

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Hatred and violence do not cease by hatred and violence. They only beget their like. It is only by love that hatred ceases."

—BUDDHA

## ABOLISH CAPITAL PUNISHMENT!

THE National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment is being properly launched this week with a mass meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster and an overflow at Church Hall.

This may well be a significant event in the story of the struggle to end the barbaric practice of hanging in Britain, for it is generally conceded to-day that there has been a considerable change in the climate of public opinion on this issue and that there is a swing in the direction of abolition.

We go to press before the meetings take place, and so cannot report upon them, but the fact that tickets for the large Central Hall were sold out days before the date and the Church Hall had to be taken for the overflow, indicate success. This is not surprising in view of the speakers announced. There were Frank Byers, Canon Collins, Gerald Gardiner, Q.C., Christopher Hollis, Gilbert Harding, H. Montgomery Hyde, Cdr. Sir Stephen King-Hall, Frank Owen, R. T. Paget, Q.C., M.P., Lord Pakenham and J. B. Priestley, with Victor Gollancz in the Chair.

This impressive list of names brings spokesmen from both Houses of Parliament, the legal profession, literature, journalism and entertainment, and should start off the campaign with a bang in London. It is to be hoped that similar meetings can be called throughout the country so that all potential support can be roused to bring pressure to bear upon not only the Government but

upon public opinion itself, a large proportion of which still clings to its belief in the Black Cap.

### Recent Cases

The arguments against capital punishment have often been stated in full in FREEDOM, and during the Summer, arising out of the Ruth Ellis trial and execution, we several times carried front page articles on the subject.

The Ruth Ellis case was the last of several in the past four years which have caused great controversy around capital punishment. There was the Bentley case, where an underprivileged, semi-illiterate and epileptic boy of 18 was hanged for a murder he didn't commit. Bentley had set out on a warehouse-breaking adventure with a 16-year-old friend, had been surprised by the police. The other lad, Craig, had a gun, and shot a policeman 15 minutes after Bentley had been caught and was being held down by another policeman.

But Craig was too young to hang, even in Britain, so since, as many people thought and said, *somebody* had to hang for the policeman, Bentley was duly executed by proper process of law.

Then there was the fantastic Christie case with—in its way more sinister—the light it threw on the execution of Evans two years previously for crimes which to-day are recognised by all except a few interested parties as having been committed by Christie.

### Insanity

There have been several cases since the war which have spotlighted the inadequacy of the McNaghton rules on insanity. There rules, laid down in 1834, are hopelessly out of keeping with modern psychological

knowledge. They recognise insanity only if the murderer did not know what he was doing at the time of the crime, or, if he knew, did not know it was wrong. This elementary rule of thumb may have coincided with the knowledge of human mental processes 120 years ago, when Freud and all the work he set in motion were unheard of, but to-day's knowledge, limited as it may be, indicates mental conditions which explain much beyond the scope of the McNaghton rules.

In fact, so much can be explained by field workers in psychiatry to-day that it becomes increasingly clear that nobody can be described as "normal" (if we know what this is!) who murders another. And if we add to that the social understanding such as anarchists apply to the problem, we cannot but be appalled at the blind, ignorant and vengeful nature of the arguments for capital punishment.

### Revenge & Deterrence

These arguments fall into two basic categories: (1) *Revenge* (An eye for an eye; making the punishment fit the crime); (2) *Deterrent* (If we hang A this week, B won't murder C next week).

The first of these is, if we may say so, unchristian. It demands a human (and therefore fallible) judgment and gives to the judges something which Christians claim is only God's right—the power over life and death. It denies the hope of reclamation and applies a punishment which is final and irrevocable. It specifically renounces forgiveness or understanding, demanding only a savage retribution. It shows no more reverence for human life than the murderer himself showed. The official maintenance of the right to

kill encourages rather than otherwise an approval of violence.

The second point (deterrence) ignores completely the special reasons and circumstances and mental conditions which result in murder. The psychological condition of a murderer preclude an appreciation of the possible consequences, and even where this is not so, encourage him to take a chance on getting away with it. The number of murders each year remain surprisingly constant, in spite of the publicity given to the punishment of wrong-doers—or perhaps because of it.

But the strongest argument of all

comes from those countries courageous enough to have taken the step of abolition. There, if capital punishment is a deterrent, we should have witnessed an immediate increase in capital crimes. *But there was no such increase.* If anything, figures have tended to fall.

There are to-day no arguments outside of fear and prejudice to justify the retention of a barbaric, cruel, mystical and socially harmful practice. Anarchists, who base their approach to social problems on ethical and scientific arguments and not religious, are aghast at the hypocrisy of those who profess Christianity but support the death penalty for a variety of expedient reasons.

**THE DEATH PENALTY MUST BE ABOLISHED!**

## News is Never New

A QUICK glance through the newspapers, with special reference to the headlines, reveals once again the melancholy fact that the news to-day is in essence the same as the news last week, last year or for that matter last century. The old battle continues in exactly the same way as ever; the hard struggle for prominence on the front page, the rear-guard action, gallantly fought, as the sensational item sinks rapidly into obscurity at the foot of the centre page. Hot political news fighting tooth and nail against the inroads made upon it by last week's murder and yesterday's Royal occasion. An epic pronouncement by a high dignitary of the church losing hands down to the awe-inspiring possibilities conjured up by the prospect of 10 cents on the price of American wheat.

What then are the headlines which impinge upon our bloodshot eyes as we covertly conceal ourselves behind the breakfast edition of *The Daily Shriek* or *The Constitutional Gazette*? With varying degrees of importance we read of war and near war, princess and dictator, murder and arson, gold shares and fair shares, the Derby and the Spurs. For

war, princesses and grisley murders, are reserved 3 inch banner headlines; dictators, the Derby and ordinary murders are announced in 1½ inch type; most of the remaining news commands only ½ inch type or less. This formula being common to all newspapers, with the exception of *The Constitutional Gazette* which never uses large type, presumably because all issues are regarded as equally tedious.

But to shift from generalisations to something in particular, we must take samples from the current daily press. "Princess Not To Marry", "50 Egyptians Killed By Israel Troops", "Electors Cheated", "Sterling Nears Parity", "Spurs Sign Norman". Not so long ago, England teetering on the brink of disaster, awaited the world-shattering news that its king was about to abdicate and marry a divorced commoner. The then Archbishop of Canterbury was held responsible for the result. Now the present benign old Archbishop is similarly placed with Princess Margaret. Just like old times.

Fifty Egyptians are killed in the Middle East. **Continued on p. 4**

## Democratic Forgery

A particularly unpleasant episode of the 1953 election campaign in Western Germany is closed with the sentencing of one Wolf Hollenberg to eight months' imprisonment.

Mr. Hollenberg was convicted of forging documents which were used with great effect by the Christian Democrats in the campaign. The documents purported to show that Social Democrats (the main opposition to the C.D.) were financed by the German Trade Union Federation: by law the unions are debarred from maintaining political funds or subsidizing a political party. Adenauer himself constantly used photographs of the documents at election meetings, with considerable success. Of course no evidence has come to light that Adenauer knew they were forged at the time but since the S.D., as soon as it heard of the alleged documents, categorically denied their authenticity and since Adenauer, after his party had won the election, withdrew them—with polite expressions of regret—one can only come to one conclusion about the morality of the C.D.s election tactics.

*One Thousand Marks.* Hollenberg, who is aged 28, after dabbling in journalism, had made friends in turn with the Communists, the Social Democrats, the German Reich Party, and the Free Democrats. During the 1953 campaign the C.D. heard that the S.D. were preparing a pamphlet on their finances: wishing to retaliate they approached the Free Democrats for some 'dirt' on the opposition. They were referred to Hollenberg who supplied microfilm of the documents. He received 1000 marks.

*The Judge on Morality.* During the trial the judge reproached Hollenberg with the impropriety of photographing peoples' letters and passing them on to other people. Hollenberg answered that if the letters had been genuine it would have been in the public interest to disclose them.

One of the more revealing remarks on the morality involved was made by defence counsel who advised the court that it could not apply the cleanly judicial morality unqualified to the transactions of political parties!

## Christian Morality & Need Incompatible

IF the controversy over the Royal romance has done nothing else of value, it has exposed the repressive nature of the Church and stimulated an interest in the difficulties of marriage and divorce in our society.

Anarchists, consistent with their general philosophy, hold the view that decisions affecting our personal lives are solely a matter for the persons involved, and that Church, or State, have no right to impose a moral code, particularly when such people reject the authority of either. The marriage institution as such does not improve a relationship based on love, it merely gives religious or legal sanction to a union and offers a degree of economic protection in law to women should the marriage break down. The act of taking vows at a wedding ceremony rarely prevents couples separating, the reasons are usually of a more practical nature, such as the obstacles put in the way of those wanting a divorce, and the maintenance of wife and children.

Many people who do not hold our view on marriage, but who are not bound by religious restrictions, find the present divorce laws a serious obstacle to their happiness. To us, the idea that official sanction is necessary to a love union is infantile, but for those people who do, within the framework of our society, we suggest that divorce reform is necessary to fit the needs of those wanting

to end one marriage so that they can contract another.

Although the majority of people contract a marriage with the intention that it should last, the official divorce figures alone show that a large number of marriages are unsuccessful. Young people rushing into marriage in the first flush of enthusiasm may later discover that they are incompatible; a marriage may last for several years, and then one or both partners may feel that they are no longer happy in the relationship. If a new marriage is sought the difficulties of obtaining a divorce are enormous, even when money is not a serious obstacle. Yet the church would rather condemn unhappy people to a lifelong relationship than see them happily separated.

### Divorce Reform

Robert Pollard, Chairman of The Marriage Law Reform Society, writing in the *News Chronicle* (Nov. 5th) on the case for divorce reform suggests that where marriage has obviously failed "a sensible law should permit divorce whenever it is clear that a marriage has in fact come to an end . . . and that husband and wife are the most competent to judge of its failure."

But English divorce law demands that divorce can only be obtained for adultery, desertion, cruelty and incurable insanity if proved to the satisfaction of the law, thus assuming that one of the partners must be

guilty and the other innocent. If two people voluntarily agree to end their marriage without rancour, the hypocrisy of the law demands that one of the conditions above must be met although the couple concerned may be unwilling to go through the sordid business of accusations in the divorce court. Where there is bitterness and resentment the law encourages this unhealthy attitude by its insistence on making a "guilty" party.

The last stand of the upholders of life-long monogamous marriage is based on the supposed ill effects of a broken home on the children. The misery of children who have been brought up in an atmosphere of parental squabbling is not given consideration as long as the marriage institution is respected and preserved. Children of divorced couples may well be confused by a break in the family pattern, but if a more reasonable attitude towards the breakdown of marriages were encouraged children would not be taught to believe that "mummy is wicked" or "daddy is wicked", and the conflicts arising in the minds of children would be considerably lessened. A number of people writing on this point to the newspapers, some even devoutly religious, have said that they have been profoundly affected by squabbling parents and recommending that where couples cannot live in harmony, divorce should be made easier for them.

The evidence, and the experience of other countries, like Denmark, Sweden and Norway, point to the need for a change in the divorce laws. But, as on the question of capital punishment, Britain lags behind the more progressive countries.

### Marriage & Prostitution

Christian morality is less concerned with prostitution than it is with preventing people voluntarily exercising sexual freedom, and the following letter, written by a Church of England member, to the *News Chronicle* gives us a glimpse of the other side of the penny of life-long monogamous marriage:—

"I have recently returned to England after living three years in Spain, where there is no divorce, and where marriages are still arranged.

"But there are thousands of prostitutes, and it is the accepted thing for husbands to go off regularly to the brothels. Or, if they are rich enough or men in public life, they have their own private and secret rooms in hotels, for those not infrequent occasions when they feel the need for a change.

"Of course, their wives know, and they often condone their husbands' behaviour. It gives them an added feeling of security.

"A priest told a friend of mine that, while it was a great pity about the prostitutes, they were necessary to keep the marriageable women pure . . .

"I am a practising member of the Church of England, and would not belong to any other. For me it is the most broad-minded and truly Christian in its attitude to the problems of modern life. But, like the Roman Catholic Church, I think it tends to overrate the importance of divorce as a sin compared with the sins of hypocrisy, intolerance, cruelty and lack of self-control." M.

## Freedom's Regional Planning Number AFTERTHOUGHTS

"Many thanks for your copy of FREEDOM referring to the International Conference on Regional Planning last month. I have read your comments with great sympathy; please will you send me four copies of the same number."

★

"... I would like six copies if available..."

★

"Your excellent and full reporting of the recent conference on Regional Planning which is both accurate and well-written, should certainly earn your paper the support of interested people, as well as the gratitude of the conference organisers. Could I please have three further copies of the edition on the conference?"

★

"... A superb number of FREEDOM on the planning conference..."

★

"Very many thanks for the issue containing the excellent report of the Conference on Regional Planning."

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WE sent copies of FREEDOM's special number of Regional Planning and Community Development (Oct. 8th), to some of the people who attended the International Conference. Not many of them responded, but those who did wrote with such warmth that they have evidently gauged the sincerity of our own concern with the subject.

### BOOKS

## In the Year 1992

**THE BIG BALL OF WAX** by Shepherd Mead. Boardman. 10s. 6d.

MODERN novelists have an incurable urge towards prophecy. The whole gamut of science fiction from Verne to Vogt, via Wells, Huxley, and Orwell indulges in it. But whether the setting in Erewhon, Utopia, Airstrip One, or just plain Hell the great majority are pessimists: they see the world going to destruction violently or subtly or by a combination of the two. Prophecies of doom are so much more dramatic than prophecies of well-being, which no doubt accounts for the predilection.

Mr. Mead offers us a slight variation on the tradition of gloom, and it is difficult not to accept his version as the most likely pattern of the future—at any rate for us in the west. His novel is set in the year 1992 when, to quote the blurb, "there are no enemies only consumers" and individuality is quietly crushed in the bear-like hug of "Big Brother Advertising".

Briefly his story is about, not (very much not), C. P. Snow's New Men but the new non-men. Mr. Mead's morons are only the logical extension of what

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We quote from some of their letters above. We don't know what the other people, or for that matter our regular readers, thought about it. Perhaps they shared the view of a distinguished town-planner, who remarked, "I found it all very interesting, but why should anarchists of all people be interested in regional planning?"

The answer to this question would, we thought, have been evident in the last part of our editorial in the planning number, where we reiterated Martin Buber's distinction between society and the State, between the social principle and the political principle, and quoted from Kropotkin's essay *Anarchism—Its Philosophy and Ideal* the passage describing the kind of society at which anarchism aims. It is worth repeating Kropotkin's words:

"It seeks the most complete development of individuality combined with the highest development of voluntary association in all its aspects, in all possible degrees, for all imaginable aims; ever changing, ever modified associations which carry in themselves the elements of their durability and constantly assume new forms, which answer best to the multiple aspirations of all. A society to which pre-established forms, crystallized by laws are repugnant; which looks for harmony in an ever-changing and fugitive equilibrium between a multiple of varied forces and influences of every kind, following their own course..."

the present-day good advertising man should be: his altar is the sales graph on which his constructive instincts are sacrificed to the god of prestige. It is one such executive of a vast U.S. corporation, Consolidated Chemicals (Con-Chem for short) who tells the story in the form of a memo-tape to his inferiors (nearly all records are kept on tape; the only books being produced—apart from picture ones—are Joycean word-puzzles written by intellectuals for intellectuals).

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He records the history of XP, a device which utilises the hypothesis that sensations are only electrical impulses within the brain, by artificially inducing such impulses. A tape is fed into the machine on which are recorded the emotions from particular situations: the XP (which looks something like a woman's hair-drying machine) then pumps the appropriate charges into the willing victim. He feels, smells, touches, or hears without actually doing these things—an improvement on Huxley's "feelies" where (if memory serves) one feels what is being portrayed on a cinema screen.

Since the first XPs were used by a phoney evangelist to induce a sense of sin by relaying sexual experiences, their popularity was assured. Unfortunately they worked so well that people lost the desire to buy such essentials as television sets, chewing gum, etc.: the sales of Con-Chem's products dropped fiercely. How Con-Chem gain control of XP and how some subversives nearly succeed in destroying it, make amusing reading.

Mr. Mead has a fertile imagination: one of his notions is bridge-golf. Instead of a tiresome walk to your ball after making a stroke you just jump aboard the bridge wagon, "made with rollers instead of wheels, with plenty of room inside for golf-bags and a table of bridge".

The whole-wall TV screen in the bedroom—"They were singing 'Wake up, wake up, you sleepy head!' and wiggling the way the Code said, to right to left and left to right, but not back and forth, which would have been immoral".

The Praisegod machine—"... an exclusive Yourchurch development. Actual recordings of the entire congregation. They're doing some real fine hymns and some specially written Praisegod talk. We had a top scriptman do it up for us... we had the whole thing multiple-recorded, every single voice is multiplied fifty times. And whatta we do? We play it all the time, twenty-four hours a day. The statistics on it are pretty wonderful. Actually praise-wise we figure forty-eight hours of this equals the entire congregation singing away every Sunday for fifteen years!"

The *Big Ball of Wax* is good entertainment, with the moral "It might happen here". It might indeed, if the rapacious creation of new markets by advertising and the growing dominance of commercialism over our lives continues.

M.G.W.

ANARCHISM (Greek: an archia—non-rule), the idea of non-governmental society, in rejecting the political principle—power, authority and dominion, and exalting the social principle—families, groups, unions, co-operative bodies and communities—has something of great value to offer those who are concerned with the under-developed and under-privileged parts of the world. The second half of this century will, in the perspective of history, be noted not as the television age or the atomic age, but the age in which the millions of "have-nots" of Asia, Africa and Latin-America stake their claim for their share of the benefits of the modern

world. They look at the West, trying to cast off its political and commercial dominion and needing its technique and experience; resenting it and emulating it. What are they going to emulate? The power-worship and money-worship which are the mainsprings of its economy? The state-worship offered by Marxism? What is the effect of the industrial revolution going to be in the "late developers" among the nations? Here is Mr. Basil Davidson writing about the growth of the industrial city of Elizabethville in the Belgian Congo:

"In social stability and individual happiness the cost of this change is not small, for the naked cash nexus was never more naked nor unashamed than in these new towns. They are filled with people suddenly bereft of their tribal restraints on individual racketeering; and here our acquisitive society, as Tawney

has called it, gets sharply back its own unlovely image..."

"All that is shown to be possible under colonial subjugation is the destruction of the old society. Colonialism has been the terrible though necessary hurricane which has swept away the old in preparation for the new. It shows itself incapable of building the new... Meanwhile, the only civilisation which Africans have generally acquired in this process of destruction and of clearing away is the 'civilisation' that is built in the image of 'money, the White man's god', in the image of capitalism. One cannot fairly ask of anything more than it can give. The acquisitive society has done its best. The further and the fuller liberation of Africa and Africans awaits a new example, a finer challenge."

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THIS new example and finer challenge will not come from the ideologies of the monolithic State

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## The Relevance of Max Stirner - 2

"Just recognise what you really are, and let go your hypocritical endeavours, your foolish mania to be something else than you are. Hypocritical I call them because you have yet remained egoists all these thousands of years, but sleeping, self-deceiving, crazy egoists... Even religion is founded on our egoism and exploits it; calculated for our desires, it stifles many others for the sake of one. This then gives the phenomenon of cheated egoism, where I satisfy not myself but one of my desires e.g. the impulse towards blessedness. Religion promises me the "supreme good", to gain this I no longer regard any other of my desires, and do not slake them. All your doings are unconfessed, secret, covert and concealed egoism. But because they are egoism that you are unwilling to confess to yourselves, that you keep secret from yourselves, hence not manifest and public egoism, consequently unconscious egoism—consequently they are not egoism but thralldom, service, self-renunciation; you are egoists and you are not, since you renounce egoism. Where you seem most to be such, you have drawn upon the word egoist, loathing and contempt."

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THE reasoning in the passage I have just quoted is repeated in different forms throughout the book. For Stirner

### CINEMA

## Novelle Per Un' Ora

IT is curious that the film equivalent of the short story has never established itself where one might have expected it to—among the short films that are used to fill out the programme. Instead we have had to wait for a comparatively recent development, the cinematic equivalent of the book of short stories.

The latest collection, *Tempi Nostri* (Our Times) can be seen at the Marble Arch Pavilion. This is another Franco-Italian co-production, which means that we have a quota of French actors speaking dubbed Italian—a quite unnecessary abomination.

There are five stories altogether, and it is no coincidence that the two best have the benefit of Vittorio de Sica. The first of these, a slight but beautifully acted sketch, is about an ageing count who is reduced to working as a film extra. On location he meets an old flame of the twenties who has been reduced to living *au pair*. Out of this slender material the director, Alessandro Blasetti, has produced a small masterpiece.

The other is taken from an original by Giuseppe Marotta, and in this de Sica plays the part of a Don Giovanni of the Naples bus service, whose amorous pursuits bring him into constant conflict with his supervisor, a man whose only passion is the efficiency of the service. This piece of pure comedy is another little masterpiece much worthier of recognition than some of the super-colossal tosh now going the rounds.

The remaining three stories, though undistinguished, manage to rise above mediocrity.

The opportunity has been taken, where possible, to include some of Italy's scenic and architectural wonders. I had wondered why Italian producers did not make more of their magnificent natural backgrounds: I now realize that this treatment requires some circumspection; for although de Sica manages to compete successfully with the Bay of Naples I felt Yves Montand, in his rôle of a Florentine schoolmaster, was somewhat overpowered by the church of Santa Croce.

E.P.

everyone is unique, everyone is egoistic, but he becomes an interesting individual, a fulfilled individual only when he realizes the nature of his own uniqueness and the reality of his own egoism. It is impossible to discuss Stirner in the mid-20th century without realizing the fact that he was a forerunner of Sigmund Freud and the whole psychoanalytic school. Now the psychoanalytic school sees man's mind as being like an iceberg floating in the sea; by far the greater part of it is submerged and invisible and only a small part of it is visible above the water. The movement and general behaviour of the iceberg is due to the shape and size of the huge submerged bulk, yet all we see is a little part of it sticking up among the waves. In this analogy our consciousness is represented by the fraction of the iceberg which is visible, yet the greater part of our psychic and emotional life is submerged like the bulk of the iceberg and directs our destiny in spite of the efforts of our conscious mind. All our civilization, all our difference from the lower animals is related to the degree of our consciousness. In the young child and the most primitive savage the area of consciousness is very small; maturation both in the individual and in the history of culture, enlarges the area of consciousness. The happiness of the individual is not directly related to the degree of his consciousness, for the young child or the savage can certainly be happier than some intellectually advanced adults; happiness is related to the harmony which should exist between the conscious and the unconscious parts of the mind. As Stirner has pointed out, if the conscious mind sets up ideals which deny the basic egoistic drives of the personality then the individual will suffer from frustrated egoism and his egoism will turn to thralldom and self-renunciation, and by what Freud later called *reaction formation* the individual turns on his own dearest desires with loathing and contempt. A state of blissful unconsciousness of self is possible in a primitive animal existence, but once mankind started to create, to complicate his life with cultural achievement he set himself problems which concern us all only too acutely to-day.

The problems of political organization, the relations between the individual and the community have concerned the greatest intellects of all ages. We could discuss how the Greek philosophers met these problems, or how they were dealt with by the Christian church, but it is more to the point to consider how they concern us here and now in Britain and here and now in our own individual lives. To talk of the problems inherent in our British tradition while discussing Stirner who was a German may seem a little odd, yet Stirner was part of that European current of thought which specially centres upon Britain. I refer to Utilitarianism, that practical philosophy which arose out of the final overthrow of the feudal way of life and the genesis of modern European man. That utilitarianism first arose in this corner of Europe rather than any other is due to historical circumstances too complex to discuss here; but the fact that social, political and technological changes took place in Germany some fifty years after they took place in Britain and after the same pattern meant that Utilitarianism was introduced to Germany by Stirner in an extreme and sophisticated form, which had little in common with the watered-down Utilitarianism of his contemporary J. S. Mill. It was Max Stirner incidentally who translated Adam Smith's *Wealth of all Nations* into German. I do not suggest that the Germans had never heard

of Utilitarianism before Stirner; Hegel of course had attacked it—but it was more appropriate to the German scene of the 1840's than earlier on.

The utilitarians, Hume, Adam Smith, Bentham, Malthus, Ricardo, John Mill, J. S. Mill, were all more or less committed to a tacit acknowledgment of the validity of egoistic hedonism; they were convinced that that was what really made man tick, but they were too conscious of their debt to the disreputable philosophy of Thomas Hobbes to be quite frank the whole time about this basic assumption. The two Utilitarians who are exceptions to this are William Godwin and Max Stirner, both anarchists. Godwin certainly repudiated egoistic hedonism, and the utilitarian basis of his anarchism should be too well known here to need further exposition. Stirner on the other hand openly embraced egoistic hedonism, and he does not shrink from the full implications of it as put forward in Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan*.

Stated very briefly, Thomas Hobbes' thesis is that since man is entirely egoistic, there must have been in the distant past a condition of anarchy which was most uncomfortable for all, because the egoism of each man would have resulted in a constant war of each against all, and in this condition of natural anarchy the life of man was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short". In order to put an end to this uncomfortable state, each man agreed to give up his egoistic sovereignty, his power, to an all-powerful sovereign who enforced law and order so that a peaceful society could be formed. Hobbes used this argument to justify the case for an all-powerful sovereign who would stand for no democratic nonsense from his subjects. He represented the choice as being between utter despotism and an anarchy of violence. His book *Leviathan* is a quite remarkable piece of work; it is free from all religious cant and mysticism, and argues the case for unbridled despotism with brutal logic.

Max Stirner is the only writer who accepts the premises of unequivocal egoistic hedonism and comes to conclusions exactly contrary to those of Thomas Hobbes. Stirner argues in favour of the destruction of *Leviathan* and the establishment of complete anarchy; he does not fear that life would be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short" in such conditions. For Stirner, any man who gives up his individual power to a sovereign, be it an individual despot or a democratic government, is a complete fool. Now that we do know something of the life of primitive man in a state of anarchy, thanks to the researches of anthropologists, we must admit that Thomas Hobbes was wrong in his conjectures. But knowing that Thomas Hobbes was wrong in his pseudo-historical conjectures does not necessarily mean that Stirner is right in a contrary sense. Stirner does not write of a future society, he is not concerned with blueprints for social organisation; he is concerned exclusively with the individual, and whatever forms of social organisation may be thrown up by the interaction of individuals are not a matter of direct concern to him.

It must be pointed out here that Stirner makes no direct reference to the *Leviathan* or Thomas Hobbes in his book. This is rather odd as he shows detailed knowledge of the British political and philosophical writers, and can hardly have been unaware of the chief influence of David Hume.

(To be concluded)

G.

## THE AGE OF EXPERTS

WITH the development of radio and television there has come into being a new form of entertainment, which in fact is less innocuous than the dreary funny-man or the blasé music-hall artiste, because those who "perform" are presented to the listening and viewing millions as Experts on every subject under the sun, whereas the only real qualification most of them possess is what one used to call "the gift of the gab". Far from stimulating people to think for themselves and promoting serious discussion, these Brains Trusts, these panels of Critics, these Any Questions nomads have the opposite effect. One could almost say that society is being divided into two classes, those who ask the questions on the one hand; on the other the class of experts who know all the answers!

In this élite class must of course be included the editors of such august journals as *The Times*, the *Manchester Guardian* and their lesser brethren who daily advise not only the government but the nation (and occasionally the world), as to what they should be doing for their salvation. And of course there are the weekly journals of opinion, whose editors are always on the move, paying flying visits to the outposts of crisis to collect first-hand gossip for their authoritative dispatches. It is not without significance that since the *Manchester Guardian* decided to become a *National* daily its editorial tone has lost the human touch; or that since the *New Statesman* circulation soared into the dizzy heights that command page advertisements from I.C.I. the *Daily Mirror* and Mr. Rank, its political section should sound more pompous and authoritative (as well as providing two star writers for the mass circulation *Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Pictorial*!

THE growth of this new class of experts has been wrought at the expense of the discussion of ideas and principles. To-day an article in the press or a broadcast talk which attempt to get to grips with ideas, basic human problems, without concessions to the ifs and buts of political expediency or the susceptibilities of religious bodies, are indeed so rare that when they occur they are the object of special mention among the progressive minority and of hysterical yowls from the gutter press and other upholders of the *Status quo* (a recent example, is of course, the talks given by Mrs. Margaret Knight).

To-day even thinking has become such a dangerous, complex and specialised science that only experts can be trusted to deal with it in the right way! So we have experts in local police stations pouring over literature which might corrupt our morals; Watch-Committees, Councils, Boards of Censors, churchmen and old women of both sexes scrutinising our plays, our films and our picture postcards for anything that might offend their grandmothers or surprise their grand-daughters; a B.B.C. independent only in name, riddled with Catholics and mediocrities, stifled by a civil service mentality, in constant fear of questions in the House and telephone lines jammed by indignant blimps, thereby ensuring decorum and respectability at all times. And finally our panels of experts who relieve us of the trouble of answering our own questions!

THE foregoing was provoked, curiously some readers may think, by a letter from a correspondent in Tel-Aviv, which is reprinted on this page. He expects "honest and practical ideological advice", looking to

us as experts who can provide all the answers he seeks. But we are only human beings, not experts, and we collect and interpret facts and express our views with no more authority than any other mortal. We even confess that having spent a whole evening reading the week's cuttings from the "authoritative" press on the Middle East "crisis" we are no wiser as to who is the villain of the piece (since all the Powers concerned emerge from the verbal, and shooting, frays equally compromised), nor of any real issues which can explain the present "tension" in the Middle East. We cannot qualify, therefore, as experts nor hope to influence the politicians in their deliberations on Middle East questions! Far from making us feel less responsible, such an attitude as ours can only increase our feeling of responsibility towards our correspondent, for us he is a human being and not, as is the case with the political experts and strategists, merely an instrument of policy.

TO our minds our correspondent clearly indicates that he is the victim of the disease we referred to earlier: namely, of having his mind stuffed by the (political) experts at the expense of ideas. He is cynical so far as the Big States are concerned but cherishes the illusion that a small one by its smallness avoids all the evils of a State. Does he really believe that Ben-Gurion and Mr. Sharett are no less of politicians than their Big Brothers? He talks about the arming of the Arab States yet admits that at present Israel is "stronger than the enemy". Who supplied Israel with these arms?

Our correspondent asks: since Egypt and Syria will do their best to wipe out Israel and all the great powers will gladly sacrifice her if it is in their interest—"tell me if all this is true, what choice have we left but war?" If all this is true, then it seems to us that the last choice should be war, since it is the one certain way of wiping out the people of Israel.

From the point of view of the Jewish people in Israel (as distinct from the Israel State), the future as we see it depends on their ability to win the confidence of the Arab population (as distinct from Nasser and Co.). And what greater step in that direction could be taken than that of doing something about the 500,000 homeless Arab refugees, exploited by Nasser for his nationalistic ends. Writing in last week's *Tribune* Mr. Harold Miller, political secretary of the Poale Zion, apart from distorting the facts regarding the creation of the Arab refugee problem points out that

Israel welcomed the Jewish refugees from Iraq, Yemen and other Arab lands, and rehabilitated them. The rich Arab rulers have made no effort to rehabilitate the refugees for whom they are responsible, but use them as pawns in their game of politics against Israel, and as small change on the counter of diplomatic dealings.

## LETTER

### What to do in Israel?

GENTLEMEN,

I sometimes read your paper through the courtesy of a friend of mine who has a subscription. I understand you advocate pacifism and non-co-operation with government agencies, among other things.

I have been in many countries all over the world and after watching things unbiasedly and listening carefully to what people have to say for themselves all over the place, what they aspire to and what they want out of life, I have come to certain conclusions. One of them is that we Jews are building up something distinctly worthwhile here in Israel—I would call it unique, but I don't know enough to generalize. There are many shortcomings, of course, but by and large people are better off spiritually and have more ideals than anywhere else. Also, I think it is the only choice for Jews under obtaining circumstances, at least until you folks take over—which, I figure is going to take some years yet.

Now, believe me, I am not trying to show you people up but I want some honest and practical ideological advice from you. Since old Adolf committed

[The following article is reprinted from the *Indian Rationalist* (September 1955) because of its interesting factual material. We find the journal's comments less interesting and contain ideas to which FREEDOM does not subscribe—EDITORS.]

MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI has given an Independence Day message to the country which deserves serious notice on the part of all people who desire to probe the malady that has afflicted post-independence India. He makes an admission which might be construed as a malicious libel upon the entire cadre of officers who man the administrative set up. But the fact that the admission proceeds from one who occupied the high position of the Governor-General of India and who still continues to be a member of the High Command which rules the ruling political party places it beyond all such suspicion. Here are Mr. Rajagopalachari's words with reference to the conditions that prevail in India after the cessation of British rule:

"Judges are not independent and impartial; the administration is not efficient and free from favouritisms; there is corruption and greed in operation everywhere; provincial narrow-mindedness and caste cohesions are more in evidence than patriotism."

No truer words were ever uttered. And what are the reasons for this sorry state of affairs? According to Mr. Rajagopalachari the reasons are three. Firstly, he says, while the former foreign administrators were able to command an atti-

This is the kind of political argument which exacerbates the problem and convinces us that the Israeli politicians are no different from any other politicians in placing peace and security second to the game of power politics.

WE think that the only "honest and practical ideological advice" we could offer to our correspondent is that the people of Israel should abolish their armed forces, and with the saving in materials, currency and man-power set about the task of absorbing the Arab refugees as part of their community, and it would not be long before the whole Arab world became aware of their action.

It is practical advice because wars create more problems than they solve; besides the fact that in the event of a war in the Middle East, Israel and the Arab States would be mere pawns sacrificed by the Big Powers and would lose whoever wins. It is practical advice because it is clear that international power politics thrives on the Danzigs, the Triestes, the Koreas, divided Germanys, the Middle Easts; and that it is only by removing the causes of nationalism and religious antagonisms that it can be thwarted. It is "ideological" as well because the abolition of force in human relations and racial and religious distinctions are positive steps towards the free and peaceful society.

## VIEWPOINT FROM INDIA

# THE CORRUPTION OF POWER?

tude of detachment from local interests and hence could be impartial, the Indians who have taken their place cannot command such detachment and are necessarily corrupt. He says, "the same blood flowing in the officer's veins as those in the veins of the people of the land" must destroy the detachment which guarantees impartiality in an officer. We do not concede the logical necessity of the proposition which Mr. Rajagopalachari so confidently asserts. Are British officers in Britain and the French officers in France, whose blood is the same which flows in the veins of their people also corrupt? Is every country in the world which does not enjoy the privilege of foreign rule necessarily burdened with corrupt officers?

Let us examine Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's second reason. He says: "Holders of key positions in the administrative machine are rapidly becoming politicians: otherwise they cannot be successful." The first part of his sentence is true enough but there is no warranty for the insinuation implicit in the second half. If administrative officers turn politicians, as they have undoubtedly done in independent India, they are thereby undermining democracy in this country. But why should non-political officers necessarily be unsuccessful as Mr. Rajagopalachari so categorically asserts? Again, we ask the question: does the similarity hold in Britain, in France and in other civilised countries? If, in other countries, successful civil servants need not necessarily be playing the political game there must be something wrong in the political set up in India which has brought about the mix up. Can it not be that Mr. Rajagopalachari looks at the evil from the wrong end? Does not the corruption proceed from the politician who trespasses into the domain of the civil servant and interferes in administrative affairs which are not his concern?

The third reason that Mr. Rajagopalachari advances for the existence of corruption in the services is the fact that India attained independence without having to undergo the sufferings of a

violent revolution which would have bestowed the blessings of that "chastening of mind" so necessary for guaranteeing efficiency and would have prevented the prevalent state of corruption. Mr. Rajagopalachari says: "Vices are driven out by the hardships and sufferings of war and revolution and values tend to be other than selfish". This statement is based on the fiction that India attained her so-called independence by methods which were allegedly peaceful. There are two opinions in regard to the political methods adopted in India and there are also two opinions in regard to the nature of the "independence" attained by India. But what libel this on the method of non-violence by a prominent votary of that creed? If peaceful methods lead to corruption and only a violent revolution leads to a pure and efficient administration, why claim superiority for the former method which is admittedly inferior? Again, it is a libel on the people of India when Mr. Rajagopalachari states that the Government reflects the character of our adult population. Our people may not be paragons of virtue but certainly they are not so corrupt as our officers.

There is no need for us to quarrel about the reasons which Mr. Rajagopalachari has invented to explain away the prevalence of corruption in the services which he so frankly admits. Even conceding for a moment the validity of the reasons he has given, what is the remedy? The remedy Mr. Rajagopalachari suggests is one of despair. He says we should wait for time to work out the inevitable results of the vices inherent in our people and show them up in their sufferings and disasters so that they may ultimately change their ways. This is certainly the voice of despair. We cannot wait indefinitely for time to work out the miracle of a change of character. A rational method must be found, and found urgently, for putting an end to the crying evil of corruption in the services which threatens to engulf the lives of millions of our people in utter misery.

*The Indian Rationalist,*  
(September 1955).

## Afterthoughts Continued from p. 2

nor from the free-for-all of private capitalism, nor will it come from socialism in its political meaning, for social-democracy in its fatal reliance on political and governmental action, has come to mean merely a well-intentioned bureaucracy. The reason for its inadequacy in meeting the needs of fundamental development can be seen in the report on the Indian Community Projects quoted at the planning conference:

"... it is easy to see that anything which the people have not willed, have not planned, have not directed and have not voluntarily carried out is not popular. The bureaucratic and semi-bureaucratic schemes of rural development had no elements of vitality, dynamism and creativeness in them for the basic reason that they were not popular in these respects..."

This point was re-emphasised at a meeting in London a fortnight ago, where Mr. Laurie Pavitt, just back from the Far East spoke on "South-East Asia — Co-operation and the Village Community". He spoke of the ancient self-sufficient village community regulated by custom and not by jurisprudence, and of the impact on it of imperialism and of central government, the coming of village officials, the district officer and the tax-collector, responsible not to the people of the village but to a central authority. The people no longer had the need nor the ability to settle their own affairs—somebody from above gives all the orders, and the result is apathy. To-day's task, Mr. Pavitt declared, is to alter this apathetic and static mentality. But this cannot be done by government action. He gave examples of well-meaning but futile attempts to set up village co-operatives from above.

MR. PAVITT defined a co-operative as "a group of people joined together to affect their own destinies". The conflicting ideologies of East and West seek to shape peoples' destinies for them and the extent to which these ideologies dominate the development of Asia

and Africa, and to which they dominate the "planners",—those technicians who have the tremendous responsibility of acting as midwives to this development, to that extent will it repeat the tragedies of European history and create anew the problems of a centralised competitive society, problems for which we in Europe and America have yet found no solution.

The idea of a libertarian stateless society based on voluntary co-operation is the logical conclusion of many of the views expressed at the planning conference. It is the idea which was developed into a philosophy by the classical anarchist thinkers, Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin. Perhaps it is more than an accident that Kropotkin was famous as a geographer and that two of his anarchist colleagues the brothers Elie and Elisée Reclus were respectively a pioneer of comparative anthropology and a celebrated geographer (the author of the *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*). For anarchism, which seeks to supersede the government of man by the administration of things finds striking and continual confirmation of its assumptions in the studies of man and his environment by the humane sciences represented by the technicians attending the Planning Conference.

## NEW VALUES?

In these days, to filch a thousand pounds' worth of insured diamonds from an heiress's neck is wrong, of course, but doesn't much concern us. Whereas to plunge a cigarette stub into a fresh dish of eggs and bacon seems foul, revolting; a sin against the purse and against the soul.

(C. A. Lejeune in *Observer*, 6/11/55.)

## A STREET OF GOLD

A street in Johannesburg is to be paved with gold to mark next year's 70th birthday celebrations. A gold-gilding process will be used to give the street the appearance of having been carved out of the precious metal.

Letter from France

# The Strike as a Social Driving Force

SINCE August, 1953, when a general strike of public services hit the country right in the middle of the holidays but did not affect private industry in any way, no agitation of any size about wages and conditions had shaken France. By a policy of promises, of appointments on duly fixed dates to re-examine the wages problem, and of creating numerous semi-official boards for conciliation and negotiation between wage-earners and employers, the governments of Mendès-France and Edgar Faure had prevented the onset of any new attack of social fever. Nearly two years passed without any serious struggles in the most important industrial sectors. From time to time a collective agreement was signed in one branch or another; with infinite precautions prime ministers "authorized" the employers to "regulate" wages; and interminable joint discussions brought together trade union delegates (belonging to some seven different organizations) and employers' representatives. This all-round slumber was put forward by some as a sign of working-class moderation, by others as a consequence of the Communist policy aligned with the easing of international tension, and by some other observers as an expression of French decadence.

It was then that the shipyard strike at Saint-Nazaire suddenly broke out. Talks had been going on for more than a year between trade unions and management. With monotonous regularity the trade-union representatives came back empty-handed. A final delegation came to report to a mass meeting of workers that the management's delegate had admitted for one thing that he was unaware of all the benefits obtained by the metal workers of the Paris region (this was a question of payment for five additional bank holidays) and for another that he did not think he ought to grant wage increases greater than those "advised" by the government. Now the wages prevailing in the Saint-Nazaire district are from 30 to 40 per cent. below those in the Paris region. This time the shipyard workers, and particularly the most vigorous element, the welders, realized that they were being stalled. Spontaneous demonstrations were organized in the shipyards, processions made the rounds of the streets in the town, scuffles broke out between workers and CRS (security squads), the employers' head office was wrecked, and the directors were badly shaken. The strike was complete. In a few days of struggle the wage-earners obtained an increase of 24 per cent.

The movement was started, and in numerous industrial centres an identical tactic was followed. For the provincial workers it was a question of revaluing their wages on the basis of the Paris levels. With gradations according to industries and districts, substantial increases were gained. At Nantes a strike lasting about 20 days, with many incidents and street fights, was ended without the employers' granting more than they had offered at the time of the first talks. On the whole, however, the impetus had been given, and the gap between wages in the Paris region (with about 400,000 metal workers) and those in the provinces was greatly narrowed.

The more far-removed consequences of the movement are equally important. In the first place the employers' front has been breached. Two employers' associations, the Centre des Jeunes Patrons and the Confédération du Patronat Catholique, have issued statements protesting against the shortcomings and reactionary spirit of certain employers. On the other hand the breach has been widened between heads of firms conscious of the compelling demands of international competition and employer-rentiers who make a living from marginal businesses. In this sense the strikes have provided the social driving force which neither the employers themselves nor the state had been able to apply.

There is no doubt that a trade-union policy, led by the free confederations, would have good chances of achieving its aim by virtue of the decadence of the French bourgeois and the inability of the CGT to put forward solutions to social problems because of its strict dependence on Soviet diplomacy. But this would require bold militants who would not confuse breast-beating and vehemence with the clear-headed and concentrated intervention of the working class in the spheres of economic life. These militants exist, dispersed and submerged by the daily activities of a trade-union movement reduced in members and divided into an infinity of organizations.

French decadence, visible on every level, has eaten into not only the managerial class but also the working class. However it is to the latter that the opportunity is given to-day to reclaim the heritage of the privileged classes, who are incapable of administering it. The strikers' thrust shows that this working class still possesses resources of purpose and courage. It is to those militants who are not infected by the general rot that the task of restoring its boldness again presents itself.

S. PARANE.

# News is Never New

East; to-morrow it may be 50 Israelis or 50 Malaysians. In slightly different ways the newspapers express their surprise that such a state of affairs should have come about, but 50 or more human beings are always being killed in the interests of some State or another, with short intervals in between.

"Electors Cheated"—a reference to the interim budget which, curiously enough, does not line up with election promises upon which we had just the right amount of reliance.

If it were not for the fact that we never vote anyway, we would make a special point of not voting because of these promises. There has never been an instance where the newspapers supporting one or other political party have not eventually discovered that the electors have been just a little bit cheated. It happens now, it has always been so, and so it will be one supposes for as long as there's someone to vote.

The startling news that "Sterling Nears Parity" is, normally speaking, only outdone by a sensational headline to the effect that sterling has gone one better than equality; or, alternatively, that "Sterling Is 50 Cents Worse Than Parity".

But with what relief we can only imagine, do the football fans greet the news that Maurice Norman has been transferred to Tottenham Hotspur; though possibly it is not such a good thing really. One point remains certain however—it is almost impossible to estimate the importance of one man kicking a football for Tottenham instead of kicking a football for Norwich City. The problem which faces the reluctant

journalist or newspaper editor is therefore a ticklish one. He can secretly commune with himself as to the relative importance of certain items of news which are to hand; and yet all is already laid down in past issues of the newspaper. All the events which are taking place have in effect occurred before, they are not so much news, as history—repetitive history which will repeat again and again. His real problem is perhaps to compose the headlines and stories as if they were unique. He must present the news with an air of amazement—who could have supposed that such a thing would happen? must be his favourite remark. His ability for doublethink must know no bounds, for to effect the job efficiently he must actually believe in what he is doing.

But the cynical ones will not be taken in; long since have they had recourse to the bottle and a good book. They cannot be fooled into believing that anything new is going to happen, for in spite of the bottle they are alerted to the dangers of "important new developments". They may be seen almost any day on the Underground between Belsize Park and Tottenham Court Road, disguised as ordinary folk, reading the Penguin edition of *Animal Farm* or *Fontamara*. But if you observe carefully you will see that their stony glances never alight upon the tents of newsprint which surround them. S.C.

## MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS  
Every Sunday at 7.30 at  
THE MALATESTA CLUB  
155 High Holborn, W.C.1.  
(Nearly opposite Holborn Town Hall)  
NOV. 13—Arthur Uloth  
WILL ANARCHISM SURVIVE?  
NOV. 20—To be announced.  
NOV. 27—Philip Holgate  
To be announced.

### INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

Every Thursday at 8.15.  
OPEN AIR MEETINGS  
Weather Permitting  
HYDE PARK  
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.  
MANETTE STREET  
(Charing X Road)  
Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

### GLASGOW

INDOOR MEETINGS  
Friday evenings at 7 p.m. commencing  
Friday, October 14th at 200 Buchanan  
Street.

### The Malatesta Club

155 HIGH HOLBORN,  
LONDON, W.C.1.

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Informal Discussions Every Thursday,  
at 8.15 p.m.

### DISCUSSIONS:

Saturday, 12th Nov., at 9 p.m.  
SOCIAL  
Thursday, 17th Nov., at 8.30.  
Discussion: Harold Walsby on  
"ANARCHISM, ITS GROWTH  
AND CURE".  
Saturday, 19th Nov., at 9 p.m.  
LEMON "TEASE"  
"Humorous Contributions original or  
Un".

Thursday, 24th Nov., at 8.30.  
Bonar Thompson on  
"SEAN O'CASEY AND THE  
IRISH THEATRE".

Saturday, 26th Nov., at 9 p.m.  
POSTER COMPETITION: Theme:  
"HOW TO LOSE FRIENDS AND BE  
INFLUENCED BY PEOPLE".

Thursday, 1st Dec., at 8.30.  
Discussion by Philip Holgate,  
A Vexing Problem for Anarchists,  
"WHAT IS INTELLIGENCE?"

## LETTER

### A New Anarchist Publication

DEAR COMRADES,

Whilst I admit the faults of layout and contents in the first three issues of *Man!* which were described by "Libertarian" in his article, there are a few points he makes to which I would like to reply.

Regarding the publication of news of anarchist activity in the rest of the world, the reason was not so much lack of willingness as lack of information. Very few of the papers to which we sent exchange copies sent us copies in return. We did try to do something in the way of publicising the world movement by printing the translation of a 'History of Anarchist Congresses' (and *FREEDOM* itself is not conspicuous for giving "brief news items of the activity... of the anarchist movement in the world", since it is only on comparatively rare occasions that it even mentions the activities of our comrades in other countries).

We published the two reprints in question because we considered them worth reprinting. The first series of *Man!* often reprinted essays which had previously appeared in other periodicals and *FREEDOM* has done likewise. The article on free communism was taken from a defunct duplicated bulletin which I am quite sure had not been heard of by the vast majority of the readers of *Man!* And the publication which is still in print (*The World Scene from The Libertarian Point of View*) is not known to most comrades of my acquaintance—and of those who do know of it, very few have read it. I am sure, therefore, that our reprinting of these two articles brought to the notice of many viewpoints which they may not have otherwise had chance to consider.

*Man!* was not launched by "English and American groups," but by one group in London and one in Los Angeles, with the London group having sole administrative responsibility. Our pre-publication circular received notice in only one U.S. anarchist paper, *L'Adunata*, and after the publication of the first issue

we received mention only in *Individual Action*. It was not from want of trying that we did not obtain more U.S. collaborators, since copies of our circular were sent to all anarchist journals in the U.S. as well as to several groups. Marcus Graham was our only 'collaborator' (in the sense of contributing material) because he was the only comrade sufficiently concerned to send in regular articles. Whatever ideological disagreements I may have with him, I am grateful for his help and advice.

I am sorry if my statement in the fourth issue of *Man!* led "Libertarian" to believe that my 'spiritual crises' were merely the result of three months in the editorial chair. I believe in doing things I am capable of doing and I have found that editing a regular publication is not one of them. My original impetus to engage in the project of a new anarchist publication happened over a year and a half ago, and arose out of an attitude towards the function of the anarchist which I no longer completely hold. The actual experience of editing *Man!* had the incidental effect of bringing to a head those changes in my attitude which had gradually, almost unconsciously, been going on since that original impetus, and so made apparent to me what had only been dimly realized before. Perhaps my resignation is a reflection of the malaise of the younger generation of "progressive movements" of to-day. If it is, I would respectfully suggest that "Libertarian" might be more helpful if he tried to give some causes and possible solutions to, this uneasiness and uncertainty, rather than be capricious over a badly constructed sentence.

Yours fraternally,

London, N.W.5. S. E. PARKER.

[Libertarian writes: Comrade Parker far from replying to my points simply confirms my main argument, which is that *Man!* was launched without much vision as to the public it would reach, without any American collaboration (except financial and Marcus Graham), and without particular features thought out which would give it its own particular appeal.

It is surely poor consolation to say that certain criticisms I directed at *Man!* could be equally directed at *FREEDOM*. Surely the justification for a journal such as *Man!* is that it should do the things *FREEDOM* doesn't do (quite apart from any differences in ideological approach). Incidentally *FREEDOM* doesn't have a feature on anarchist activity in the rest of the world simply because the comrade in the group who could do this is busily filling up another section of the paper. There is a limit to what we can write each week.

I think the malaise to which I referred has been discussed at various times in the columns of *FREEDOM*. To offer solutions is rather a waste of time since my experience has generally been that the patient finds the cure worse than the disease!]

### PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT WEEK 44

Deficit on Freedom £660  
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DEFICIT £69

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V.T. per V.R. 10/-; London: W.B.W. 2/9;  
New York: per *L'Adunata*: M. Florida:  
L. 14/-; San Francisco: per *L'Incaricato* £35;  
San Francisco: S. £1/15; Philadelphia: II  
Circolo di E. Sociale £3/10.  
Total ... 50 19 9  
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1955 TOTAL TO DATE ... £591 1 11

## SOCIALIST ROSARIES FOR EXPORT

Communist Czechoslovakia is to begin production of rosaries to expand its jewellery exports, according to the newspaper, *Lidove Demokracie* received in Vienna.

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