

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Liberty will ultimately make all men rich; it will not make all men equally rich. Authority may (and may not) make all men rich in purse; it certainly will make them equally poor in all that makes life worth living."
—BENJAMIN TUCKER

There's no Honour Among (Political) Thieves Mr. K'S JOKE

WHAT made Mr. Khrushchev disclose only part of the story of the American spy-plane shot down well inside Russian territory, when he addressed the Supreme Soviet a week last Thursday, leaving until last Saturday the juiciest morsels, which were that the pilot was alive and that he had spilled the beans? Was it simply, as he put it, to "hear what they [the Americans] would think up?" and "Now they have concocted something, and now we are telling you how matters really stood". It may well be that the explanation is as simple as that. And if so, who can deny that Mr.

Khrushchev's joke was as successful as the rocket which picked-off the bogus "weather" aircraft travelling at over 500 m.p.h. at a height of some 12 miles? We must confess to having enjoyed Mr. Khrushchev's joke immensely.

Relying on the successful operation of the explosive charge which ejects the pilot in the event of an accident and, at the same time, destroys the plane (and often the pilot as well), the United States authorities were lulled into assuming that what Mr. K. said on the Thursday was all he knew. He made no mention of a pilot (good, he must

have been killed on his way down or managed to get away, or better still, did the only thing an American gentleman could be expected to do in enemy territory: use the poison needle which was part of his travelling equipment); Mr. K. made no mention of special instruments or equipment (which meant that what had not been destroyed in mid air had been destroyed by the booby traps exploding on the ground). He obviously knew very little about the matter other than that it was an American plane, and that it had been flying over Soviet territory. So, with a tone of hurt innocence the State Department published its "explanation" of the incident.

"The department has been informed by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration that, as announced on May 3, an unarmed plane, a U-2 weather research plane based at Adana, Turkey, piloted by a civilian, has been missing since May 1.

"During the flight of this plane the pilot reported difficulty with his oxygen equipment."

Of the plane referred to by Mr. Khrushchev, it said:

"It may be that this was the missing plane. It is entirely possible that, having a failure in the oxygen equipment which could result in the pilot losing consciousness, the plane continued on automatic pilot for a considerable distance and accidentally violated Soviet air space."

These dear little U-2s whose mission in the world was to follow the weather, to photograph the clouds (A NASA spokesman declared that they carried cameras for taking pictures of cloud cover, and not for reconnaissance flights), and to study "gust meteorology" especially near the Soviet Union, were the innocent benefactors of mankind, providing vital information to the airline companies along the international routes. In a word they existed for "peaceful scientific research". The note of indignation in the State Department

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Commonwealth Ministers' Quarrel

THAT part of the Commonwealth Conference planned to discuss "apartheid problems" promised to be an affair of meaningless talk and evasions. Even the Malayan Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, reputed to be the most outspoken against South African Government racial policies, indicated on his arrival at the beginning of last week that he would stick to the 'rules' and not press for a formal discussion on apartheid.

For some inexplicable reason it was assumed by all, publically at any rate, that the South African Minister for External Affairs, would be more responsive to rational arguments if these were conducted informally.

It was apparent from the statements given by the South African Minister, Eric H. Louw, to the press on May 4th that no amount of polite disagreement or persuasion by the other Commonwealth members would shake South African rulers in their determination to continue with their racial policies. Among other things he stated that a discussion with the South African Prime Minister before coming to London had made it clear that there would be no change in policies as a result of the recent riots. All the actions taken by the police were justified without regret, and Mr. Louw arrogantly concluded that he had come to the Conference "neither as an accused, nor as a penitent, or suppliant".

From his statement that South Africa is one of Britain's best markets, and if necessary South Africa could buy from other countries, we can see once again one of the reasons why Britain refuses to upset the Nationalists by condemning their actions, while at the same time hypocritically defending the concepts of equality and freedom for the Africans.

It was clear from the beginning of this conference, and indeed before it started, that neither informal nor

formal discussion would persuade white South Africa that its policies are both morally unacceptable and stupid.

From the start it has been tacitly accepted by all participants that the "internal policies" of any country, however unjust and brutal, have nothing to do with the outside world. It is easy to see why all the countries taking part in these discussions, none entirely guiltless of some form of repressive action against sections of their peoples, appeared to concede this point.

However, one man, enraged by the South African Minister's obvious intransigence, eventually called a halt to the polite talk on the day set aside for discussions to strengthen Commonwealth trading relations. The Malayan Prime Minister stated that it is impossible to discuss with the representative of a country which has firmly decided that there will be no change in its policies. Subsequently he walked out of the "informal sessions" at 10 Downing Street with the intention of inviting, on his return to Malaya, Asian and African countries to decide on what action can be taken against South Africa.

It is difficult to see what effective economic action African and Asian countries can take against South Africa without active help from other trading Commonwealth countries, but in a sea of hypocrisy it makes a change to find one swimmer going in the opposite direction even if he drowns as a result.

The Observer (Sun. May 8th) in welcoming the Malayan Prime Minister's candour, suggested that if Mr. Louw were able to return "without the stigma of Commonwealth censure" he could claim that his critics had been persuaded by his arguments and, therefore, the Tengku "has already contributed something to diminishing the Union

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Oxford Dons Protest Against S. African Touring Cricketers

Fifty-six senior members of Oxford University yesterday wrote to protest against the University Cricket Club's arrangement to play the touring South African team this week.

The letter is an open one to the club's secretary, and the author is Mr. Peter Pulzer, lecturer in politics at Magdalen College. Among the signatories are Professor A. J. Ayer, Wykeham Professor of Logic; Sir Isaiah Berlin, Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory; Sir Wilfrid Le Gros Clark, Dr. Lee's Professor of Anatomy; Mr. W. Abraham, the Ghanaian Fellow of All Souls, and senior members of several colleges.

The text of the letter is: "In cricket, as in all other sports in the Union of South Africa except table tennis, only a player of pure white descent can represent his country in international sport. This position has been reached not by a decree of the Government but by a voluntary decision of the South African Cricket Association.

"We the undersigned teaching members of the University, therefore deeply regret that the Oxford University Cricket Club has accepted a fixture with the South African touring side, a decision which can only serve to condone the practice of racial discrimination in sport, and to associate the University of Oxford with it in the public mind."

Replying to the protest, Dr. A. D. Buckingham, of Christ Church and senior treasurer of the O.U.C.C., said:

"Whatever views one may hold on the question of race relations, I cannot see

how anything could be gained by the O.U.C.C. refusing to play against these pleasant and sportsmanlike visitors. By playing cricket with them we do not, of course, mean to imply that we either approve or disapprove of the policies of their Government, or even of their cricket association. . . I am hopeful that the playing of this game . . . may lead to a better spirit of friendship and understanding between ourselves and those in Africa who are confronted with a terribly difficult problem that we are lucky enough not to have here."

The Oxford Anti-Apartheid Committee (formerly the Oxford South African Boycott Committee) reaffirmed its intention to picket the entrances to the ground while the match is on. In a statement yesterday, the committee—representing both city organisations and university members—says the demonstration will not be against the cricketers as such, but against the principle of racial discrimination.

Guardian 10/5/60.

And the Business Men Go Marching In

As the Monckton Commission nears the end of its tour of Central Africa, another commission prepares to take to the road in East Africa. Although almost completely unpublicised, it may well have an even greater effect on the future of British colonial territories in Africa than will Lord Monckton's lime-lighted colleagues. It will certainly find a very different reception among Africans.

The commission to be headed by Sir Jeremy Raisman, deputy chairman of Lloyd's Bank, is to inquire into the workings of the East African High Commission after its twelve years of existence, and into the arrangements for a common market area in East Africa and to recommend any necessary additions or modifications to the present scheme.

This inquiry is almost as important to Central Africa as it is to East Africa. The Monckton Commission has been snubbed and boycotted by every representative African organisation in Central Africa because its function was defined by Mr. Macmillan as "not to destroy the Federation but to advise us on how the Federation can best go forward."

Most leading Africans and a growing number of whites consider that the Rhodesias and Nyasaland can best go forward precisely by destroying the Federation and linking the three territories through a new structure similar to the East Africa High Commission. They are all, therefore, eager to hear an objective verdict on how the High Commission has fared, and they hope that it will be proved successful enough to support their argument for repeating the experiment further south.

Guardian.

A.A. Demonstration in Stockholm

STOCKHOLM, 28 April.

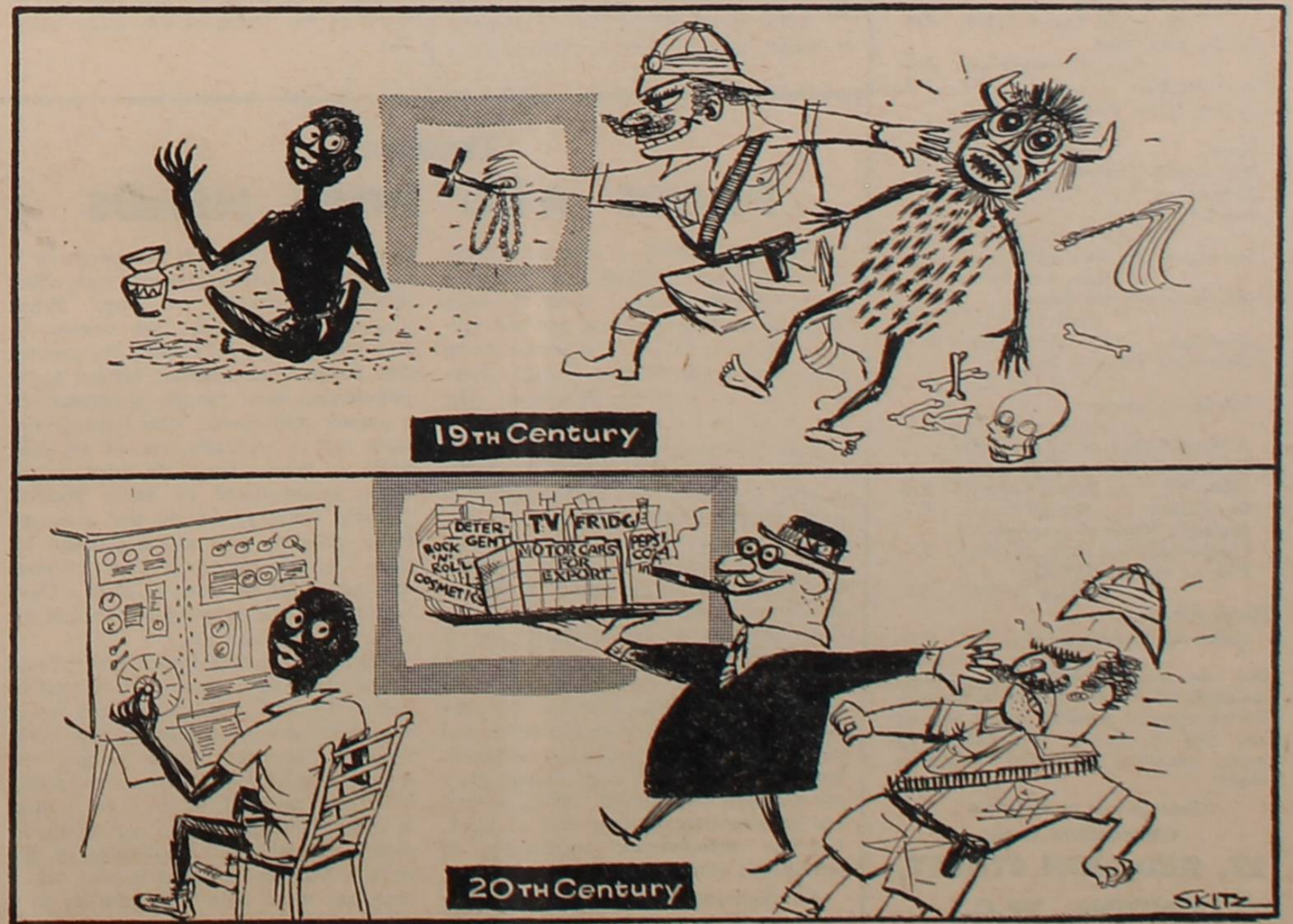
Whatever happens the South African Government's apartheid policy mustn't interfere with sport. The tennis matches between South Africa and Sweden started here to-day.

Twenty minutes before they started the matches a car drove up in front of the stadium and some youths set up a placard. It showed a white tennis player with a tennis racket in one hand and a whip in the other. The caption reads: "White sport in South Africa". Another placard showed a map of Africa with the text: "Freedom" and "Equality".

The police arrived as usual with their story about "permission" and removed the placards and asked the driver of the car to move on.

This sport drug will take our minds off the white South African nationalists' idea of "Justice". Politics we are told should not interfere with amusement, diversion and good fun. However, the Swedish sport organization intend taking up the question of sport and politics at the next meeting of the "sport parliament", whatever that may be.

H.



THE WINDS OF CHANGE

Mr. K's JOKE

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ment's communique is therefore understandable:

"The United States is taking this matter up with the Soviet Government with particular reference to the fate of the pilot."

The Press commentators lapped up the State Department's statement at its face value. We were delighted to see that the *Guardian's* Mr. Victor Zorza literally hurled himself into Mr. K's trap, as was to be expected, and interested to note that both the *Guardian* and *Times* leader writers trod very warily, refusing to swallow the American line yet treating the Russian bait with time-honoured suspicion. But whereas the *Guardian* suggested that Mr. K's speech "reflected little of that promising glow at the Summit which General de Gaulle seemed to have detected there" the *Times* suggested that if anybody had upset the Summit it was the Americans.

If it were deliberate, the flight of the American research aircraft into Russian skies on May Day was an act of reckless folly. Provocative at any period, the reconnaissance could not have been worse timed than in these pre-summit days. It played straight into Mr. Khrushchev's hands.

In the United States waves of moral indignation in high places helped to strengthen the State Department's uncompromising statement. Senator Mansfield, the Democratic whip, told the Senate "If the Russians are going to shoot first and complain later, then indeed the prospects for the coming Summit are grim". The *New York Herald Tribune* advised President Eisenhower to consider whether it was worth while in present circumstances to journey to a Summit meeting. And indeed the President himself, as he was strolling passed the hull of a pleasure boat on show at an exhibition in Washington, said to George (George Meany, president of the American Trades Unions—there is no doubt about it these Presidents are all in the same boat, aren't they?): "That reminds me, I am taking to Khrushchev—if I go—a new boat that has no propeller..."

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THEN on Saturday last, Mr. K. having enjoyed his joke privately, decided to enjoy it publicly. First he read to the Supreme Soviet the American statement on what had happened. Then he launched his cat among the American stoupegeons. The pilot of the plane was alive, his personal trousseau which consisted of a varied assortment of foreign currency, gold rings, wrist watches, knives, a revolver and ammunition as well as the hypodermic suicide needle, were intact as were the "secret" equipment carried in the plane. And the pilot "talked" (Mr. K. of course did not say how much "persuading" was needed, though he did go into such professional secrets as that Mr. Powers had been paid a starting salary of \$2,500 [£900] a month which is surely more than a patriot would accept; and if we accept that Mr. Powers is a mercenary then we are not surprised that he did not risk being killed by allowing himself to be "ejected" from his plane, or that he did not use the suicide needle, or that he may well have spilled the beans without the need of much persuasion *a la Russe*).

The first reactions of the State Department to Mr. K's second instalment was to describe itself as "sceptical to say the least". But after eleven hours thought, thought

better and admitted that the earlier story put out was a lie. For millions of Americans poor old Washington was turning in his grave, and the fact had to be faced that not only were the Russians liars but the American government too, when it suited their political interests. (And Victor Zorza was churning out his piece in the *Guardian* on Monday oblivious to the dark inuendos he had made about the Russians the previous Friday and Saturday).

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THE new statement put out by the State Department sought to justify the spying activities of that innocent weather-plane-that-wasn't; whose equipment could photograph airfields and other ground installations in Russian territory as well as the clouds; whose instruments could obtain information on missile and radar "defences" as well as on gust meteorology. Indeed in a space of a few hours we learned that "certainly it is no secret that, given the state of the world today, intelligence collection activities are practised by all countries, and post-war history certainly reveals that the Soviet Union has not lagged in this field". And the justification was that

The necessity for such activities as measures for legitimate national defence is enhanced by the excessive secrecy practised by the Soviet Union in contrast to the free world.

The *Observer's* Washington correspondent pointed out last Sunday that these innocuous weather planes "have been mapping Soviet targets for many months" (our italics).

They cruise at 550 miles an hour and rely on their small size and extremely high altitude to escape detection.

They are painted sky-blue, and can glide for long distances with their engines turned off. They carry accurate photographic equipment designed to survive a crash.

The pilots are a select band of men, highly trained, extremely brave. They generally speak Russian, carry no identification and have gold jewellery to buy favours if they are shot down. They also carry a suicide kit.

The flights are organised by a number of agencies, some of them civilian, some scientific branches of the Government; military intelligence officials are involved, especially from the Air Force, which needs information on potential targets.

As we go to Press, the American State Department defiantly declares that its aerial spying activities over Russian territory which have been going on for a long time will continue until Russia comes clean and invites its potential enemies to inspect what it has to offer in the way of the latest models in weapons of human destruction.

★

SO the wheel has come full circle: from denying that they would

knowingly trespass on Russian air space the Americans now admit that they have been doing it for a long time and will go on doing it, using satellites in due course to photograph every square inch of Russian territory. The Russians, declare the Americans, have known this all along. Why do they select this particular occasion to protest? Their counter-attack is valid in the sordid game of politics. We do not profess to know the answer. Maybe as has been suggested by the political commentators, Mr. K. did so to appease his critics in Russia who want him to take a tougher line with the Western powers. Or it may be that he thought it would help in increasing the rift between the State Department and the Pentagon, and between America and Britain (where it is feared that the Pentagon controls the Administration).

But to our minds more important than these power political considerations which are purely transitory are the ill-effects which the washing of dirty political linen at "summit level" have in general. And this is our only justification for commenting at any length on Mr. K's joke at the expense of the American State Department. He has undoubtedly left a bad taste in the mouths of millions of millions of Americans and other supporters of the Western Alliance, but we doubt whether he has gained many allies. Every ambitious politician will privately consider him a "cad", for he has let down the profession. As it is, most people intuitively consider politicians as rogues and liars even if they do nothing to dispense with their services.

When the politicians gratuitously provide the evidence on a plate for the whole world to see, they reveal their vanity as well as their stupidity (and not their cupidity as the press has interpreted Mr. K's practical joke). But the public, in allowing their lives to be ruled and threatened by such people, are in the circumstances at least ten times more stupid... or guilty!

K X P

WHEN one considers the case of Caryl Chessman, patriotic zeal must give way to envious admiration. How much better they order these matters in California! Where else in the world is the great drama of crime and punishment played with such skill and determination by both sides?

First, the crime. When most governments have timidly confined the death penalty to punishing cases of murder—i.e. killing someone without being ordered to do so by a superior officer—or have sometimes even abolished it altogether, the State of California keeps it

for rape or kidnapping (or is it both?—no one seems to be quite sure). This is surely evidence of an admirable sense of proportion. Since capital punishment doesn't deter murderers, how sensible to try it on rapers and kidnappers as well.

Then, the time. Admittedly Massachusetts put up a pretty good show with Sacco and Vanzetti; seven years is quite some time. The Scots didn't do badly with Oscar Slater either, but though he was kept in prison for nineteen years after being sentenced to death some idiot had reprieved him, and in the end he was actually set free. But when one considers that in England it is usually all over in a few weeks, how magnificent Chessman's twelve years become!

Over the method, however, one must admit to some reservations. No doubt the march of science is all very well, and I would be the first to agree that it has done wonders for the art of killing people in war, but surely in these more intimate affairs there should be more reliance on well-tried methods of long standing. Even the guillotine is something of a gadget, and as for the electric chair—well, it is a symptom of the sort of antiseptic mechanical things our age is cursed with. It is true that cyanide gas seems to take thirty seconds to induce unconsciousness and nine minutes to cause death, but it is all very tame. No, hanging is still unsurpassed. Apart from anything else, there is always the chance that the man's head will be torn right off, or that he will be choked to death instead of having his neck broken—and it is just this sort of natural variation that makes it ideal.

On the other hand, their genius for publicity puts the Californians in the top class. One cannot help feeling that an opportunity was lost when the services of television were not called in, and a news camera or two would have been welcome, but even so the presence of sixty journalists and spectators adds to the scene that sort of grandeur one usually associates with royal weddings, as well as ensuring that the freedom of

Caryl Chessman and the Fight Against Capital Punishment

"If the hysteria and mob-wrath that surrounds the problem can be propitiated only by my death, and if otherwise they agree that the death penalty should be abolished, then I earnestly urge the members of our legislature to frame their bill in such a way as to exclude me."

(From a letter written by Caryl Chessman, printed in the *New Statesman* of April 30, 1960).

THE more one dwells on the Chessman case the more obvious it becomes that this highly gifted man was able to see the problem of capital punishment in a much more realistic light than either his idolators or opponents. He perceived that in his own case the question or otherwise of his guilt had become secondary to the fact that his brilliance in making use of existing laws to stave off his execution had aroused the antagonism of both a section of the judiciary and the general public. The truth is that Chessman's very intelligence was against him—if he had been a miserable broken figure he might have possibly become an object of pity, and pity might in turn have brought forth feelings of mock generosity. The fact that he so obviously was not a broken man only aroused the hatred of those people needing a scapegoat or sacrificial victim. The nature of his crime—if indeed he was guilty—also ensured that the frustrated clamour for his legal murder under a guise of respectability. The general sexual frustration of a large section of the ordinary people in our society represents a problem that libertarians, and more particularly anarchists, have recognised, but the sickness it engenders is of a nature that is a serious impediment to any unprejudiced consideration being given in many areas where social progress might be made.

Late in 1958 I spent some months in the United States and on a number of occasions raised the question of Chessman's case with people with whom I came into contact. The more intelligent generally felt that he should be reprieved, although less on the ground that he had redeemed himself by a development of latent talents than on the rather nebulous feeling that if he could survive so long he should be given a 'sporting' chance. Others seemed quite indifferent to his

fate, and one was constantly reminded of the heinous nature of his offence. I am sure that he would have stood a better chance if he had been convicted of murder.

What was revealing in the end is that the opponents of the death penalty often proved to be those who traditionally might have been assumed to support it. Although four of the seven justices of the California Supreme Court were the chief culprits in Chessman's death—they did not even have the need to put aside any previous judgment on the evidence, but only to advocate clemency so that the Governor of California could repeal the death sentence—there is no doubt that the indifference, if not hostility to Chessman, of the general public made their task easier. It is saddening to read that hundreds of applications were received from people who wanted to witness the execution—no doubt all of them good Christians, family men, and upholders of sexual purity.

The barbarity of Chessman's judicial murder is made more apparent when one considers that it could not possibly achieve any of the objects for which apologists maintain that the retention of the death penalty is necessary. Nobody could claim that Chessman was any longer a danger to society, and given an opportunity to use his acquired skills he might have become a very valuable member indeed. It is advanced as an argument in favour of capital punishment that there are some people so degenerate that there is no hope of changing them. This seems a very dubious proposition, but again it certainly was not in any way applicable to Chessman. In fact, he might have been used as an example of the beneficial results that could follow from a prison sentence! Naturally, this would overlook the fact that he had taught himself, without much benefit from any action by the authorities, but logic is not usually followed by the apologists for prison sentences. The truth is that Chessman's death made a mockery of all the pretensions of the advocates of capital punishment, and it has lessons for those of us who wish to see the end of this obscene ritual.

I recall that an official of a society for the abolition of capital punishment wrote to *FREEDOM* prior to the last general election pointing out that it was hopeless to campaign until a Labour government came into power. I presume that this is why nothing is now heard of the movement in this country: this, incidentally, seems a very good illustration of the futility of attempting social change through political means. Some of us concerned to see the abolition of capital punishment now realise that we are faced with opponents to whom logic or statistics mean nothing, and that what we are in fact up against is a form of mass sickness, strongly sexual in origin. The projections of the sexually frustrated are now an important factor in twentieth century society, and this element will always need victims to propitiate its own feelings of guilt and insecurity. It is this knowledge that induces a feeling of hopelessness in many anarchists today.

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YOUR LAST ISSUE OF 'FREEDOM'?

FREEDOM's postal subscribers cannot complain that they are besieged by reminders when their subscriptions are due for renewal. The last time we dealt with this boring task was a year ago! Last week-end turning our backs on the brief Indian summer, royal weddings and our garden calling for love and labour, we ploughed our way through the mailing lists and sent out reminders to no less than 600 readers whose subscriptions were due for renewal. Among these were about 100 who had received a reminder a year ago but who have not yet responded. To those readers we have sent a reminder marked FINAL. And it means that this issue is the last they will receive until we hear from them, either enclosing a subscription covering their neglectful past (with a little extra for the future) or pleading dire poverty but expressing their desire to receive *FREEDOM* each week.

We do not want to lose readers who are interested but "broke"; we have little patience or sympathy with

those who are interested, not "broke" but who hate parting with a paltry 19/- per annum for *FREEDOM*; and have no sympathy at all for those who are no longer interested but have not the common decency to request us to stop sending the paper when their subscription expires (they are the ones who would be the first to protest if we stopped sending the paper as soon as their subscription expired!). The main purpose of our FINAL warning is to eliminate the latter, and to provoke the remainder to get in touch with us even if only to tell us that they are "broke" but would like to receive *FREEDOM* each week.

As we write these lines, the FINAL cards have been removed from our mailing lists (American and other overseas FINALISTS will be given one month's grace to allow for the time it takes them to receive our reminders) and nothing will induce us to return them to the "live" lists until we receive some signs of life from those concerned. You have been warned!

the press is maintained.

Surely we can learn from all this. Public executions were foolishly abolished here in 1868; they should be revived and carried out not perhaps at Tyburn—for this would interfere with the traffic unduly—but at Trafalgar Square, now the focus of public life. Indeed one cannot think of a more fitting end to an Aldermaston March than a public hanging, and royal births and weddings would be all the better for such diversions during the boring intervals.

As for the supply of victims, this could be ensured by keeping convicted murderers, rapers, kidnappers and so on in prison for several years. Another point is that one of the chief drawbacks to the Chessman affair was that he was probably guilty. We already have an unsurpassed reputation for hanging innocent people—like Mrs. Thompson, Rowland, Evans and Bentley—and this would be enormously increased if we deliberately chose innocent people rather than simply doing so by mistake. This would keep the people tough and fit in these relaxing days of plenty, especially with the abolition of National Service. A Royal Command Execution once a year would, I am sure, have tremendous appeal and would help to keep Britain Great. I will draw up a petition at once. A.F.

The Case of David Pratt

DEAR EDITORS,

I am sorry to be one of those whom sheer laziness prevented from writing about Pratt. I cannot rake up much indignation at Pratt or sympathy for Verwoerd, or for those who reserve moral horror for the killing of oppressors and mild regrets for the killing of victims. But to say this (which needs saying) is not to condone or advocate political assassination.

T.S. asks whether those who think Macmillan is leading the country to disaster should kill him, and you do not answer. No doubt one can recall the Hitler plot of 1944, which few would disapprove of. But where are we to draw the line? For one like myself, who is not a complete pacifist, the question is

difficult; I had thought modern anarchism was pacifist, but if not, then surely you must face the question too. Perhaps we can make a start like this: Bloodshed in South Africa, horrible though it is, has been small and sporadic (think of the Stalin purges, the India-Pakistan dispute, or modern China). The attempt on Hitler, whatever its result, could hardly have added significantly to the violence already raging.

But in South Africa, however much oppression there may be, the deluge has not come, and may not come; but Pratt's action is just the sort of thing that could spark it off. You defend him by reference to the right of self-defence; but Pratt couldn't possibly have relied on this. No-one was committing violence on him personally, and Verwoerd wasn't personally committing it on anyone. But if you start extending the right, remember that the pro-H-bomb types do just

the same. I do not wish to be hypocritical about this; my own first reaction to Verwoerd's being shot was 'serve him right!' But a considered moral judgment need not be the same as an immediate emotional reaction. If FREEDOM is to depart so far from the image of anarchism built up in many people's minds, you should surely give us a far more thorough examination of the problem than this week's article, which only reaches the main topic at all right at the end, and then agrees that violence breeds violence.

I hope the laziness of readers like myself won't make you think we should not be interested in a thorough discussion of the whole problem of when, if ever, an anarchist or sympathiser can approve of violent action.

Fraternally yours,

Birmingham, May 3. A. R. LACEY.
(More letters next week)

Self-Regulation

I HAVE read with interest the articles by G. and letter from I.L., and would think it a pity to obscure the issue by argument as to whether the term 'Horse-Sense' applies to an upbringing based on 'Self-Regulation' or conventional training.

The fact remains that we are not 'natural' beings, we do use our intellects (which unfortunately are rarely rational), and the majority of people while loving their children and wishing to do the best for them, yet do impose a system of training which involves the sort of excesses mentioned by I.L.

Admittedly 'Self-Regulation' can also lead to excesses, but the basic approach (one with which both G. and I.L. would seem to agree), to bring up a child with the minimum of do's and don'ts and the maximum of love and respect for its individuality (to me the natural and common-sense way), is one which produces the happiest and best-balanced children.

I think I can claim a wide experience of children, partly among my numerous and varied friends and relations, partly from working as a mother's help and as a kindergarten teacher. G. infers that the 'Self-Regulatory' addicts are making a fuss about nothing and that most children are brought up along these lines, but in my experience 'Self-Regulated' children form about a 1% minority and always stand out from the other children by a quality of life which is hard to describe, but makes the other children seem half dead by comparison.

In the kindergarten at which I worked there were 14 children, the offspring of local tradesmen, farmers, and professionals, of these, 13 could have been classed as neurotic, the remaining one (friendly, happy, full of life), was brought up in freedom. (Spoilt! the other teacher would say).

London, May 2.

(Mrs.) J.H.B.

Commonwealth Row

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Government's standing with its own people".

We do not think that white South Africa will view its government differently because one coloured Commonwealth member had the sense to admit that no reasonable discussion was possible with a South African Government representative on racial issues, and the Nationalists have no standing as it is with black South Africans, in spite of Mr. Louw's claim that millions of Africans are "happy and contented and actively support the policy of separate development" (the 'development' part being practically non-existent).

Within the limits of this conference only collective Commonwealth disapproval (or at least half of the members) followed by the threat of ending political trade relations, will force the South African Government to reconsider its racial policies.

India has already broken off diplomatic and commercial ties with South Africa, which has apparently not affected the South African economy at all, although India lost an important export market for jute by so doing.

The white Christian Commonwealth countries are unlikely to make such a sacrifice.

DEAR EDITOR,

David Pratt is a sick man, and has been institutionalised for psychiatric treatment several times. Your hero-worship is based on ignorance (1). On 11th April he appeared in Johannesburg court, and this was reported in South African papers. He therefore no longer is being held under the emergency regulations.(2)

I agree that his action should not be ignored, but both FREEDOM and Peace News often "ignore" items of interest when they are well covered by the regular press, and there is some justification for it from a space point of view. Certainly it is neither cowardly nor dishonest. Peace News, heaven knows, is vulnerable enough to attack without your having to invent anything.(3)

EDITOR'S FOOTNOTES

Arlo Tatum's letter is one of the shortest "protest" letters we have received, yet apart from the last paragraph which is too childish to be taken seriously, there is not a single sentence in it which could not be challenged! To save space we have commented in the form of footnotes to his letter.

(1) We have always attacked the cult of personalities so there is no question of "hero-worship" when we defend David Pratt, Caryl Chessman or Sacco and Vanzetti. We ignore the motives behind David Pratt's attentat and may one day be proved wrong in attributing the generous motives to his act which we have done; we may of course also be proved right. Whatever the final verdict, we prefer to be proved wrong than to have remained silent until our silence was proved to be wrong! Tatum dismisses David Pratt by saying he is a mentally sick man. Would his attitude to the attentat have been different if he had not thought David Pratt a sick man?

(2) We should be interested to see reports from the South African paper to which Tatum refers. Meantime we will quote to him the Reuter report from Capetown April 11 (printed in *The Times* the following day):

David Pratt, the farmer alleged to have shot Dr. Verwoerd, the South African Prime Minister, on Saturday, is not to be tried at present but is detained under the emergency regulations—and may not even be mentioned by name in future. An announcement to-night to this effect followed a day of suspense at the Johannesburg magistrates' court, where he was due to appear, and long consultations between detectives and legal authorities.

(3) To explain away *Peace News*'s silence on the grounds that both they and FREEDOM "often ignore items of interest when they are well covered by the regular press..." is a pretty lame excuse. We were not expecting a report but a comment. The "regular Press" with the exception of the *Observer* deplored the act as was to be expected. And as we showed the so-called "radical" press chose to ignore it rather than to have either to join the chorus of shocked Fleet Street editorial writers or to commit themselves to trying to understand and explain the act in the context of the present situation in South Africa. We imagine that the editors concerned felt that to express regrets for Verwoerd would be hypocritical, and so they said nothing (a similar line to that adopted by Gt. Britain at the United Nations debate on S. Africa where they "abstain-

ed" from voting. The Fleet Street press hailed this as a step forward, the "radicals" roundly condemned it!) If Mr. Tatum will look up *Peace News* for April 15 he will see on page 9 a report from that paper's Johannesburg correspondent. It says very little that the daily press here did not say about news censorship in South Africa. In view of P.N.'s silence on the David Pratt attentat, the headline "News Blackout Keeps South Africans in the Dark" makes curious reading!

(4) We assume that our readers are people who have the necessary feelings and imagination to be able to identify themselves with a cause or a struggle whether or not they are personally directly involved. Surely we are able to identify ourselves with the black South Africans in their struggle against the pass system and their status of inferiority in relation to the white S. Africans without having to be dark skinned? Only someone apparently as thick skinned as Mr. Tatum could consider our last two paragraphs "irrelevant". What we are saying, Mr. Tatum, was that David Pratt's action was inspired by the horrors of the Sharpeville massacre, and the policy of apartheid; that in identifying himself with the victims of Verwoerd's policies he was acting in self-defence. As to recognising Verwoerd's right of self-defence too, well of course we do. From his point of view it was too bad that his permanent body-guard was temporarily off his guard!

Sincerely,

London, May 2. ARLO TATUM.

The Value of Demonstrations

DEAR SIR,

Once again I see that FREEDOM has successfully set out to alienate some of its newer readers. This time by a cheap jibe against people who demonstrated outside South Africa House in the week following the Sharpeville massacre. Had there been no protest FREEDOM would presumably, and quite rightly, have attacked the incredible apathy that could let such crimes happen without a murmur of objection. But there was a protest and a large and prolonged one at that, which FREEDOM loftily dismisses as "Pacifists, New Leftists, Communists and Socialists (no anarchists I notice) making a mild nuisance of themselves, as far as the British authorities were concerned."

(Just for the record there were also anarchists, conservatives, and people so apolitical they wouldn't even buy FREEDOM).

Yet in fact the demonstration was of far greater significance than the armchair anarchist who wrote the rather silly statement quoted above seems to realise. In the first place a considerable amount of money was collected from sympathetic passers-by, money which was desperately needed by the dependants and relatives of those killed, wounded, or imprisoned, and who have no means of help apart from what we choose to send them.

Again, apart from the minor point that the demonstration helped to show the depth of revulsion that we felt, to the authorities in South Africa House, the demonstrations were widely reported abroad and did a great deal to compensate for the British attitude in the Security Council.

But the most important aspect of the demonstrations in the week following Sharpeville has been expressed by Ronald Segal, Tennyson Makiwane, and numerous white South Africans who joined us in picketing. "You have no idea," they said, "how heartening this is to those of us who are trying to fight apartheid from within the Union. Demonstrations in Britain have a value out of all proportion to their size, their effect in the Union is without any doubt much greater than any of you in this country realise". So perhaps after all, we were doing more than make "a mild nuisance" of ourselves to the British authorities.

The same article later goes on to say that the regrettably unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Dr. Verwoerd left us paralysed and speechless. Did it indeed, if we were paralysed and speechless, I am at a loss to find terms to apply to the writer of this article, to whom all action and none appears to be equally reprehensible.

In fact there has been a considerable amount of action going on with the twin purpose of raising funds and demonstrating our disapproval. A Direct Action Committee has been formed, to urge industrial action in the docks and distributive centres. Two young men have arranged a jazz and folk music concert (May 10th, St. Pancras Town Hall), and engaged some of the biggest names in this country to attend. The "Music Against Apartheid" Committee have

DEAR EDITORS,

Apropos the attempt on Verwoerd's life, it would seem that our editors, having grown out of the bomb-throwing stage themselves, are taking a most questionable, barbaric delight in watching someone else do their dirty work for them.

I myself have grown out of the absolute pacifist position but I certainly cannot imagine that killing Verwoerd would guarantee the slightest progress.

Surely the rational approach to David Pratt's action should be: "Verwoerd had it coming to him: some poor desperate devil was bound to try it sooner or later." It was understandable but hardly praiseworthy.

Slough

ERNIE CROSSWELL.

FOR THE SAKE OF OUR STATISTICS

For the sake of your statistics may I say that this reader thoroughly APPROVES of your article on David Pratt.

Best wishes,

Oxford, May 1.

J. W. SHAW.

DEAR FRIEND,

I am not an Anarchist but I fully support the stand taken in FREEDOM in defence of David Pratt.

Wist best wishes,

London, May Day.

J.T.P.

been busy recording an L.P. of folk music to be issued on their own label "Music AA", Josh White heading their list of singers. The African families who receive aid as a result of these activities, I feel, will not be so contemptuous as the writer of your leading article. All over the country hundreds of actionist groups are springing up and I invite the nameless writer of your leading article, when he has finished upsetting the new readers that FREEDOM has won recently, to come out from behind his anonymous columns and do something himself.

We know we can't have a free society tomorrow, we know that our efforts may result in Black Fascism replacing White Fascism, we don't think that the struggle for freedom in Africa will end with the establishment of a Pan African Republic, but we do feel that we should do anything and everything to help those living under Verwoerd's tyranny today.

Incidentally, I went along to South Africa House to make an individual protest, that I as an anarchist felt should be made, as loudly and as often as possible. I found a lot of people sympathetic to our ideas. How many of them have now been lost because of last week's snivelling attack I do not know. To me anarchism means responsibility not the sort of indiscriminate needling that was shown in last week's article (the sort of sensationalism FREEDOM always condemns in the capitalist press) done to provoke reader reaction. Any South African fighting against apartheid will tell those of you who are in doubt, that any action, any demonstration, is valuable.

As for myself, I am an anarchist because I believe in bettering the human condition (yes, my own included), not because I want to sit back and say to the wounded, the dying and the starving, in Africa, in Korea, and Turkey, "What can you expect, you've a government." It's true we won't get a free society by demonstrations in Trafalgar Square—but we won't get one by ignoring human suffering either.

J. M. PILGRIM.

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

MAY 23.—Frances Sokolyov on BREAD, ANARCHISM & PICCADILLY CIRCUS
MAY 29.—Jack Robinson on STRIKES, BOYCOTTS AND DIRECT ACTION

JAZZ GROUP MEETING,
Friday, May 20th, at 7 p.m.
at Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road,
(near Kings Cross Station).
Jeremy Westall on
MAINLY MIDSTREAM

L.A.G. SUMMER SCHOOL
REMINDER
Don't forget when arranging your holidays, that the Summer School will take place during August Bank Holiday weekend. It will be held at Alan Albon's Farm at Hailsham, Sussex (under canvas), and those who wish to be able to stay for a week. Further details of cost, lectures, etc. will appear later.

FREEDOM

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