which guided the economic system did not work for the best of all possible worlds. The almost unlimited competition of the *laissez-faire* model was, therefore, to be replaced by conscious association of the workers for the purpose of mutual self-help. Co-operation was to replace competition. In the words of William Thompson, the workers were told: 'Instead of working for you know not whom, work for each other...'

Classical Co-operation declined at the same time as classical liberalism declined. Co-operation in becoming successful became respectable: the extreme liberals became less extreme. Flattered by bourgeois leaders, they came to accept the inevitability of the State. Soon, despite the protests of old pioneers like George Jacob Holyoake, they were calling upon the State to introduce social reforms. (Old age pensions if you like, said Holyoake, but why ask the State to do what we can do for ourselves?) Leviathan, welcomed into the hall, soon ensconced itself in the parlour. Before they know what had happened, it had become master of the house and the landlord was reduced to the status of a tenant. Co-operation became the vassal of the State Socialists. It made its entry into politics, clinging to the coat-tails of the Labour Party. The social theory of voluntary Co-operation was dead.

It is a sad story but an instructive one. Anarchists will not agree with all of Mr. Youngjohns' judgments—he is a Co-operator (old style) not an anarchist—but they will find him a reliable interpreter of the changing phases of Co-operation. Those who look to the past to illuminate the future would do well to digest the lessons he has provided. O.

R.M.

Not Criminals but Victims

"I regard it as of particular importance at this moment to state emphatically that we of the Basque country are all with you against Fascism, and we are quite especially so because of our undeviating Christian and Catholic principles... A Christian movement such as ours vindicates social progress. For what other reason did Christ come into the world? We come from the people, we are the descendants of the people, just as Christ came from the people, and we are with Him and the people in this fight."
(Don José Aguirre, Leader of the Basque Nationalist Party in a declaration before the assembled Cortes. Quoted in Spanish Testament).

THE recent trial in Spain of seventeen Basque Nationalists accused of "trying to overthrow the Government and incite seditious strikes", and the strike which led to the trial indicate that the sentiments of the Basque people have changed little since the above statement was made by José Aguirre in 1936.

In May, 1951, at the time of the labour unrest in Spain, 5,000 workers from the Basque town of Vitoria went on strike for five days. It is reported that unlike other parts of Spain the strike was unaccompanied by riots and violence. Nevertheless, seventeen men were arrested but later fifteen were released pending trial while the remaining two were held in prison up until two weeks ago, when all the accused came up for trial. Members of the public were present including visiting Consuls from France, Britain, the United States and Cuba. The trial itself and its eventual outcome contrasts significantly with those of other political prisoners in other parts of Spain. (Readers will remember that the anar-

as illegal and never perceives the mental and moral acrobatics involved.

It is necessary to hold in contempt this kind of mental twisting, just as it is horrible for governments to use offers of surrender to an enemy as a means of sowing discord. Anarchists despise all that because they have ideas about how life ought to be lived. It is only by nourishing good faith that the shifty methods of the law can be laughed out of court.

chists who have been tried in the last few years came before military courts). Although two of the men have been held in prison for three years and all seventeen had signed confessions of their guilt the plea that they had done so under great stress of hunger, thirst, beatings and solitary confinement was successfully used by the Defending Counsel, Augustín Lacort, who denounced the police methods as unknown "to any civilized nation this side of the Iron Curtain... these men are not criminals. They are victims." All seventeen got off with light sentences that they "were deemed to already have served".

Can the hopes of a Vitoria lawyer that "justice and human rights might be on their way back to this tormented land"—be taken as a new era in Spanish 'justice'? The political considerations in connection with this case are more to the fore than any sign of real justice.

First of all it has to be remembered that the Basque country represents a large section of Spanish Catholicism, and has a Catholic labour organisation, now illegal, with its roots among the people. Moreover, the Basques have striven for centuries to attain complete independence and cannot have forgotten that one of the first acts taken by Franco after defeating Bilbao (with the help of

Mohammedan troops) was to abolish Basque fiscal autonomy.

It is not without significance that on the eve of the trial of the seventeen Nationalists the Papal Nuncio paid a visit to the Civil Governor in Vitoria. It was not merely for being a good Christian that the Supreme Order of Jesus was conferred on General Franco by the Pope, or for the sake of *auld lang syne* that a concordat was completed between Spain and the Vatican. The Nuncio in Spain would have two considerations before him in connection with the trial of these men (1) The undesirability of antagonising further the Basque Catholics and (2) The fact that there were foreign observers present. Franco cannot afford to ignore 'democratic' opinion at the moment, so it seems that momentarily the Basque Nationalists have won a victory.

Spain has a long way to go however, before being freed from the yoke of a Fascist Dictatorship. But the Spanish people throughout their history have shown themselves capable of doing just this. They may well do so again.

Man in Perspective

At the dedication of this telescope, named the Hale Telescope, on the 3rd June, 1948, the President of the Rockefeller Foundation, Dr. Raymond B. Fossdick, said—"... In the face of these supreme mysteries and against this majestic background of space and time, the petty squabbling of nations on this small planet is not only irrelevant but contemptible. Adrift in a cosmos whose shores he cannot even imagine, man spends his energies in fighting with his fellow men over issues which a single look through this telescope would show to be utterly inconsequential.

... there is nothing which so glorifies the human race, or lends it such dignity and nobility, as the gallant and inextinguishable urge to bring the vast illimitable complexity within the range of human understanding. In the last analysis, the mind which encompasses the universe is more marvellous than the universe which encompasses the mind."
from *The Great Palomar Telescope*, by Helen Wright (Faber & Faber).

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AS readers will have seen last week, our foundation fund for the Malatesta Club has topped the £100 target. As we have said earlier, however, the peculiar problems attached to the premises have led to expenditure not considered in original plans.

To all those who have responded so generously to our appeal we offer our thanks and appreciation—and to all those who mean to do so but have not got around to it yet, we can only say that we are now getting near to opening, and there are bound to be many last minute purchases to be made, lack of cash for which may hold us up still further.

We have already had a fine example of the efficiency of bureaucracy in our dealing with the London Electricity Board, who demonstrated to perfection the art of passing the buck from department to department. But we have at last managed to pin them down.

It has been suggested that comrades may be able to help by the donation of useful articles for the kitchen. To purchase everything to equip a kitchen properly can run away with a considerable sum, and although some things we prefer to buy in order to get exactly what we want, we will gratefully accept any of the following utensils which comrades may have surplus to their needs:—

Enamel plates and bowls, fish slices and soup ladders, salad servers, biscuit tins, collander, chip basket, cutlery box, tea towels and hand towels, and jugs.

These goods can be sent c/o Freedom Press, or we can arrange for their collection anywhere in London. Donations and guarantees to:

E. PEEKE,
Treasurer, Malatesta Club,
c/o Freedom Press,
27 Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

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London: G.N.O. £1; ANON, £1; K.L. 10/6; P.A.B., V.B.R., & D.J.S. 15/-; E.P. 2/-; W.E.C. 10/-; Bolton: E.M. £3; Johannesburg: R.E. 10/-; Newport (Mon.): M.C. £1; Stockport: R.V.B. 10/-	£ s. d.
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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
Open Discussion

GLASGOW

INDOOR MEETINGS
every Friday
Will be held at 7 p.m. at
200 Buchanan Street,
Glasgow.
APRIL 23.—Hugh McKeefery
SOME ASPECTS OF ANARCHISM
APRIL 30.—Mark William Kramrisch
PIONEERS OF FREE SCHOOLS
MAY 7.—Hugh McCutchen
WHAT I BELIEVE
Sunday, May 9. 7 p.m.
at Workers' Open Forum
50 Renfrew Street, Glasgow.
M. Kramrisch, on
Women, Propaganda and the
Revolution
MAY 14.—Robert McKean
INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

REICH CASE: IS IT PERSECUTION?

YOUR editorial "Intolerance" (April 10) calls for some comment. Your stand against persecution is commendable; but your choice of victims to champion seems to me to be curiously selective.

I can agree with you that it is monstrous for the American Food and Drugs authorities to order private individuals to destroy their "orgone accumulators"; but it seems to me that you overreach yourselves in your defence of Dr. Reich against the action brought against him. What would be your attitude in other cases where the authorities, in their well intentioned efforts to protect the public against exploitation, take action against the purveyors of products that do not, according to "orthodox" scientific opinion—for which you appear to have an unbounded contempt, fulfil the function claimed for them? One case comes to mind at once: that of the London barbers whose licences were revoked a few months ago. The authorities held that the elaborate massage treatment and bottles of hair tonic, which according to "orthodox" analysts contained nothing but industrial spirit and some colouring matter, were completely worthless for their intended purpose and certainly not worth the fancy prices charged for them. Perhaps the barbers' extravagant claims were really justified, and perhaps this was another instance of persecution?

In referring to Dr. Reich's removal to Denmark and Norway you say, with a charming disregard for grammatical logic, that "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 . . ." This is an instance of Senator McCarthy's technique of "guilt by association", and I am surprised to find it used in the columns of FREEDOM.

But the most objectionable thing about your editorial is its tacit assumption of the validity of Dr. Reich's theories about physics and biology. These, you blandly assure us, are "too technical" to be discussed in FREEDOM. I was somewhat surprised at this when I recalled—as who could not?—that you have inflicted upon us "endopsychic complexities" and

other choice gems from the psychologists' vocabulary. Can it be that you are too much at home in the happy-go-lucky domain of psychological speculation to expose yourselves to the rigors of physics, a science that (at least in its "orthodox" aspects) demands close mathematical reasoning?

You say that the Food and Drugs Administration's presuming to act in this way against Dr. 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 func-

tion of the sexual orgasm, is the study of the life-force itself". Quite clearly it does nothing of the sort: whether a man is persecuted or not has no bearing whatever on the validity of his beliefs; they may be equally true or false in either case.

However, as the subject is too technical I will content myself with saying that I am sorry that such a sensible paper as FREEDOM should give this unqualified editorial endorsement of what some consider to be Dr. Reich's excursions into the realm of science-fiction.

EDWIN PEEKE.

Editors' Reply:

Our correspondent's letter really boils down to two main points: (1) that he does not agree with Reich (2) that he has not read the editorial he attacks.

His views on Reich's work do not however seem to merit much serious attention since he has read, on his own admission in discussion, only one of Reich's books. (Our Editorial writer informs us that of the 21 books, journals, and pamphlets listed for virtual suppression in the injunction against Reich, he has read all but 4).

With regard to (2); our alleged "unbounded contempt for 'orthodox' (the quotes are Peeke's) scientific opinion, we would point out the references to Galileo et al. (paragraph 1) and to the example of Jean Harlow's death (para. 7). "The most objectionable . . . tacit assumption of validity, etc.": will Peeke please re-read (perhaps, just read) paragraphs 4 and 8 of our editorial?

Other points. "Guilt by association". In Scandinavia, Reich was a refugee, and a Jewish one at that. His book against Fascism appeared in German in 1933. One does not attack refugees, least of all militant anti-Nazi Jewish ones, without incurring the charge of making common cause with the persecutors.

Our editorial did not state that Reich's biographical and physical theories were "too technical". (See, once more, point (2) above): we wrote that FREEDOM was not the place for scientific technical discussion at all. For this reason, in discussing the Lysenko controversy some

years ago, we did not presume to discuss the details of orthodox genetics. That did not mean that the controversy was of no social and political interest. If our correspondent would re-read articles on psychological matters which have appeared in FREEDOM, he will generally find that these are discussed for the light they shed on such social questions as the upbringing of children, education, legal implications, and so on.

Our correspondent breaks off a quote from our editorial's last paragraph at a semi-colon, and thereby manages to make nonsense of it. Partial quotation however is not a convincing polemical method. Our point was that Reich's contention that authoritarians were bitterly hostile to the study of the life-force is supported by the hostile action of the Food and Drugs Administration. In any case not everyone would agree with Peeke's conclusion about the irrelevance of truth or falsity in persecuted beliefs: there is an old saying that "criticism is hard to bear, especially if it be true!"

Finally, a word about "our choice of victims to champion". (It seems hardly worth while to point out that Reich, whose work has been published continuously over 30 years, is not quite on all fours, even if one disagrees with him, with barbers who allegedly sell overpriced hair lotions). We hope that FREEDOM will never cease to defend victims of persecution. In the past we have denounced the State when it has inflicted savage legal penalties on pro-facists, or pro-Communists like Nunn May, Fuchs, the Rosenbergs, or religious people like Mormons or Doukhobors, or nationalists like Kenyatta. It will be plain from this list that the views of victims may well be abhorrent to us: we nevertheless remain hostile to persecutors. The validity or otherwise of Reich's orgone research seems to us irrelevant to the fact of persecution. Having pointed this out, we reiterate our indebtedness to much of his sexual sociology, and our view that his experimental work requires scientific verification or otherwise, not legal suppression.—Eds.

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Out-McCarthying McCarthy

Continued from p. 1

"One of the weapons he mentioned would be provided by a bill introduced by Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican of Michigan. It would take away the citizenship of any person found guilty of advocating the overthrow of the Government by force. This would mean the end of the Communist party, Senator Ferguson said in introducing the measure. President Eisenhower advocated enactment of such legislation in his State of the Union Message in January.

Mr. Brownell said that Congress would be asked to enact two other measures that could be used to strike at Communists.

One was a bill that would allow an employer to dismiss from defence plants during a national emergency any person whose record showed that he was likely to engage in sabotage or espionage. The National Security Council, Mr. Brownell said, had determined that such persons imperilled national security.

The second measure would 'eliminate Communist control of any industrial organization or labour union in vital sections of our national economy.'

Under this proposal the Subversive Activities Control Board would conduct hearings to determine if a union or industrial organization was dominated by the Communist party. If it so found, the law would prohibit any employee from paying dues or otherwise supporting such organizations and would deny to any member of such groups employment in a defence plant."

(N.Y. Times, 10/4/54).

But this was not all. Only the day before, the House of Representatives voted by 221 to 166 to empower him, subject to court approval, "to tap telephone wires and use any information so gained as evidence in the prosecution of spies and saboteurs. The bill, which now goes to the Senate, would end the twenty-year-old ban against use of such evidence in the Federal courts."—(Reuter). So one more blow has been struck for freedom (or is it yet another nail in the coffin of freedom?).

Another was "a proposal that would permit the Government to compel testimony of those who in-

voked the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination by granting them immunity from prosecution."

Bills that would provide the death penalty for peacetime espionage and enlarge the statute of limitations in espionage cases were other measures Mr. Brownell said had been or would be proposed.

Well might the Attorney-General declare "the threat of Communism is a very real one", for the measures being taken by the administration are the kind we have always been told are typical of the totalitarian states but "repugnant" to democratic ideals.

We have long been convinced that McCarthy is an inhuman menace. But we find the American government's methods and proposals none the less repulsive even if they have behind them the "due process of law". Even in the satellite countries the ruling class take refuge behind "the law", in perpetrating their crimes against the individual resister, but we have yet to hear of a "democrat" who justifies these crimes on the ground that they are "the law". Why then be so smug as to believe that what is "the law" in the democracies must be good and just? As we only too well know, governments—yes "democratic" ones—are past masters in declaring "emergencies" and introducing "emergency" legislation when it suits them, not to mention the imprisonment of suspects for indefinite periods without trial and of suspending constitutions indefinitely.

When we read therefore that initiative in the political witch-hunt in America is passing out of the hands of McCarthy into those of the government with its façade of "the due process of the law" we do not join those who sigh with relief. Rather do we feel that it is a case of jumping out of the frying pan into the fire.