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

-MONTAIGNE.

Vol. 15, No. 16

April 17th, 1954

Threepence

THE ADMINISTRATIONS TAKE OVER

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 fol-

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 "nonsensitive" 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 hidingplaces 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 slaughter-

'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 Nyrei 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 outsmarted 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 upto-date version of Hilaire Belloc's rhyme

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

WHERE WE STAND WAGES:

A NARCHISTS are opposed to the wages system. We want to see it abolished, together with the money system in its entirety and capitalism in all it 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 encouraged 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 else-. where, when "working-class parties" have gained political power; the social and economic structure has remained funda-

mentally 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

and owe no allegiance to the economic system through which they exploit us. Production for Use

common with those who exploit us-

It is therefore in our interests to abolish the wage system—but what do we put in its place? Instead of production for profit, the Anarchists wish to see production for use. That is, instead of producing goods—any goods—simply because somebody can sell them somewhere and thereby make a profit, we should use our resources to produce the things that people need. And goods should be produced because people need them, because they can use them-and they should be freely given to satisfy the peoples' needs.

This, obviously, will only be done when the productive and distributable machinery is taken out of the hands of those who own or control it to-day and is controlled in the interests of the whole of society by those who work in production and distribution.

Take Over Production

Those who own and control to-day have no interest in giving up their power. But those who are owned and controlled along with their machines—the workers -have every interest in freeing themselves from their slavery.

But it is only through our own efforts that this will be achieved. The workers therefore should organise themselves for the purpose of taking over production and distribution, establishing workers' control in all their enterprises, and abolishing the money and wages systems by operating free production without wages, and free access to the means of life without money.

This obviously entails a revolutionary struggle of immense proportions, and will require from the workers a determination, courage, and clarity of thought which has not shown itself so far.

How will it be carried on? By the methods of direct action. By using every opportunity to weaken the grip of the ruling class upon our means of life. This process can be started now. Captalism is entering, once again, a period of intense competition. In order to survive, capitalist groups will call upon their workers to sacrifice their hard-won gains, to practice restraint, to tolerate austerity and even want and poverty-and, of course, to support a new war.

These demands should be treated with be answered, not with acceptance, but 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.

Instead of work for wages and production for profit we should establish free production according to ability and free distribution according to need.

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.

You take your choice "NOT THE BRITISH WAY"

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

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.

> PARTY OFFICES CLOSED GEORGETOWN, BRITISH GUIANA, 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 teargas 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 reglations -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]

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.

the contempt they deserve. Any attempt to lower our standards of living should

FIVE years ago this month Freedom Press and the revolutionary movement lost one of its most intelligent and active workers with the death of Marie Louise Berneri. During these five years FREEDOM has made many new friends to whom Marie Louise Berneri is but a name, and it is particularly to them that these few words are addressed on this fifth anniversary of her death.

MARIE LOUISE BERNERI was active in the English anarchist movement from the moment she arrived in this country in 1937 until her untimely death in 1949. She not only took a most active part in the editorial work of the Freedom Press but also in the many other forms of anarchist propaganda, and as a result was known and respected outside our movement as well as within it. Only during the last few weeks, F. A. Ridley, present editor of The Freethinker thus recalled the personality of M.L.B. in the course of one of his weekly articles in the Socialist Leader: " . . . the late Marie Louise Berneri, whose tragic death robbed anarchism of one of its most brilliant militants, whose colourful and fascinating personality will always be remembered with admiration and affection by all who

knew her . . . " The printed word can never recapture the whole personality of someone like Marie Louise Berneri,

The Writings of Marie Louise Berneri

dom Press for the Memorial Com-

mittee with the title Neither East

Nor West. The fifty articles in-

cluded in this volume have been

grouped into three sections. The

first, "Defenders of Democracy", is

an exposé of the composition of the

Allies and their record as "champ-

ions of democracy". The second,

"The Price of War and of Libera-

tion" deals with all the human mis-

ery that follows in the wake of war

and even of so-called "liberation",

and there is something very topical

in this section in view of present

attempts being made to minimise

the horrors of war prior to the dis-

covery of the H-Bomb; as if war has

only really become horrible now!

Finally, the section headed "United

Nations" gives us a picture of the

immediate post-war period, and

again, the present world political

situation would be more clearly seen

in its true perspective if memories

were not so short. This section con-

tains much factual material, as well

as perceptive comments by the

author, which have lost nothing with

the passing of the years and the

changing political scene. We believe

this volume is a cogent statement

and justification of anarchist oppo-

sition to war and to the efforts being

made to force the peoples of the

world into taking sides either for or

against the Russian or American

blocs. As an appendix there is a

very spirited reply by M.L.B. to a

correspondent who suggests that

FREEDOM by its articles attacking

Russian imperialism is "playing the

American game". One still occa-

sionally receives such correspon-

dence, though less now that our gal-

lant Russian allies have ceased to be

on the side of the "democracies",

than during the war and imme-

whose maturity of judgment, to be found in her writings and vividly recalled even to-day by those who were here closest collaborators, was combined with a youthful and enthusiastic approach to all she undertook, not excluding her positive attitude to life in spite of much unhappiness in her childhood, and the deep shadow cast by the tragic death of her father at the hands of communist gunmen during the May Days of 1937 in Barcelona.

Nevertheless we feel that the small commemorative volume published by the Memorial Committee in 1950, Marie Louise Berneri, 1918-1949—A Tribute, in which many of her friends and comrades have recalled her as a friend and as a comrade in the struggle for a happier world, and which is illustrated with many photographs, does convey, without undue sentimentality, something of this "colourful and fascinating personality" as our friend Ridley describes her, for those of FREE-DOM's new readers who have become acquainted with her name only since her death.

Of her political and social writings, the columns of Spain and the World (1936-1939), War Commentary (1939-1945) and FREEDOM (1945-1949) contain most of her journalistic work, and in 1952 a volume of

diately after the German defeat! selections was published by Free-

On the attitude of anarchists to the régime in Russia Freedom Press published a 40,000-word study by Marie Louise Berneri in 1944 (that is, at a time when all criticism of Russia was taboo, as support for her has since become) with the title Workers in Stalin's Russia. It has proved to be one of our most soughtafter publications. Some of the chapters are now of course dated, but there is much material which is still of fundamental importance, not least, the serene, logical and human Introduction. Chapters from this work have been published in a number of languages, and the Japanese edition of the whole work, published recently by our comrades in Tokyo, has met with success, so much so that a new edition has been projected.

One should also mention two long essays which were contributed by M.L.B. to the now defunct magazine published by George Woodcock, Now. In Sexuality and Freedom (Now 5) she explains the ideas of Wilhelm Reich on the basis of the literature then available on the subject. It was as far as we know the first article to be published in this country on the work of Reich, and many were those whose interest in his work was the result of reading it. In Now 3 M.L.B. wrote a long critical study of Gerald Brenan's Spanish Labyrinth, a book she much admired and which is clearly revealed in the warmth of her review, but which did not prevent her from examining it with all her intelligence and critical faculties.

AND last, but not least, her study on Utopias, which she did not live to see in print. Journey through

Utopia, was Marie Louise's first full length work of research. The demands of the movement, the day-today work on War Commentary and FREEDOM during the momentous war years and the first years of "peace" made it impossible for her to undertake a large-scale project which would absorb all her energies to the exclusion of this essential dayto-day activity. (Workers in Stalin's Russia, for instance, was written in part in the form of articles for War Commentary over a period of two years, and she despaired of ever finding the time to redraft and add to these articles all the notes and other material she had been accumulating for years). Thanks however to such devoted collaborators as George Woodcock, she was able to devote some six months in 1938 to uninterrupted research on the subject of Utopias, and the volume that has resulted from that effort gives one an idea of what one may have hoped for in the future had not death intervened a few months later to abruptly end her life and her work for the cause of freedom. Journey through Utopia was widely praised by all the critics (with one exception, the communist Daily Worker). Extracts have been published in the anarchist press throughout the world. An American edition was published by the Beacon Press, and an Italian translation is being published this year by one of the most distinguished Italian publishing houses, Fratelli Bocca of Rome and Milan.

With this brief introduction to the work of Marie Louise we hope to have interested our new readers to read her for themselves. We think they will share our view that it was time well spent.

(Works by Marie Louise Berneri available from Freedom Press are listed on p. 4)

To Struggle or Not

DURING the past few months two new periodicals have come my way, John Lehmann's London Magazine and Russell Roemmele's The Struggle. The London Magazine is well-produced, tasteful, well-written. It was launched under the sponsorship of the Daily Mirror with a pompous 'Message' from T. S. Eliot on the rôle of the literary review opening the first number. It is all so cosy that one longs for the Lehmann of New Writing who brought to an eager public new writers, such as Sid Chaplin, William Sansom and many others, who wrote then with a vigour that his present contributors lack. In the first number the reader is fobbed off with a chapter from a new novel by Elizabeth Bowen and in the second a descriptive piece by Joyce Cary so slight it would have been ignored had it come from the pen of anyone else. Not that London Magazine is bad, but it could be so very much better. It is so very cultured and refined that in reading it you might be lulled into forgetting that we live in a world of vicious colour bar in Africa, conflict of rival powers, and bombs of such vast destructive force the earth. itself would be devastated by their use.

The Anarchist Russell Roemmele, who after parting from the Individual Action

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Publications . . . The Libertarian Vol. 2: No. 4 · The Struggle Vol. 1, No. 2 The London Magazine, April Encounter, April

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group started his own paper The Struggle, is aware of all this. It is hard for us in this country to gauge the climate of opinion in America; but the contributors to The Struggle write with an urgency and an anger that is almost hysterical at times. They have been influenced by the Existentialists and the reader is battered occasionally by the names of such heavyweights as Heidegger, Kierkegaard and Neitzsche but it's preferable to be shaken by them than stifled by a teaparty atmosphere.

This type of comparison leads to a consideration of what makes good writing-matter or form: the brutal directness of The Struggle and the Hemingway school or the mannered elegances of those whose matter is of no great importance. What is needed is an assessment of literature and its relation to life which is free from Marxist ideas of Socialist Realism and yet does not encourage retirement into comfortable lack of thought. I feel that a writer or any other artist should not shirk the problems posed by his place in a society that shows all the symptoms of imminent self-destruction. It is not enough to say that people get the writers they deserve. The important writers of our time, Orwell, Koestler, Silone and Graham Greene, faced their problems squarelyman versus the police-state, the sinner and his God.

Great literature then must be true to life and human values. It should possess conflict and should have a timeless universal quality of appeal to all periods and peoples. If we take this as a yardstick how do the great writers throughout history measure up to it? Sophocles' "Antigone" presents the conflict of the woman who wishes to bury the bodies of her brothers with authority in the shape of the king who forbids it. The "Lysistrata" gives a semi-comic picture of the Greek women who refuse to sleep with their menfolk until they stop their wars. Chaucer, the father of English poetry, is full of earthy wit and some shrewd digs at the popular enemies of his day. Shakespeare portrays in Falstaffe, a subversibly indolent character, the "Good Soldier Schweik" of his day, and in his plays the theme of the king's death constantly recurs. Milton gave up his poetry to pamphleteer, writing that great onslaught against censorship "Areopagitica" in which he describes a book as 'the precious life-blood of a master spirit'. The Romantic Poets of the 19th century were revolutionary in poetic expression and often in their beliefs as well, influenced by the anarchist William Godwin. The greatest Victorian novelist, Dickens, was a reformer whose years as a reporter give his writings the sting of truth, especially in writing of governmental institutions-the Eatanswill Election and the Circumlocution Office. The most influential modern poet, T. S. Eliot, from his Christian standpoint condemns a decadent society in his work-"Here were decent godless people. Their only

monument the asphalt road and a thou-

sand lost golf balls." This is echoed by

"TO-MORROW is already here" is the title of a new book on America, by Robert Jungk, refugee European journalist.* He has visited the country and reports on the latest ways in which men exploit matter, machines, plants, animals-and each other. The whole book will be of great interest and the cause of some alarm to

anarchists and similar minded people. An especially urgent warning is given in the chapter entitled 'Worlds without walls' an account of the latest capitalist menace-the 'soul engineer', who is none other than old old beaming friend the Industrial Psychologist. Psychology, like all other sciences, was

originally intended as a method of exploring the wonder of Being and of diminishing human misery. Now, like most science, it is being perverted and twisted to the ends of what religious people would call the Devil.

Here is what happens when you apply for a job in some places in America. Says an industrial psychologist:

'The great new development in our field is the inclusion of the complete personality of the employee in our evaluation. The theory and practice of scientific management have made considerable strides in the past fifteen years. Former tests contented themselves with the noting of surfaces aspects of the candidate, such as mental reactions and signs of physical skill. To-day, with the help of personality tests we try to look deeper into the natures of people. How is their emotional stability? Are they honest? Are they loyal? How do they get on with their fellow workers? Are they

Louis MacNeice's "Bagpipe Music"-"It's no go the Government grants, it's no go the elections,

Sit on your arse for fifty years and hang your hat on a pension."

This of course is a selective list but the writings which to me are most important contain the elements mentioned above.

The Communist degrades art to the status of propaganda. As Anarchists we must realise that art is the expression of man's creative urge. Great art recognises and reflects the struggles and problems of its time and all time. Lesser works have ignored these to their own disadvantage. The crucial question in life and letters is whether to struggle or not. As Anarchists we join in that struggle against State, war and destruc-

Engineers at married? Have they sex problems? Do they spend their money easily? What is their relationship with their parents. What with their children? Have they got inhibitions? Are they aggres-

sive?' 'Each of our employees is appraised according to 40 personality traits, beginning with his upbringing, continuing through his capacity for remembering names and his political orientations.' The psychologist magnaminously concedes 'we don't of course, wish to exert any direct influence on his political opinions, but as an expression of personality they, too, seem implicitly important and informative.'

Other ordeals to which the job hunter is subject are keeping him waiting for a long time in a room, while he is observed either by concealed watchers or by television. Finally that new implement of violence to the human personality is invoked, the lie detector. This gadget is worthy of a whole book to itself, but Jungk gives an account of a typical operation performed on an ordinary American female wage slave, who is discovered to have lied on various minor and personal matters. All this lie detecting is carried out in a cheerful, jolly, smiling manner-just like the Inquisitors in Orwell's "1984".

While the victim is undergoing all this, other scientific snoopers are going round the town ferretting out 'information from a local credit office regarding his financial circumstances, reports of his teachers and former chiefs, report of a detective about his private life, etc. We leave nothing to chance' the psychologist triumphantly concludes.

This is all carried out, it is admitted quite openly, in the interest of greater profits. Reverting to our garrulous soul engineer, he tells Jungk 'These methods saved the firm substantial sums. To put the wrong man in the wrong place, to give responsibility to a person incapable of taking it—these are the things that really cost money'.

'A single worker can cost us thousands of dollars through a mistake in the handling of a valuable machine. We invest 2,000 dollars' worth of instruction in each new worker and we see no point in losing it simply because we haven't adequately

tested the man's character before en-

gagement."

The activities of these so-called psychologists are not, however, confined to testing would-be employees. If there is a fall in production, unrest or any impending strike in a factory then the psychological corporation will move in

en bloc and its agents will thoroughly investigate the situation. Says Jungk:

'The inevitable questionnaires are distributed, personal interviewers meet the staff of the business from top to bottom, and on occasion, if simple methods prove inadequate, microphones are concealed here and there for the reception of "candid reactions"—that is, expressions of the employees not intended for the ears of observers'.

Boys! Next time you curse the boss, look out for that concealed microphone. It has happened in U.S.A.—it could happen over here!

Anyhow, Jungk sums up the total effect of all this as follows:

'Millions of Americans, as soon as they cross the threshold of their place of work, step, partly consciously, partly unconsciously, into rules which correspond to what the soul engineers expect of them. They are happy and keep smiling even if they do not feel particularly content . . . and above all they behave as though they were loyal to the firm through thick and thin, even if they find more to criticize than to praise.'

'The standard mask of the "jolly good fellow" . . . and the "sweet girl" grows on them as a second face. It is no longer a question of the inner conscience . . . but of rules of behaviour coming from outside . . . be sure to do nothing striking or unusual, which could be regarded as neurotic, as egotistical, as maladjusted or perhaps even revolutionary.'

In other words, Jungk clearly indicates that, just like the citizen of a Fascist state, the American worker must not only refrain from grumbling, but he must be positively and perpetually enthusiastic. What an outrage on the human person-

Be it noted that all these schemes operate without concentration camps or physical violence. The mere threat of the sack, or 'not getting the job' is sufficient to make the victims swallow any insult. In a money-economy a threat to a person's money supply is a threat to his life-line, and well most of them know

The only answer to all this is unremitting hostility to wage slavery, money and profit production and all these things imply. Frederick Engels used to say 'Socialism or Barbarism'. We can now improve on this-Anarchism or Insanity!

*To-morrow is Already Here, by Robert Jungk. (Hart-Davis, London, 1954, 16s.)

April 17, 1954

Vol. 15, No. 16

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 their 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

The Co-operative Movement and the State

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

IN one of the clichés which serve as a substitute for thought, Labour propagandists are wont to refer to the Cooperative 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 Cooperators 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. Cooperative 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 Cooperation.

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 Papershas 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 Cooperative 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, or 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 coop 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 Cooperative 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 Cooperative Commonwealth was no doubt a pathetic fallacy. No ruling class would ever have stood by and watched the preparation of its own funeral. But Cooperative '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 oldthe 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

Mohammedan troops) was to abolish

It is not without significance that on

the eve of the trial of the seventeen Nat-

ionalists 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 con-

ferred 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 antagonis-

ing further the Basque Catholics and (2)

The fact that there were foreign observ-

ers present. Franco cannot afford to

ignore 'democratic' opinion at the

moment, so it seems that momentarily

the Basque Nationalists have won a

before being freed from the yoke of a

Fascist Dictatorship. But the Spanish

people throughout their history have

shown themselves capable of doing just

Spain has a long way to go however,

Basque fiscal autonomy.

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 Cooperation in the Soviet Union, but at a slower pace.

That the socialist conception of Cooperation 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 cooperation was simply the left-wing of liberalism. It shared all the basic premisses 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 coattails 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 Cooperator (old style) not an anarchistbut they will find him a reliable interpreter of the changing phases of Cooperation. Those who look to the past to illuminate the future would do well to digest the lessons he has provided. O.

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 Consuis 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

this. They may well do so again.

victory.

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. Fosdick, 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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E. A. GUTKIND : The Expanding Environment 8s. 6d. V. RICHARDS:

cloth 10s. 6d., paper 7s. 6d.

GEORGE WOODCOCK : Anarchy or Chaos

Homes or Hovels?

New Life to the Land

IS IT PERSECUTION?

VOUR 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 indviduals 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 othodox psychoanalysis (whose colleagues in Germany had capitulated to Hitler's antisemitic 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 "endopsychich complexities" and cussing the Lysenko controversy some

"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 Gov-

ernment by force. This would mean the

end of the Communist party, Senator

Ferguson said in introducing the measure.

actment of such legislation in his State

would be asked to enact two other mea-

sures that could be used to strike at

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

The second measure would 'eliminate

Under this proposal the Subversive

Communist control of any industrial

organization or labour union in vital

Activities Control Board would conduct

hearings to determine if a union or in-

dustrial organization was dominated by

the Communist party. If it so found,

the law would prohibit any employee

from paying dues or otherwise support-

ing such organizations and would deny

to any member of such groups employ-

But this was not all. Only the

day before, the House of Represen-

tatives voted by 221 to 166 to em-

power him, subject to court appro-

val, "to tap telephone wires and use

any information so gained as evi-

dence in the prosecution of spies

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

sections of our national economy."

imperilled national security.

ment in a defence plant."

of the Union Message in January.

President Eisenhower advocated en-

Mr. Brownell said that Congress

One was a bill that would allow an

Continued from p. 1

Communists.

gists' vocabulary. Can it be that you are too much at home in the happy-golucky 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)

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

However, as the subject is too technical will content myself with saying that 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

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

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 reread (perhaps, just read) paragraphs 4 and 8 of our editorial?

Other points. "Guilt by association". militant anti-Nazi Jewish ones, without

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 FREE-DOM 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.

FREEDOM

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The Writings of M.L.B.

The following works by Marie Louise Berneri are still available from FREE-DOM PRESS:

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Sexuality and Freedom in Now 5

The Memorial Committee has offered to present free of charge a copy of the Tribute to all readers purchasing either

Journey through Utopia or Neither East Nor West. Readers may obtain a complete set of

the above works for 25/- (\$4) post free instead of the published price of 33/6. All orders must be sent direct to FREEDOM PRESS.

Conservative Anarchism

GIOVANNI BALDELLI'S recent article on Conservative Anarchism contains enough controversial material to split the movement! He points out that "there is much in any existing society which is worth preserving". True, but anarchists need to distinguish between the abolitionist struggle against the State and the struggle to improve society. The latter is necessarily reformist if any real advance is to be made. Both of course are important.

Surely the best way of acting under a Kerensky style of government is neither to attempt its violent overthrow nor to collaborate and accept positions in it. While the political façade is preserved the real struggle for power goes on in the streets and factories. In 1917 the real struggle occurred in the Soviets: the fathers of the Provisional Government just weren't in the running. The Soviets then were the most effective place to oppose both Kerensky and the Bolshe-

All government depends to a great extent on the consent or indifference of the governed. The influence of anarchism will be in direct proportion to the number of supporters it can muster. Neither the Kerensky nor Bolshevik type government could have lasted long without some measure of mass support. Once, however, a tyranny is established, less reliance can be placed on the power of the masses to overthrow it, but in a period of social flux the opinions and actions of the people are the chief determinants of events.

As for Anarchists in a government-I don't want to see them or anyone else P.H.C. in power.

FLUTTER IN THE HOUSE

In the paragraph from the Manchester Guardian, which is reproduced in FREE-DOM (April 3), the man who threw leaflets in the House of Commons recently is reported as having shouted: "The State must die. Sign these to live." But I did not say this, which would have been quite nonsensical. What I actually cried was: "The State must die, i society is to live. Long live the Anarchist revolution!" The free are they who free themselves. To petition the State to abolish itself, to plead with rulers to cease enslaving us would be like a prisoner asking his gaolers to help him to escape. The State will never wither away, as Marx and Engels maintained. It must be annihilated; I entirely agree with all of Comrade Parker's criticisms of Giovanni Baldelli's article on "Conservative Anarchism". Only that revolution will be beneficial to the people which will destroy at the very root every vestige of statehood and authority and will annihilate all of the present state traditions, institutions and classes. No true Anarchist, no true revolutionist can in any circumstances or under any pretext support or sanction the government of man by man. In the very depth of his being, not merely in word but in deed, he has broken every connection with the tyranny of the State, with all the laws, appearances and generally accepted conventions and moralities of authoritarian society, which he considers his ruthless foe.

DOUGLAS MUIR MACTAGGART. Windsor, April 2.

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THE MALATESTA CLUB

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 ladles, 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.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED:

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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. Kramisch, on Women, Propaganda and the Revolution

MAY 14.—Robert McKean INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

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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?).

would permit the Government to fire. compel testimony of those who in-

other choice gems from the psycholo-

postulated by Freud, and into the func-

either case.

the realm of science-fiction.

EDWIN PEEKE.

not read the editorial he attacks.

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 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 dis-

Out-McCarthying McCarthy voked the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination by granting them immunity from prose-

cution.

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 jump-Another was "a proposal that ing out of the frying pan into the

LIBERTARIAN.