

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"A society of free individuals in which all, through their own work, contribute to the liberation and enrichment of the lives of others, is the only environment in which any individual can really grow normally to his full stature."

—JOHN DEWEY

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Threepence

WORLD OPINION AND SOUTH AFRICA

The People Must Speak to the People

THE announcement last week-end that the South African Government had instructed its police not to demand to see the passes of Africans nor arrest them for failing to carry them, has been variously interpreted by the Press and political leaders in this country. To our minds much too much emphasis has been placed on the influence of "world opinion" in a decision which, as the Minister of Justice Mr. Erasmus, was at pains to point out, was only a "temporary move" and that "Africans would again have to carry the documents when conditions returned to normal."

The importance of world opinion can only be measured by the influence it exerts, and the encouragement it gives, to the peoples of a country to resist the racial or other anti-social policies of their government. Government-inspired opinion more often than not has the opposite effect, in that it is rightly treated with suspicion, and is exploited by the affected government to draw closer together not only its fanatical supporters but the waverers and the indifferent as well. To be effective world opinion must be a spontaneous expression of at least the enlightened minority of the countries of the world, directed to the enlightened minority as well as the victims in the country concerned.

For the liberation of a country such as South Africa with its large "white" minority (3 millions, compared with the 9 million Africans) will come about if and when whites and blacks in large enough numbers succeed in shedding all prejudices of race and colour, and are prepared to work for the creation of organisations which will represent the interests of the people as a whole. We are not even going so far as to suggest that the forms of organisation should be revolutionary in the anarchist sense, but simply that they must succeed in overcoming the present pattern of approach, that in a Committee, a Council or a Government of blacks and whites, the former will invariably vote together in the interests of the blacks, and the whites will do likewise in support of the whites. Only when whites can be made to feel that they can be as well represented by a black as by a white and *vice versa* can it be said that racial prejudices have been

overcome. (And only when a person feels that no one can represent him but himself, can it be said that he is free!)

For all these reasons and others then, we feel that however shocked world opinion has been by the Sharpeville massacre, its effectiveness so far as helping to change the social climate of South Africa is concerned, is negligible.



THE South African government's decision to suspend "pass arrests" is not motivated by any concern to avoid further violence and bloodshed—every Government backs its authority with the ultimate argument of force, and therefore it is naive to assume that political leaders shudder at the thought of resorting to the use of force if orders are ignored.* But it is also clear that government and "law and order" are possible in most countries today only as a result of the co-operation the acquiescence and the disunity of the majority. It only needs a sufficiently determined minority to refuse to play the game according to the rules to throw the forces of government and "law and order" into disorder! Dr. Verwoerd's decision to suspend the "pass arrests" is a shrewd move designed to protect the pass regulations. In presenting

*As we write (Monday) the first reports of the House of Lords debate on Kenya quote the government spokesman, Lord Perth, as saying that in the event of a resumption of disturbances in Kenya "the government would not hesitate to take steps to restore 'law and order'." And in the S. African House of Assembly, Dr. Carol de Wet in justifying the police massacre in Sharpeville, added that "what he said in respect of Africans could also be said in respect of whites. If white men decided to march and be violent, the same strong action should be taken against them. When it became necessary to use force it must be used in such a manner as to make it clear to everyone in the country that there was no place for murder in South Africa." (Reuter report, March 21). (The fact that the "murderous" Africans injured a few policemen in Sharpeville only strengthens our argument).

The 'Benefits' of Industrialisation

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY. The problem within the U.S. Government over whether to accept Russia's new test-ban proposal took a dramatic turn today with the revelation that it may soon be possible to mass-produce H-bombs.

This new development, if it proves possible, will put nuclear weapons within reach of almost every country in the world.

The theory has been published here by a 36-year-old English-born scientist, Dr. Freeman J. Dyson, a noted physicist at the Institute for Advanced Studies, in Princeton.

It involves the use of TNT to trigger off an H-bomb. At present, H-bombs are triggered by fission explosives made from uranium or plutonium.

The difficulty of producing uranium 235 and plutonium has so far limited nuclear weapons to the four most highly industrialised nations.

A strong movement is developing in scientific and political areas to counter heavy pressure being put to reject the Russian proposal on a test ban.

News Chronicle 24/3/60.

themselves at the police stations without their passes and inviting arrest, Africans were making the pass laws more and more difficult to operate. As it was, one and a quarter million Africans are, to quote Mary Benson in an informative article in last Sunday's *Observer* on "Pass of Slavery", arrested each year "for trivial offences", including 500,000 for pass offences alone. Imagine the disorganisation it would produce both in the administration of the "law" and the economic life of the Union if, instead of just getting caught without their badges of slavery, Africans in their millions reported to the police stations that they had no reference books! If carried out on a large enough scale the authorities would be unable to deal with all the "criminals". They would either have to seek to increase the penalties, in the hope that fear would dissuade the majority from flouting the law (an old trick, which the magistrate at Bow Street threatened to use against demonstrators at S. Africa House, when the number of arrested were more than his court could deal with comfortably!) or would consider it expedient to temporarily suspend prosecution until such times as it was considered that the application of the law was worthwhile: that it was workable and that on balance the disadvantages (white employers are

which every African over the age of 16 has to carry, and combines up to a dozen passes, including a certificate from an employer which has to be signed by him every month, a residential permit, a tax receipt and a curfew pass.

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More Proposals and Counter-Proposals on Nuclear Tests

MANY political commentators in this country write of the "promising beginnings" to the Geneva conference attended by a tenation commission on the subject of disarmament.

To a waiting world, anxious about its future, such news might bring hope that rivalry and distrust which exist between the powerful nations are about to be ironed out, to more cautious observers the table talks at Geneva will change nothing, except perhaps the shape of the table.

While the delegates at Geneva plod over the same worn ground, the British Prime Minister has flown to Washington to discuss the latest proposals made by the Soviet Union on nuclear test bans, a subject which has been discussed for over sixteen months at Geneva by the three nuclear powers.

How anxious they are for an "immediate settlement" can be gauged by recent proposals and counter-proposals made by the U.S. and the S.U. On February 11th, General Eisenhower proposed a ban on all nuclear tests except "small" underground ones, this was rejected by the Russians a few days later. On March 19th the Soviet Government offered to accept the proposals of February 11th on condition that a "voluntary moratorium" without controls was accepted on underground experiments too small to be easily

detected.

It might be thought that there was a basis here for immediate settlement. The trouble is the U.S. fears that Russia might get ahead in her research on underground test bombs and intends exploding a "little" bomb of its own in New Mexico next January. Also the U.S. does not believe that the Russians will stick to a gentleman's agreement" on underground tests which at this time cannot be detected. It is understood, therefore, that the American answer to the latest Russian proposals will be a "one-year moratorium on small tests".

This obviously means that the U.S. can go ahead with its plans for testing the underground bomb next January since it should not be too difficult for the U.S. to justify breaking any 'gentleman's agreement' if necessary.

It is likely that this latest obstacle to a "peaceful settlement" will be the subject of conferences, debates and diplomatic exchanges for a long, long time.

And while we allow the leaders of the powerful nations to decide how and when we shall die, the children of this generation are already in danger of dying from diseased bones caused by nuclear bomb tests.

A report from Harwell last week notes an increase by 60 per cent. of Strontium 90 in children's bones

between 1958-59, but how many people will heed this warning and act accordingly?

I.C.I. Sales Rise By £46M.

Directors of I.C.I. announced yesterday that they had decided to recommend a final dividend of 1s. 6d. per £1 unit for ordinary stock, making with the interim of 9d. a total of 2s. 3d. for 1959. Total dividend for the year 1958 was 1s. 7.2d. per £1 unit.

Trading results for 1959 show group sales to customers at home and abroad of £509 millions compared with £463 millions in 1958. Group income before taxation was £73,115,960 (£44,513,794), and after taxation it was £41,585,100 (£23,854,957). Income of Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd., after taxation, was £33,855,730 (£17,634,441).

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Progressive Education Today-2

SELF-REGULATION

"Self-regulation" is a term which has some esoteric significance with the followers of Reich. It is something of a myth, for the human child can not, of course, regulate itself any more than the young of any other mammal. The young of most insects, fish, amphibia and some reptiles can be regarded as truly self-regulating, but the higher we go on the phylogenetic scale, the more mother needs to take an active part in the regulation of her young. Of course mother can make silly mistakes; she can try and feed her baby by some arbitrary timetable which has little relation to its needs, or she can try to make it use the pot according to some equally pointless timetable. In general, baby knows best what is best for baby, and even the dimmest witted mother will do the right thing when it howls or messes itself unless she has been stuffed up with some nonsense from a child-care book. But she still does and must regulate its life, first by simple handling, later by verbal instruction. If by "self-regulation" we mean a natural response to a child's needs as they become manifest, and abstaining from pointless interference with its activities, then practising "self-regulation" is what is often known as showing "horse sense".

The trouble about this "self-regulation" business is that the well-meaning adherents often imbibe it first as a somewhat vague theory, all mixed up with Reichian mystique, and then try and put it into practice with real live children later on. Every time they have to haul the baby out of the coal-cellar, or wipe its filthy face against its will, or rescue their cigarettes from its destructive clutches, they have an uneasy pang of conscience

that they are not quite the model "self-regulating" parents they would like to be. And later, when they find that in this difficult world the ideals which they have set themselves just cannot be adhered to, and when the "self-regulated" child behaves just like a spoilt little brat, what are they to do? Some settle into a comfortable relationship of give-and-take with the children, others react with a sharp authoritarianism ("I tried giving you every freedom, you misused it, so from now on you'll just do as you're told, see!"), others resort to some sort of adult casuistry by which they appear (to themselves) to be continuing the régime of "self-regulation" modified by "the therapeutic approach".

If "the therapeutic approach" means anything, it means that the child is ill and the parent is acting *qua* therapist. This is a monstrous humbug. Childhood is not any sort of illness, even when the child is having a row with its parents. When child and parents are having some sort of row, it is unfair and insulting for the parents to take "the therapeutic approach". I have outlined above one of the most frequent causes of the child of a "progressive" home getting at loggerheads with its parents; that is because the parents are "cranks" according to the opinion of the greater world of which the child becomes increasingly conscious. A child may become very ashamed of the "crankiness" of its parents unless it is freed from conflicting loyalties and stresses within its general environment. It does not matter how "cranky" parents are as long as they provide a "cranky" community background which naturally embraces the school. I have known children from some very peculiar homes indeed (peculiar in that they were wildly different from the contemporary conventional ideal) who are perfectly happy and emotionally stable because they attended progressive schools where there was no implicit criticism of peculiar homes.

One of Neill's dogmatic statements was to the effect that there are no problem children—only problem parents. While this, like many of Neill's statements, is a gross oversimplification, it contains a

very great deal of truth. The most obvious way of avoiding facing this truth, is for parents to model their child-management according to some ideal regimen, and then when the child gives trouble it can be labelled "naughty" or "sick", whichever label fits the conceptual scheme. It matters little whether the ideal regimen is that of a Catholic home or a Reichian home, the mechanism of projecting parental problems on to the child is the same. When we say that the child is "naughty" (and in need of punishment) or "sick" (and in need of therapy), what we mean is that it is not reacting as it *should* react according to the theory we have adopted.

The ideal regimen, like most ideals, tends to neglect individual differences. Quite apart from the differences between children which are determined environmentally, there are great genetic differences between children which can only be modified partially by environment. Nowadays, with such small families being the rule, we do not see the enormous genetic differences which may be manifest in a large family of siblings. If a child is by nature sensitive and intelligent he will respond well to "self-regulation"; if a child is by nature insensitive and stupid, attempts at "self-regulation" are going to result in a harassed and disillusioned parent. No ideal regimen is right for every child, and what is just as important, the personality of the parent must determine what sort of relationship is possible.

This is not a counsel of despair; there are humane and sensible ways of caring for children just as there are cruel and stupid ways. All I am concerned to show is that parents, if they are muddled and unsure of themselves, may make a big mistake if they think that they can cling to any ideal regimen as a panacea for happy families. There is no substitute for common sense. The idea of the progressive school is, after all, to throw overboard a lot of the useless conventions of the average school and to treat children according to their individual differences, with the present happiness of the child rated as the supreme good, rather than its conformance to an ideal

model.

It may seem odd that while strongly advocating progressive education I should nevertheless debunk the "self-regulation" business. It is, as pointed out before, a myth. We must and do regulate the lives of children, and the question to be decided all the time is *how* we regulate them, and *when* we abstain from interference. To pretend that "self-regulation" is practicable simply avoids the issue: Often it is the excuse of lazy and ineffectual adults; but why make an excuse? If parents are lazy and ineffective, children can be fond of them just the same. If anyone is kidded by the principles of "self-regulation" it is not the children. As a little boy from a Reichian home explained to me, "Self-regulation? Don't be daft. She doesn't give us breakfast 'cos she can't wake up. Still, they're not back from the pubs till terribly late so you can't blame her, can you?"

The point which needs stressing is that in most homes and most schools, a large part of the interference with children is quite pointless. Parents and teachers unthinkingly follow the contemporary

pattern of reward and punishment which obtains between State and Subject, and the humiliations and restrictions which the grown-up Subject learns to expect from the State, he passes on to his own children or pupils. If one pauses to wonder just why school-leavers have to resort to beating one another with bicycle chains to get some fun out of life, just consider the child rearing practices of their own homes and the methods used by the good ladies in the Nursery and Infant schools. I am not suggesting that the bicycle chain or its equivalent is the chief method of socializing young children in our society. What I mean is that in a society where the Authorities always "know best", and this is mirrored in home and school, the child has so much the less chance of growing up with a sense of responsibility and a good conceit of itself. If one has a very, very poor conceit of oneself, if one is only just average intellectually in a society where merit is conspicuously rewarded, if one is taken for a mug right, left and centre, well, wielding a bicycle chain is one way of letting off steam. G.

(To be concluded)

Clearing up the Mess

Continued from p. 3

"This is where Mr. Graham came in, with a new idea, that the high rainfall of Lancashire is the cause . . . Grass already grows at the foot of most tips, where the soil no longer washes away. Mr. Graham decided to use the classic anti-erosion technique of terracing to help this grass to grow upwards more quickly . . . Two years ago he retired as head of the Fisheries Laboratory at Lowestoft and to crown a lifelong interest in conservation set to work to prove his point. First he sought a house in the coalfield, to provide both a base for his researches and grazing for his mare, which plays an essential part in the whole project.

"At Lowestoft, Mr. Graham had found that children will do almost anything to be allowed to ride or even to groom a horse. Now she has a dual role. Not only does her treading help to terrace the tips, but she acts as a lure to bring in many local children, who thus become helpers instead of hinderers of the work.

"Supplied with trenching tools, they terrace the slopes. Then they weigh out the grass seed, sow it and count the shoots that come up. They also spread the cut grass, for one of Mr. Graham's ingenious ideas is to cut seeding grass from waste ground and spread it on the tips, so that the seeds sow themselves.

"Thus many birds are killed with one stone: for the project is experimental, practical and educational all in one. Already green patches are appearing on

seven Lancashire shale heaps, where hitherto there has been nothing but grim greyness. In ten years' time there need be no grey left."

IN a letter to the *Spectator* last week, Mr. Colin MacInnes was attacking our English habit of getting worked up about relatively minor social evils and ignoring the major cancers of our social life. In writing about the campaign against litter, or the "anti-uglies" as serious matters affecting our physical environment, while saying little about the whole problem of urban and suburban sprawl, and the failure to come to terms with the motor vehicle, I am succumbing to this habit, but not without justification. The fathers of the whole movement for town and country planning in Britain were those two eminently Kropotkinian figures Ebenezer Howard and Patrick Geddes. Their books, exhibitions, working demonstrations, and propaganda of fifty to seventy years ago lead, with the usual time-lag to all the subsequent unofficial (Letchworth, Welwyn, Town and Country Planning Association, etc.) and official (Green Belts, New Towns, Town and Country Planning Acts, etc.) in this field.

The shortcomings of the latter—the fact that official policy got around to the Garden City idea (admirable in Howard's day), when it was long out of date; the fact that Geddes' regional planning has never been undertaken because different government departments and private interests have all been working in different directions; the fact that planning has become in official hands, merely another aspect of bureaucracy, and in the eyes of the public simply means some busy-body saying that you can't build a chicken house in your garden, are the shortcomings of any public action that comes from above instead of from below.

The kind of action that comes from below is bound to be, in the present state of public concern, and in the complete absence of any generally-shared aesthetic standard, puny and inadequate, but it has the inestimable advantage of being the result of public concern, and not the imposition of official policy. In a society in which the very word "planner" has become a term of abuse, the first thing to emphasise about town-planning is that in Lethaby's phrase, it begins with white-washing the backyard. The analysts of the failure and breakdown of official planning since the hopeful days at the end of the war, talk of the need for stronger central control and so on. But isn't it time to talk instead, of stronger local initiative, a more awakened public, a campaign by precept, propaganda and example, to persuade people to open their eyes and look at the squalor and mess all around them? C.W.

CINEMA REVIVAL

Film going readers of *FREEDOM* are urged to see the revival of *Les Enfants Du Paradis* now showing at the Academy Cinema, Oxford Street. The film runs for about 2 hours 40 min., and it is a rare experience these days in the cinema not to be wearied long before the last cords have heralded the happy ending.

The proprietors of the *Academy* say that the film rights will expire in August, as the film may be re-made.

The cast includes Arletty, Jean-Louis Barrault, Pierre Brasseur and Marcel Herrand.

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On Organisation

THE main reason for our deep, resolute aversion to the organisation of anarchists into a party lies in the history of organisation, and particularly of political organisation, which has always been a hierarchical, authoritarian institution in which arrivistes at the apex exercise authority over everyone else. It is said that this is *authoritarian* organisation, and that an organisation of anarchists would turn out differently. It would . . . except that in three-quarters of a century there has not been a single example of it.

In practice, those anarchists who organise have followed exactly in the tradition of other organisers, creating the organisation first and the functions to use it for later. Organisation without exact and well-defined aims is organisation for its own sake—an instrument without a function. The mentality of anarchists being what it is—eagerly desirous of independence, intolerant of dogma, distrustful of power—an organism which sets out to achieve all possible and imaginable goals comes to have a very different meaning for each member. As long as the organisation respects everyone's interpretation it is as if the organisation did not exist; and when it requires that someone's interpretation be accepted, the organisation becomes authoritarian.

Anarchists have always insisted that the need must create the means to satisfy it, the necessity for the function must create the organ. If they believed organisation was needed, they would still never create it except for a precise aim, well-defined beforehand, and explicitly accepted by those who belong. In Italy after the war, the only anarchist activity which prospered, which was widely accepted and supported, was that of aid to the political victims. And it is clear why: this committee answered to a concrete need everyone

felt and everyone was interested in. The same may be said of the newspapers, the reviews, the publishing ventures: in each case, temporary or permanent arrangements, according to the circumstances, are agreed to, and the will and energy of many are associated to achieve a single aim.

I don't know if these undertakings can be called organisations; certainly they are not the paternalistic, total, classical party organisations that the "organising" anarchists want. But they certainly represent an association of energy, in response to a definite need, existing for as long as the individual adherents consider it necessary and opportune. And if they are organisations, they are organisations *sui generis*, as various as the aims they serve, and responding to the changing will of the thinking individuals who create them and keep them alive.

As the writer of these notes sees it, the requisites for active association of anarchists seem to be these: that they be forms of co-operation that satisfy needs felt by all participants, and that the forms be subject to the will of the participants and not impair their liberty. If the aims are varied, such forms can be realiser only in limited areas; or they may be realised in the vastest areas, if the aims are limited, precise and well-defined.

To want to create among anarchists a general organisation, including everyone and claiming to satisfy all needs, analogous to the political parties and the State-organisation the parties aspire to capture and to run, is utopian, because the anarchists' love of liberty opposes it and because the tendency of a total organisation is to become totalitarian." (From an editorial in the Italian language anarchist weekly *L'Adunata dei Refrattari* published in U.S.A. The above translation first appeared in *Resistance*, Aug.-Oct., 1954.)

World Opinion & South Africa

Continued from p. 1

deprived of their slave labour) were outbalanced by the advantages ("to keep the kaffir in his place", geographically, economically and socially, so that he is available for useful, underpaid work in "white South Africa").

ON the eve of the introduction of a Bill to outlaw the two African (alas, rival) organisations, Albert Luthali, President of the African National Congress set an example to the African people, which if taken up on a mass scale will present the Government with a virtually insoluble problem: he publicly burned his pass and urged all Africans throughout the Union to do likewise "in an orderly manner". As we write; Press reports from Pretoria, where Albert Luthali burned his pass last Saturday, quote government officials as stating that "police will take action" against Africans who burn their passes. Many Africans will obviously hesitate. As the *Guardian* points out in an editorial (*Breathing Space*, March 28): "[to burn his pass] would be a desperate step for an African to take, unless he is very sure that his fellows are doing likewise. He would be burning his boats with his pass". Let us hope that enough Africans both trust their fellows as well as feel the issue strongly enough to act as responsible individuals. But here is an issue on which *world opinion* can help. Let us proclaim to all Africans who burn their passes that we will make ourselves responsible for their dependents in the event of their being imprisoned for their "crime". For if world opinion is incensed by the laws which oblige Africans to carry reference books, there is after all, only one effective way of abolishing these badges of slavery: by burning them!

IN our opening paragraphs we made a distinction between a world opinion which is government-inspired and one which emerges spontaneously from an enlightened section of the people, not because we are determined to maintain a point of view by hook or by crook, but because we believe in the important role an enlightened opinion could play in the social and economic emancipation of mankind. No government can condemn the actions of the South African government on moral grounds. They are all birds of a feather however virtuous they may seek to appear in the eyes of their own people. The State Department's statement in Washington, which deplores "violence in all its forms" and, "while as a matter of practice does not ordinarily comment on the internal affairs of Governments with which it enjoys normal relations", cannot help but "regret the tragic loss of life resulting from the measures taken against the demonstrators in South Africa", was as much concerned with propaganda considerations in the cold war as Russia, who described the massacre as "terrible news" and a "crime". The fact that Nehru's government with its own demonstrators' blood on its hands could express its "strong feelings" while the British government with the hundreds of thousands of African dead and detained on its conscience could in spite of Mr. Macmillan's recent "wind of change" speech, only evince the ambiguous comment

†Mary Benson in "The Observer" (Mar. 27). Mary Benson is a South African who is now on the Executive of the Africa Bureau in this country.

PEOPLE AND IDEAS

CLEARING UP THE MESS

ANTI-UGLY ACTION is a movement (no membership, no dues) started by students from the Royal College of Art in November, 1958. Its support has since spread to the other London schools of art and architecture. "In these schools" writes the chairman Kenneth Baynes, "the society is run and supported by students, but it has an ever-growing body of supporters among architects, artists and the general public". The movement has based its activities on the notion that an ugly building is a public offence and is consequently as worthy a subject for hostile demonstrations as a reactionary political act. They hope that everybody will eventually become "an individual militant anti-ugly", and have succeeded in breaking the publicity-barrier with their banners, funny clothes and jazz bands, so that they have been able to meet their campaigning expenses with their earnings from TV appearances and from helping to make an ITV film on their subject.

Their first demonstration was in December, 1958, when 50 students marched from Agriculture House (a pseudo-classical building in Knightsbridge) to Caltex House (a pseudo-modern building) where water was thrown at them. Their 1959 diary reads:

January: march to Barclays' Bank, Lombard Street, in City, where the owners were laying the foundation stone, a small, well-organised demonstration, everyone dressed in mourning, deliver full-size cardboard coffin (later removed), receive a lot of good publicity in the papers.

February: march round the buildings in the St. Paul's area, but City not considered to be a good place for demonstrations... they don't like music. This meeting mainly for purpose of filming bad buildings for ITV.

March: meeting at new Kensington Public Library site, record attendance of some 350, town crier (one of the group) reads out to public virtues of building as described by the architect; soon after, public meeting at Kensington Town Hall.

May: trip to Cambridge for demonstration against additions to Emmanuel College.

June: trip to demonstrate against suburban sprawl at Peacehaven, difficult time had with individual proud householders.

November: demonstrations outside R.I.B.A. Campaign against Monica site development (Piccadilly Circus).

The latest of the Anti-Ugly demonstrations was last week at the site next to St. Martin-in-the-Fields, whence, behind banners saying "Save St. Martin's From the R.I.B.A. Sharks" and "England Expects Every Architect to Use His Imagination", a 300-strong procession marched to the Marble Arch, where 800 balloons were released, each bearing a label addressed to Mr. Henry Brooke at the Ministry of Housing.

Kenneth Baynes (writing in *Crafts Review* No. 2) declares that

"Architecture that is seen from the public street ceases to be a matter for discussion between the architect and his client alone; it is the concern of all who will see it. A virile public criticism of architecture is lacking at the moment; for it to arise it must be fostered by criticism and discussion within the profession; this is stifled at source by the

that "civil commotion, at any time and in all parts of the world is always to be regretted, and a couple of days later express its sympathy "with all the people of South Africa, convinces us that there is nothing to choose between the Indian or British governments, nor that change in an enlightened direction will be initiated by governments.

The means and ends of governments are impervious to the "winds of change"... until the winds become hurricanes. Both the winds and the hurricanes must come from the people, and it is by the people of Africa, the enlightened whites and blacks that our present protests, our indignation and our solidarity must be heard and felt and believed. To appeal to their governments is wasted breath and can only lead to frustration.

§which apparently affected the "stock markets much more than the Verwoerd government. According to *Die Burger* "Capitalisation values of gold shares dropped by nearly £125 million this week; since Mr. Macmillan's 'wind of change' speech they have dropped £339 million". On the other hand so far as the Verwoerd government is concerned the only results it can show are more than 70 dead Africans and hundreds of wounded at Sharpeville.

Royal Institute of British Architects, who will not permit criticism as part of their professional code—a code backed and made potent by Act of Parliament." and discussing the impact of his movement's methods in the *Architects' Journal* (21/1/60), he says,

"Perhaps the most interesting thing about Anti-Ugly Action has been its success—in its own terms of attempting to interest the public in architecture it has been effective. In this high-old philistine-old country the man in the street has just heard of Anti-Ugly Action even though he has not heard of the RIBA, or even the Civic Trust—even though he occasionally seems to think that AUA is against modern architecture (this calumny has appeared in print a number of times, and highlights just one of the difficulties). A genuine and informed interest would be ideal but that cannot be achieved without starting somewhere; and nothing could be more dangerous than the present situation, with the public dozing away quietly while the architects and developers heap rubbish on its head..."

"AUA seems to have itself been part of a general awakening of interest in the environment, a growing sense that something valuable was being lost, and that AUA formed a useful focus for feeling. It is not amazing, in an age of Aldermaston marches, that it should have been the young people who formed AUA—in some ways we are both more realistic and more idealistic than our elders. In this context it is interesting that the Action that has been most unfavourably received, was our attack on the RIBA for its multifarious sins. We were called unrealistic and old-fashioned—'look' they said, 'at what the RIBA is doing.' Well, maybe, but the buildings still go up—what's more we are too much realists to believe in the hogwash about professionalism, just as the Nuclear Disarmers are too realistic to believe the hogwash about deterrent... AUA wants an environment that is worth saving from the Bomb, and sees that professionalism is a lesser matter... What we should like to see now, would be every man his own Anti-Ugly."

THE Keep Britain Tidy Group is a voluntary organisation founded in 1954, with 39 affiliated bodies ranging from the National Trust to the Boy Scouts, to campaign about our British habit of leaving litter and rubbish in public places. At its 1958 conference, it was stated that

"recently a local authority could have acquired an open space, but the annual cost of removing litter would have been greater than the cost of acquiring the land. The cost of removing litter after a bank holiday was now a major problem for many local authorities. Landowners, who would have no objection to the public using their land, were also having to refuse permission because of the cost of clearing up after a public holiday."

The Minister of Housing said at the conference that it cost more than £11 million a year to clear up litter in the

streets: "Once people leave their homes they seem to feel free from any need to maintain civilised standards of behaviour". His answer, of course, was a law, and in the autumn of 1958 the Anti-Litter Act came into force, making it an offence, on penalty of a £10 fine to throw down or drop litter "in, into, or from any place in the open air to which the public... have access without payment." The law is ridiculous of course, not only because it is unenforceable, but because the litterbug doesn't feel guilty, and if charged, will feel, not conscience-stricken, but laughingly resentful. One of the more promising methods of changing unthinking attitudes is the volunteer litter collection by groups of ramblers and children. In May last year, for instance over 250 people—hikers, ramblers and climbers, immediately volunteered to take part in an anti-litter campaign designed to clean up the Peak District.

The "general awakening of interest in the environment" of which Mr. Baynes spoke, owes a great deal to the propagandist activities of the *Architectural Review*, which has never regarded its province as buildings alone. In two special numbers a few years ago, each written by Ian Nairn (who coined the word 'subtopia'), one called *Outrage* and the other *Counter-Attack* (both later reprinted as books), it gave a pictorial record of the creeping blight which is steadily submerging England and changing it into a desert of wire, concrete roads, cosy plots, bungalows, disused aerodromes, traffic roundabouts, gratuitous notice boards, car-parks, and Things in Fields. The deluge of further examples, news of awful proposals and Borough Engineers' hideousities, which then poured into the *Review*, led it to initiate a "Counter-Attack Bureau" to make propaganda, bully authorities and change people's minds. From this in turn grew the Civic Trust, an independent non-political body whose object is to encourage a wider interest in the appearance of town and countryside generally, and promote higher standards.

ONE of the activities which the Trust has been co-ordinating is the clearing of such blots on the landscape as ruined wartime airfields, hutted camps, derelict factories and ruined houses which nobody has ever bothered to clear up. Several years ago Michael Dower, son of the late John Dower whose report led to the development of national parks in Britain, gathered together some friends to clear away derelict defence works in the national park district on the Pembrokeshire Coast. Last year he organised six parties of volunteers who decided to spend their holidays on similar work in Somerset, Cornwall, Surrey, Glamorgan and Northumberland.

This year, the Civic Trust (79, Buck-

ingham Palace Road, S.W.1.) will be arranging further work camps (no pay, food and travel provided) for teams of volunteers and welcomes both offers of help and information about eye-sores and similar jobs which their volunteers might tackle.

Another of the Civic Trust's concerns is the activity which W. R. Lethaby envisaged fifty years ago as "the game of town-tidying". It sponsored last year a "face-lifting" operation at Magdalen Street, Norwich, and transformed the appearance of a run-down shopping street, without demolition and rebuilding, simply by enlisting the enthusiasm of the occupiers and the local authority, to carry out a clearance of clutter and a repainting and re-lettering campaign which has transformed the street. The Trust has published a five-shilling brochure about what was done: merely a series of very small improvements which included:

"66 properties repainted; 17 fascia boards repainted and 30 relettered; 22 projecting signs and advertisements removed; 22 new shop blinds and 16 new curtains added; 6 street lanterns removed and replaced by 16 bracketed fittings; 11 'No-Waiting' signs redesigned, and 40 other objects removed, replaced or repaired."

YET another aspect of the physical environment which people are beginning to take notice of are the huge slag-heaps from mineral workings. These need not necessarily be ugly, as some of the dramatically shaped clay dumps in Cornwall demonstrate. One local authority full of zeal to remove an old slag heap which had gradually developed a carpet of grass and shrubs found that people did not want it removed: it provided shelter from wind and was a familiar local landmark. But of most of these byproducts of industry this cannot be said. Take the area around Wigan, Ince and Makerfield in Lancashire. Within the boundary of the Ince Urban District Council on the Lancashire coalfield forty per cent. of the land—about 900 acres, is classed as derelict. The Lancs. C.C.'s Planning Department is tackling the area known as Warley's Basin with modified Sherman tanks, preparing it for regeneration. But the most interesting project from this area is that undertaken by Michael Graham, with the support of the Lancashire Community Council and the Development Commission. Some readers may be familiar with Mr. Graham through his books *Soil and Sense* and *Human Needs*. An account of his "one-man war on slag heaps" was recently given by Richard Fitter in the *Observer*.

"The Lancashire coalfield is as grim a relic of the industrial revolution as any. Heaps of shale from the mines disfigure the landscape on all sides. Most of them are quite bare, with not a blade of grass on slopes or summits, but here and there, over many years, nature has managed to clothe an eyesore with grass and even birch and sycamore trees. Why on some and not on others? ..."

Continued on p. 2

Straight from the Horse's Mouth

The Cost of Stable Government

The following is extracted from an article by the *Guardian's* Political correspondent, Francis Boyd.

THE British system of Parliamentary government as now practised has the merit of simplicity. The electors choose a party to be the Government, or (even simpler) a party leader to be Prime Minister. One man has only one vote; a simple majority in single constituencies secures success; a party gets a working majority in the House of Commons and becomes the Government of the day; and there we all are for another four years or so.

This is stable government, with none of the old French nonsense of governments resting on shifting sands and leading ultimately to the more or less permanent adjournment of the French Parliament; and with none of the fancifulness of proportional representation which seems somehow to cheat the simple elector of a simple result. The present British system may be a bit rough, but it is easy to understand, and it works, in the sense that normally it produces a government with power to act. This briefly is the case that could be made in support of conditions as they are.

But the merits of the system are now being examined critically. For some years past there have been sharp attacks upon it, by individuals such as Mr. Christopher Hollis, by constitutional specialists, by the Liberals who have complained that the present voting system prevents minority opinion from

being fairly represented in Parliament. In recent weeks, events have stimulated this mood of searching inquiry. The publication of Mr. Alan Bullock's first volume of "The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin" has given prominence to the conception of "loyalty" which Bevin brought with him from the trade union world into Parliament when he was Foreign Secretary in Attlee's first Government. Bevin it was who complained so bitterly, as Foreign Secretary, that he had been "stabbed in the back" by Labour rebels. Bevin it was who contrasted the rock-like trade unionist with the volatile "politician..."

Another event has also called attention to the cost of stable government—the revival of the interest of back-benchers in Parliamentary control over public expenditure. Since it is evident that no detailed control is possible, and that the effective decision on expenditure is taken when electors give power to a party with a particular programme, back-benchers are now asking whether the parties themselves should not present a financial statement with their election programmes. Otherwise, it may be too onerous a duty for a back-bencher to vote blindly for the next four years in support of expenditure which cannot be checked and of policies which cannot substantially be altered.

It is convenient for authority to keep the system it manages as stable as possible... It strengthens the power of a party leader if he can "deliver" his maxi-

mum vote when needed. The history of Joseph Chamberlain's Liberal (and later Liberal-Unionist) caucus in Birmingham is proof of that. Moreover, tight discipline in support of a Government's policy may be beneficial when that policy is more enlightened than the views of the party's rank and file, or of the public generally. The public's present demand for more corporal and capital punishment is a case in point. (But few Governments would occupy for long a position too far separated from that of its party or of the public.)

Yet we pay dearly for stable government. It stifles the expression of the real opinions of members on particular topics. It assumes a public demand for monolithic government which almost certainly does not exist. The most stable of all forms of government is a dictatorship—so long as it lasts. It leads to a distortion of values, as is shown by the steps taken by Sir Winston Churchill to undo the "defeat" of his war-time government when it resisted the principle of equal pay for men and women teachers. It reduces the vitality of the House of Commons, it tends to create explosions of unnecessary violence when an official party line is so unrepresentative of party opinion that, by some means or other, it has to be changed. For very many decades, and until perhaps as late as 1931, British Governments were not distinguished for stability, and yet Britain did not on that account cease to be an entity in world affairs.

DISCUSSION

Anarchist Propaganda

A GLANCE through the 1959 issues of FREEDOM reveals a considerable number of informative and stimulating articles calculated to inspire both thought and further reading. The general analyses and criticism of current society, too, could probably not be bettered. But does the potential new subscriber discover in the pages of FREEDOM any fairly positive outline of an alternative to the society whose ills he may to some extent already appreciate? I am speaking, of course, of over-all impressions and do not refer to specific issues of FREEDOM.

At the present time there are many people who are disillusioned by party politics and the "vote". They are generally only aware, however, of a socio-economic choice between "Western democracy" and the pseudo-Communist systems of the East. To them, neither type of system appears to offer humanity any hope of reversing the rapid trend towards the depersonalisation of the individual in vast, centrally controlled government and business hierarchies. Unfortunately, anarchist theory only reaches a small fraction of one per cent. of these people. We may bitterly reflect that whereas Heinz sauce and Beechams pills are well known to millions, a serious socio-economic alternative to capitalism or pseudo-communism may convey only vague connotations of "chaos" or else be regarded as being "against human nature" and not practical of realisation except in a very distant and doubtful future.

How can anarchists reach these people and convince them that a serious and practical alternative—a Third Way—is, in fact, possible?

In answering this question I feel that anarchists should put forward the case that only anarchist organisation is compatible with human dignity and survival in a technically advanced world. In fact, only a socio-economic organisation which rejects the concepts of power, competition, wealth, nationalism, status and class and racial discrimination is likely to meet the needs of the present human situation. Only a system which allows the individual a real and substantial voice in the control of his own destiny is likely to develop a sense of individual social responsibility capable of meeting the kind of crises presented by the population "explosion" and the hydrogen bomb. It is not, in fact, a matter of choosing a more desirable form of economic and social organisation. The urgent question is: "Can man adapt himself, socially and economically, to his changed environment brought about by technological progress and, at the same time, preserve human values and extend individual freedom?"

This question interests a large majority of thinking people. If anarchists can present their case, logically and convincingly, in the form of an answer to this question then the influence of the movement may be considerably extended.

Anarchists cannot, of course, "legislate for the future" or supply detailed blue prints of a future society. But they might describe possible initial forms of organisation in a free society. This has, in fact, already been done on a limited scale, but it seems that greater emphasis should be placed upon this positive aspect of anarchism if those potentially interested in the movement are to find an answer to their question. Further analysis of anarcho-syndicalism in Catalonia might be one convenient starting point from which to consider practical anarchist organisations of the future.

A common objection to anarchism and one calling for a convincing answer is that it is "contrary to human nature," and can never be realised for that reason.

The answer to this question lies, I think, mainly in examination of the scientific evidence of social anthropologists, who emphasise the extreme malleability of human behaviour. There is, in fact, no fixed "human nature". The ubiquity of the "human nature" common to our own culture is no evidence that it represents a basic "human nature". In general, the ability of the individual to envisage a different "human nature" is restricted due to the fact that he is generally only capable of seeing things in terms of his own culture. Thus, the "progressive" who may accuse the anarchist of interest in the movement because of psychological maladjustment is himself incapable of objectivity because of his social and cultural encumbrances. He still has some emotional vested interest in the present order of things. In answering the "human nature" question it would seem that anarchists should emphasise this difficulty on the part of the individual to understand possible forms of human behaviour not motivated by the general pattern of his own culture.

Cultural conditioning would seem to account for the difficulty in establishing and maintaining experiments along "community living" lines. Such groups might, however, survive and thrive if they continually kept to the forefront the nature of this difficulty and made a specific study of new and old behaviour patterns. Whilst the investigation of waning cultures is a very profitable line of study, anarchists might—at the same time—consider the characteristic of group living adapted to the needs of the present and the future. Most groups of the past have tended to place emphasis upon conformism, whereas a desirable form of group is one which would recognise individual differences which were not actually disintegrative and anti-social. I feel that experimental groups should study past social devices which were used to ensure group integrity and, at the same time, attempt to evolve new ones based upon positive relationships to the rest of society—rather than upon retreat or seclusion from it.

The modern anarchist case might also be tied in with certain technological developments like those of automation. Only a free society, for instance, is likely to employ automation to meet human needs and not primarily to serve the ends of privileged classes. Present socio-economic systems may, indeed, restrict the introduction of automation for at least two major reasons: (1) Superabundance of goods cannot be sold at a profit and (2) the human being is often a cheap "servo-mechanism" when counted against the cost of installing automation. The latter might, in fact, almost completely release human beings from monotonous work and be instrumental in helping to create highly diversified forms of free society (including pastoral and also other forms of community which we may not, so far, have envisaged).

In this brief survey I have, perhaps, echoed the views of some writers who express the opinion that anarchist theory should be re-written in the light of contemporary developments. Whilst this calls for a considerable amount of research work, it might be possible for anarchist writers to pool their present knowledge and resources and to run an initial series of planned weekly articles to enlighten the potentially interested along the lines which I have suggested. This modern case for positive anarchism might later be presented in book form for the benefit of a wider public under some such title as "The Free Society".

Despite the possibility of TV in every room and two cars in every garage there is a widely diffused but generally aimless protest against existing forms of society. (This is exemplified in current teenage

culture and in other forms of youth protest against adult authoritarianism. At the present time its force is dissipated in things like "rock and roll", cheap records, juke boxes, special kinds of clothing and in harmless "youth conferences" for the more mature).

A systematic re-statement of the case for anarchism (or a "Free Society") in the 1960's might do a great deal to provide a positive goal capable of uniting both the apathetic and those who may consider that there is no realisable goal for which to strive.

Unfortunately, time does not appear to be on the side of the anarchists. It would seem to favour the powerful controlling organisations which have at their disposal increasing facilities and monopoly to influence the minds of the people through State education and centrally controlled sources of information and entertainment. There is also danger in the facile optimism which regards more "prosperity", a more enlightened attitude towards sex or a more "democratic" relationship between executives and subordinates as signs of progress towards a Free Society. The farmer who adopts a kindly attitude towards his cattle and pays increased attention to their welfare is more concerned with the production of milk and beef than in extending the freedom and mental horizons of his charges. More orange juice, more food, more industrial psychology, more technical education and more luxuries tend to make for healthy, well-adjusted and contented employees capable of performing their jobs and doing more readily what they are told to do. In America, too, the boss may come to dinner. But he is, after all, still the Boss.

A.J.

A Bad Week!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

WEEK 13

Deficit on Freedom	£260
Contributions received	£221
DEFICIT	£39

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*Indicates regular contributor.

ISRAEL AND ARABS

IN FREEDOM of Feb. 6th a letter from "The Third Force" movement in Israel says: "When Israeli leaders angrily and very loudly protest on international platforms against anti-semitism and national discrimination, they should be reminded by sincere friends of Israel that the Arabs are also Semites, and that the enforcement of exile and decay on a million of Arab refugees and the degradation and spoliation of 200,000 Israeli Arabs are acts much more substantial and inhuman than the smearing of swastikas."

It seems to me unfair to compare the two. When the Jews first settled in Israel and "made the desert bloom again" the Arabs who lived there benefited by it as well, except that the wealthier Arabs became alarmed over the fact that this was helping improve the standard of living for their countrymen and would cause discontent among the great number of their oppressed masses who lived in such dire poverty. And when Britain turned part of Palestine over to the Jews in 1948, the Arabs in the surrounding countries decided to get rid of them by driving them into the sea. They raised an army and warned all the Arabs living in Palestine to withdraw while they sent their armies to drive the Jews out, and promised afterward to return the fleeing ones to their homes. The Israelis warned them that if they left they could not return, but if they stayed on they would be taken care of. But most of them left, very confident that they would soon destroy the Israelis and return. They lost, of course, and forgot their own rules that "to the victor belong the spoils." And that to allow a million to return would be to place a huge "fifth column" in the heart of Israel, which is surrounded on all sides by Arab enemies in much

greater numbers, who would seize any opportunity to destroy them.

And where were their Arab brothers who enticed them away from their homes? The refugees could have been placed in a number of Arab countries which really needed them and could use them—with funds from the U.N. and even Israel. But Arabs refused as they preferred to use them as an example of Israel's cruelty; and as a scapegoat for their poverty-stricken masses to vent their frustrations on. Some of these poor Arabs in the country surrounding the refugee camp actually escape into the camp, which is helped by U.N., as they can live better there!

The Israelis' policy is to help keep families together, and therefore, in accordance with this some Arabs are allowed to return to rejoin their families. And the Arabs who remained in Israel have the rights of citizens, and even have some of their members in the Knesset. I was told by an Arab guide when I was in Israel that they live better than they ever did, including education for their children.

So how can you compare the self-imposed exile of those refugee Arabs with the ravings of frustrated Nazi fanatics who go around shouting that all the Jews should be put into gas chambers and wiped out, even here in the U.S.A. Washington, D.C. LILLIAN KISLUK March 10.

Where are those
New Readers
for FREEDOM!

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The Individual in the Authoritarian Society

DEAR EDITORS,

I am amazed at B.F.'s letter (FREEDOM, 1-1960) which implies that I believe in the possibility of individual expression in an authoritarian society. Such a conclusion is deduced from wrong premises. If he assumes that I am an anarchist then, theoretically speaking, I am anti-authoritarian. But he cannot infer from this that I believe that the full development of the individual is possible in our present society. When I speak of freedom as against the utopian freedom of tomorrow or of the expression of individuality now as against its future devel-

opment I certainly reject all lulling songs of coming tomorrows which implies the destruction of the last hopes of the believers and any expectations of compensation.

Talking in terms of freedom and individuality here and now does not mean acceptance of authoritarian society but on the contrary its rejection with its corollary the State, police, army, exploitation, etc., and the realisation that full freedom cannot be realised in such a society. If I believe it could be, there would be no need for me to be an anarchist and to spend sixpence on anarchist publications.

If any attempt to put into practice the theory of spontaneous activity ends in Her Majesty's gaol I unmistakably can assure B.F. that any attempt to put anarchism into practice will undoubtedly end in H.M. gaol also. So to live in an authoritarian society B.F., as myself, has to compromise. The difference between him and myself is that he is trying to rationalise his compromising by speaking in terms of an unauthoritarian tomorrow and by projecting his repressions into a future society, thus justifying his escapist position whereas I accept anti-authoritarianism as a way of life, as an attitude to be judged today and not tomorrow and feel no need to justify my failures.

According to B.F. my "strictures on conscience and duty are irrefutable but pointless, since neither of these bourgeois virtues has any place in anarchist philosophy". B.F. is right but the anarchists are not philosophical beings or a specific class of individuals isolated from others by the wall of China. They live in a bourgeois society and have many of the bourgeois virtues and very often when they speak in terms of morality or organisation they think and act as bourgeois and authoritarians, therefore attacking such virtue does not harm the anarchist.

In my previous letter to FREEDOM I expressed my views on organisation and do not think they need to be emphasised. Replies to other points contained in B.F.'s letter are implied in my answer. There is one more thing only on which I would like to remark, namely, that internal authority is as dangerous as external authority and much more difficult to dispose of. It is easier to rebel against the visible authority than against the invisible authority within oneself.

Sydney, March 15

J.G.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

IMPORTANT

MEETINGS are now held at
CAMBRIDGE CIRCUS
"The Marquis of Granby" Public House,
London, W.C.2.

(corner Charing Cross Road and
Shaftesbury Avenue)
at 7.30 p.m.

ALL WELCOME

APRIL 3—S. E. Parker on
THE FUTURE IS NOW

APRIL 10—J. M. Pilgrim on
ANARCHISM AND SCIENCE
FICTION

APRIL 17—No meeting

READERS IN BOSTON, MASS.

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