

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Anarchism is not a repudiation of social discipline, but rather an assumption of humanitarian responsibility."  
—SHOLEM ASCH

## Reflections on the L.P.'s call for LABOUR IDEALISM

THE Labour Party pundits have apparently been "shaken" by the revelation in the report by Dr. Mark Abrahams that idealism is not fixed firmly in the public, or even the working class mind, as Labour's characteristic quality. Shaken though they may be, they are nevertheless proposing to do something about it, and Mr. Morgan Phillips is suggesting that

in planning the road to the next general election the Executive should concentrate during 1961 on idealism and on getting people into the Labour Party who believe in its ideals.

The *Guardian's*, Labour correspondent, points out that

The great moral and psychological issue which the party has to face, of course, is whether a more idealistic approach can win friends and influence people in the Acquisitive Society. Some Labour speakers recently have noted that their references to old age pensions have been less warmly received than formerly. They are not sure whether the Conservatives are cooling the atmosphere by encouraging their hecklers to weep crocodile tears, or whether the coldness is just because a worth-while issue has gone stale on them through over-use.

The theme is an important and interesting one. We think it is idle to expect a political party bent on winning the fruits of office to be anything but opportunist in its approach to the question of vote-catching. In the highly industrialised nations, in the "acquisitive society" *par excellence*, one cannot be surprised if more votes go to the party which promises to increase the individual's purchasing power than to the one which, say, promises more education or shows a genuine

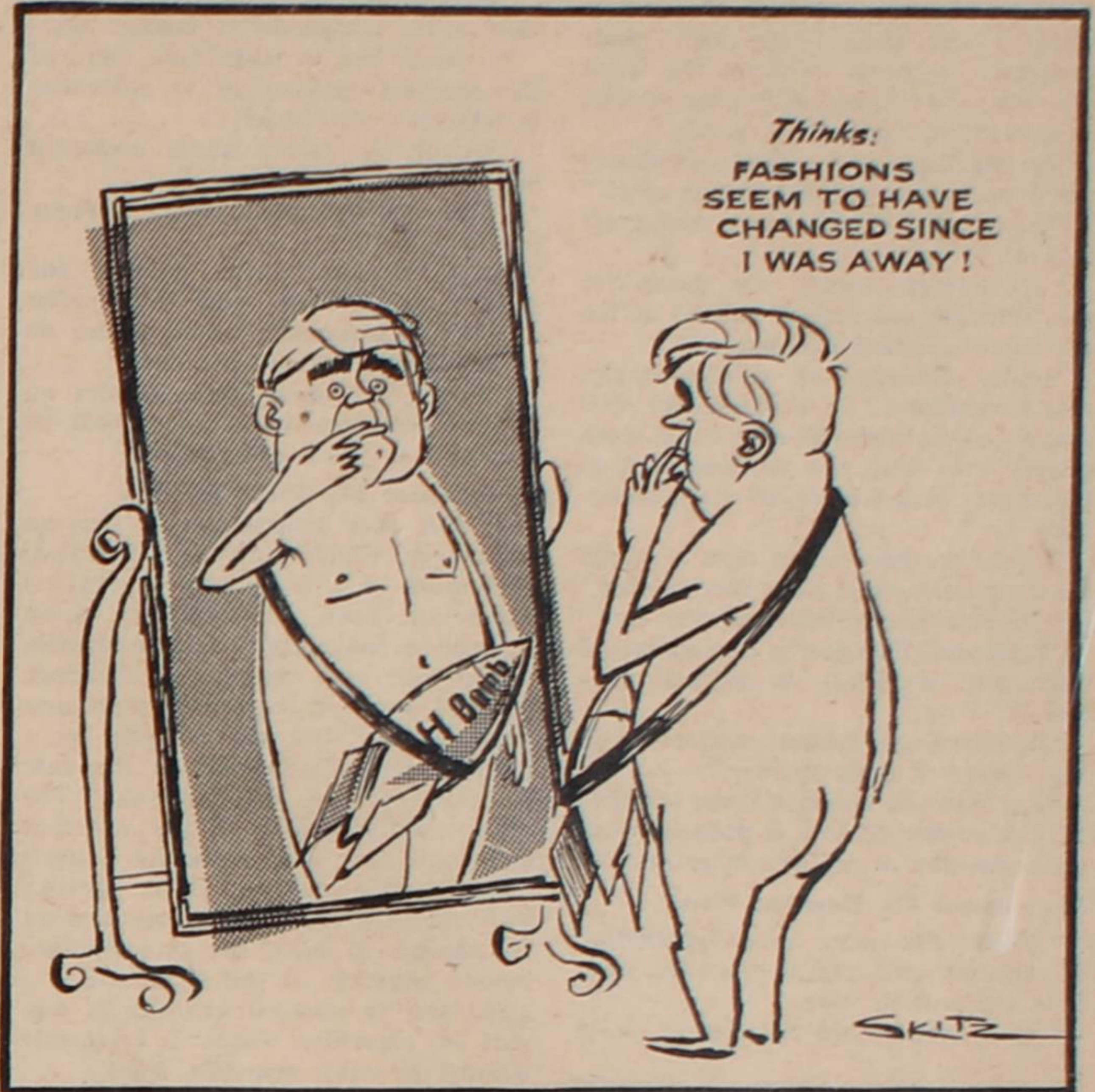
concern for the starving other half of mankind. The phenomenon of a Tory party three times successful in successive elections, with an increasing majority of seats each time, is even more significant when one takes into account that the only difference between the two major parties' programmes was, if anything, that the Labour Party promised more material prosperity for the people as a whole than did its rivals! What we are trying to say is that not only is "idealism" out so far as elections are concerned, but that so long as the general trend of "prosperity" is maintained the promise of more prosperity by the challenging party will not succeed in dislodging those who hold office. From the point of view of the Labour Party winning elections then, it is not so much lack of party unity, or the fact that mass communications are largely in the hands of the Tories, or that the Tory machine is more efficient than the Labour machine, but simply the fact that the Tories won the elections in 1951 and not Labour. Had the latter been successful in 1951 we have no doubt that the much vaunted Tory "hat-trick" would have been acclaimed last October as a Labour "hat-trick". And to round off these introductory remarks it should be mentioned that the Liberals who offered prosperity and doses of "idealism" in their election programme remained in the political wilderness and had little to show in terms of parliamentary seats for their internal shake-up or their intensified electoral campaign. The "idealism" in their programme

probably won them votes from disillusioned erstwhile supporters of the Labour Party but clearly the "idealism" vote is small.

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WHEN we said that we thought the theme was an important and interesting one, we were of course, not thinking in terms of how the Labour Party could stage a comeback by winning the next general elections, but with initiating a discussion as to how the libertarian movements and groups which exist throughout the world, in spite of all the "trends" being against their even existing, let alone surviving, could function more positively, more effectively, than they do at present.

In saying which, we are not thinking "big" but as realists, not idealists—giving this latter term its popular meaning, and using the former in its true sense. We are aware of the fact that the acceptance of libertarian ideas and values by all our readers would not affect by one iota the existing power political or financial set-up in the world to-day. Equally, however, should our readers be aware of the other fact that their active or passive support of pressure groups within the framework of existing society would not in any way influence the policies



of government, the international situation or the structure, economic, financial or social, of that society. The pressure groups to which governments will lend an ear are not those which offer moral, humanitarian or even realistic arguments, but those who have the real power,

who are, in effect or potentially the government of the land. The moment any body of individuals large or small are "influential enough" to make a government reverse its policies, they are the government! This surely is the lesson of India, of Palestine and now of Africa. But, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and others please note, the "pressure" groups which governments heed are not those which seek to make them change their ways but those whose expressed intention is to get rid of the established régime. The only "sense" governments understand is superior power.

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THIS superior power where it manifests itself today almost invariably follows a pattern of violence in that the popular movements as in Africa, are inspired by an élite, generally educated in Europe or the U.S.A., who use the popular discontent as ruthlessly as the generals used their cannon-fodder to win military campaigns. Such change, from above, represents for the overwhelming majority nothing more than a change of masters. But this is the inevitable outcome of the application of the authoritarian approach whether you call it socialist, marxist or nationalist. Without denying that a change of masters might well improve the lot of "the masses" temporarily or relatively, it is doubtful whether in terms of freedom and human development changes of the kind we have described contribute anything positive at all. Often they do much harm for they exploit the popular discontent, make great demands on the generosity of the people (whether by violent or non-violent resistance) only to give them in return a change

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## AFTER THE SUMMIT Business as Usual

NEWSPAPER financial editors, although speculative about the long-term effects of the abortive Summit Conference on the stock market, had an easier job than the political commentators, whose task last week was to produce acceptable analyses of Khrushchev's sensational pronouncements.

Most journalists were thrown into confusion by events in Paris but all agreed that Khrushchev had created a "tragic situation" and had directed a shameful blow at the "hopes of the world" (the real tragedy is that the people of the world place their faith in the ultimate wisdom of their political leaders)

The financial boys who deal in hard facts and not fantasies were much more realistic, and it seems that only the City (apart from the politicians) shared FREEDOM's view that nothing would be changed after a summit conference.

Writing in the *Observer* (Sunday, May 22nd), "Sterling" states that:— The City has taken the Paris fiasco quietly. Nobody expected much to come of a Summit conference; nobody is greatly disappointed. Investors, until somebody gives them the word, seem ready to go on as if nothing had happened.

According to Paul Barea of the *News Chronicle*, Stock Exchange reaction to the wreckage of the Summit meeting was "modestly cheerful" because:—

Gone is the uncertainty that would have persisted if long, protracted negotiation and rapid changes of mood had ensued.

Perhaps it was sinister elements in the Stock Exchange who sabotaged the Summit!

At the beginning of last week in the London Stock Exchange, the "drift of prices was downward",

although there was very little selling. Later prices recovered and selling of industrial shares was steady.

It would appear, therefore, that there is no crisis in the stock market as a result of "the deterioration in relations" although some financial commentators (rightly in our view) have pointed to the possibility of inflation. But the immediate future looks rosy for armament investors, both here and in the United States.

The *Guardian* financial editor writes (May 18th):—

Yesterday's proceedings in Wall Street were instructive. As the prospect of disarmament faded, armament shares, especially such specialised issues as rocket fuels, rose briskly. The London market would be slower to draw that conclusion, but before long it would register the fact that defence contracts are good for business.

Should the East-West tension continue, he analyses the results in these terms:

So we would get first a resumption of the downward drift because of the horrible spectre coming up over the horizon: next, a period of heavier Government restrictions to depress consumer spending and make room for more defence expenditure; and finally a strong market upsurge as industrial profits kept on rising and fears of inflation revived.

The *Sunday Express*, cheerfully prophesying inflation because:— the ranting of Khrushchev backed up by superb techniques in the field of battle make it imperative for the U.S. and our selves to catch up—

advises its readers to plump for Vickers whose shares yield "a bumper 6%".

We offer this information in passing to readers of FREEDOM who have not had the advantage of reading the *Sunday Express* financial page.

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## SOUTH AFRICA VERWOERD SPEAKS

According to a Reuter report from Capetown (May 20);

The South African Government today published regulations under which white and non-white blood to be used in transfusions will be carefully segregated to ensure as far as possible that the same race receives its own particular blood.

Under the regulations, to come into force on September 1, white and non-white donors will be bled on separate premises or on the same premises but suitably separated. Records of blood donations will also be kept separately.

Dr. R. Turner, senior Government pathologist, explaining the new regulations here today, said that the racial origin of blood in bottles must be marked and if possible the same race given the same blood. But he added that there was no regulation making this compulsory. In fact, much of the blood given to non-whites was from whites. There was not enough non-white blood available for all non-white needs.

He went on: "As far as I know, non-white blood is not used for transfusions for whites, though if it were a matter of life and death, I daresay the origin of the blood would not matter."

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With such views about white and black blood (or is it blue and black?) it is not surprising that when Dr. Verwoerd was able to address the people, he should have declared his belief that he was spared after the attempt on his life by "divine providence" to continue his leadership of S. Africa. If he sincerely believes what he says the more is the pity.\*

in our very humble opinion, that his would-be assassin missed. For certainly nobody will be so impolite as to suggest that the man should be certified.

In a statement read on his behalf by the Finance Minister, Dr. Verwoerd outlined to Parliament his proposals for improving urban African administration and reducing racial friction in urban areas.

According to the *Times* Cape Town correspondent his main proposals are

1. To give Africans greater authority over their own people by creating urban Bantu authorities who would have "limited but real authority" and would run an auxiliary service to help in police protection against Tsotsi gangs, agitators, and inciters.
2. To eliminate police raids in Bantu residential areas for illicit liquor, the Government intended to implement some of the proposals of the liquor commission, which recently recommended that Africans be allowed light wine and European style beer.
3. The reference (pass) book system to continue but to be eased by, among other things, providing a smaller and handier book.

These, *The Times* refers to as "Dr. Verwoerd's Concessions". We find them pretty miserable. But even so it is interesting that in his first statement since his narrow escape from death, Dr. Verwoerd offers a concession or two!

\*From the African's point of view, that is!

Have you Renewed your Subscription to FREEDOM?

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## Readership Survey Interim Report (continued from last week)

## Criticisms and Suggestions

## More About The Arts?

"The paper sadly lacks a balance of a cultural nature. We see little of the 'artist' who is often at the forefront of revolutionary thought."

"Direct at the most receptive and impressionable, those searching for fulfilment in the arts and other creative activities. Disillusioned communists, contented citizens and dissatisfied workers are seldom embryo anarchists."

"Try a campaign in the Universities where a few open minds exist—minds completely ignorant of what the word anarchism ever meant. Try your readers for ideas for reaching the young."

"An excellent paper. Sorry sometimes that films and the arts do not get space."

"Would like to see more about art subjects."

"Not enough poetry. On the whole well satisfied, and indeed amazed at the consistent standard maintained."

"Fuller coverage of cultural topics would be helpful. A magazine like *Now* would be very desirable as it could reach people who may not be interested in *FREEDOM*. Still I know all about economics . . ."

"Could we have about once a month an issue containing more literary stuff: e.g. modern poetry, short stories, etc.?"

"In general *FREEDOM* is interesting and instructive, especially in cultural criticisms."

"Comment on cultural matters excellent. Keep it contemporary."

"I should like to see a better standard of film reviewing and if possible more space devoted to the arts in general."

## More About The Here and Now?

"Would like more about application of anarchist principles to everyday problems and possible snags."

"More time should be given to prob-

lems of applying our theories to practical living."

"Attempts should be made to illustrate possible effects of anarchist handling of contemporary problems, etc., including 'what can I do in my little world' stuff."

"Rather more concentration on day to day problems expressed in the light of anarchist viewpoint."

"More articles should be included on the practical application of anarchism."

"Reevaluation of policy required in view of the complexity of modern life."

"I would like to understand more of the practical applications of anarchism in relation to our society."

"Would like more about anarchist ideas in practice."

"Relate anarchism to other contemporary thought."

As a revolution seems unlikely and nobody would know what to do after it, I would welcome practical advice on what anarchists should do now."

"Would like to see some articles on applied anarchism as it is or could be practised in 'pilot' communities."

## More About The Social Sciences

"I feel that anarchism plus modern technology could provide the general framework of a co-operative society in which all kinds of anarchists (even anarcho-individualists) might ultimately realise their own concepts of freedom. It is, of course, in no sense a revisionist point of view, but rather a plea for a re-statement of anarchism in the light of contemporary developments. The most desperate need of the anarchist movement does seem to be for a fairly comprehensive modern work dealing with anarchist theory and how it might be applied to meet the contemporary human situation. I feel that there is a great deal of scientific evidence in support of anarchism which is frequently ignored by some anarchist writers . . ."

In the popular works of social anthropology like Ruth Benedict (who was not presumably an anarchist) we may find more solid evidence for the contention than an anarchist or any other kind of society is possible than we may find in the columns of *FREEDOM*. Even a conservative and conventional sociologist like G. A. Homans deplors the disappearance of small autonomous human groups and forcibly states the case that most of our neuroses and mental ills stem from the disintegration of such groups with the growth of the state."

"Be specific in your theory and be sociological rather than philosophical."

Also bring your sociology up to date."

"I especially look for criticism or satire in the fields of psychiatry, psychoanalysis, sociology and social work."

"More constructive essays on social organisation."

"More scientific articles."

"Would like psychological articles too."

"Possibly more education articles, particularly on source material and areas where anarchist methods are practiced. Where are there free schools? What are their methods? etc."

"More philosophy. More detailed analysis of the nature of power."

"More social topics."

"Would like more specific studies of workers' control and detailed sociological studies."

"Less 'holier than thou' stuff and more about technology, etc."

"What is needed is more opinions and theories about sciences, sociology, education, etc."

"More emphasis on preparation for anarchism by free education."

"Contributors might undertake research on specific details of applications of anarchist thought."

"Some sort of outline of action in industry is needed. More about workers' control and about Israel and Gandhism in India."

## Matters of Taste

"The use by some contributors of expletives lowers the standard, and the taste (or lack of it) is then down to the level of those they criticise. Should like to see the cultural level raised and to find included articles on similar lines to those once published in *Now*."

"In a weekly paper it must be difficult to avoid the obvious clichés and mediocrity. If neither *The Kreutzer Sonata* nor *A Whoremonger's Complaint* represent the truest experience of life, one can at least recognise which was written by an aspiring mind."

"Criticism of authority could be less slangy without being less damaging."

"*FREEDOM* is too tame."

"Use of swear words might give certain people the wrong impression if they were just glancing through an odd copy."

"Sometimes I think there is a little bitterness, and negative attitudes, also a desire to shock. You get my Mum all worked up at times!"

"Sometimes a teeny bit coarse!"

"Hit as hard as your views dictate. Don't study the feelings of your middle-class 'anarchists'."

## ART EXHIBITION

## A Gallery for the Hill?

AT the tail of the Portobello Road market and a pamphlet's throw from Sir Oswald Mosley's London address, stands a decayed and broken shop. It is No. 39 Kensington Park Road, W.11, and at the time of writing, serves as the ABC Gallery. Those who are making a tour of the market will find this off-beat gallery well worthy of a visit, for the standard of work displayed is extremely high. Clayton offers some extremely fine groupings and Rayment some interesting nudes, Cusden builds up his figures from a mosaic of flat colours and Ali Kadi offers some magnificent figure studies. Kadi builds up these figures by using sharply-angled planes and it is the measure of Kadi's skill that these planes have the beauty of light flowing over fractured glass. I do not know the circumstances of this gallery but it would seem to be a unique opportunity to build up an active art centre in Notting Hill, for once it became known it could pull in the tourist trade from the Portobello market and with luck could become financially solvent. Meanwhile back to the corn belt.

The Waddington Galleries of 2 Cork Street, W.1, are showing the latest abstractions of Roger Hilton and a sad showing it is. Masses of dull colour is spread in large areas over his canvas with a hesitant line superimposed to form a frame to cage the attention of the spectator, yet like so many English abstractionists Hilton has in the end to rely on his title to make his point, and we are "told" that is is "Grey day by the sea" and that this is "Violet Lady", etc., so that in the end the catalogue has to do the painter's job for him.

The Portal Gallery at 16a, Grafton St, S.W.1, is a new gallery worth a visit, for they are showing some pleasant abstractions by Li Yen. Patterings of blue rain sweep across Yen's canvases evoking echoes of mist-haunted Chinese watercolours and Traugott Speiss shows

work of a type we used to see in the old defunct London Gallery when all horizons stemmed from Dali and all mountains from Max Ernst.

John Bratby is exhibiting his latest work at the Zwemmer Gallery at 26, Litchfield Street, W.C.2. Bratby is one of those painters whose reputation appears to increase with the size of his canvases, and at the moment he is riding high. A one-time member of the Beaux Arts troupe of muscle painters he, in common with the rest of the troupe, appeared to regard his paint as coloured clay to be moulded rather than applied with the result that most of his paintings ended up looking like coloured bas-reliefs. In this new exhibition he uses all his own clichés but his hand is more restrained. He still uses the gimmick of placing a well-known brand of cartooned goods in the foreground of his paintings, but this time it fails, for the original kick has gone and all he succeeds in doing is upsetting the focus of his picture. His subject matter is still isolated into segments by a thick dark line and he fills those segments with a churning mass of coloured paint like a cook filling pastry with jam, yet in spite of his artificial attempts at creating a third dimension his paintings still remain as flat as the original canvas. Easels that should lean against windows rest against the sky and distant trees hang like pictures upon the painted walls. Yet old Jack Yeats could have a success of this style of painting, for his ravaged canvases exploded into the face of the spectator in a whirlpool of angry colour that drew the spectator into the heart of the canvas and deep into Yeates' private world. But it is ungracious to carp too much at the failing of Bratby, for in a sterile period he is an exciting painter whose work, though over-rated, is always worth a visit.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

## DISCUSSION

## Constructive Anarchism

THERE is little that I would disagree with in R.M.'s article about constructive or destructive anarchism, and I should hate to feel responsible for getting her involved in a study of the work of the Boundaries Commission for the sake of the problems it might reveal for anarchist theories of territorial social organisation. (Though with all the Readership Survey revealed, there must be someone equipped for this onerous chore!). Perhaps I can make my point of view clearer by quoting myself (*FREEDOM* 28/6/58):

"It is still an anarchism of present and permanent protest—how could it be anything else in our present peril? But it is one which recognises that the conflict between authority and liberty is a permanent aspect of the human condition and not something that can be resolved by a vaguely specified social revolution. It recognises that the choice between libertarian and authoritarian solutions occurs every day and in every way, and the extent to which we choose, or accept, or are fobbed off with, or lack the imagination and inventiveness to discover alternatives to, the authoritarian solutions to small problems is the extent to which we are their powerless victims in big affairs. We are powerless to change the course of events over the nuclear arms race, imperialism and so on, precisely because we have surrendered our power over everything else . . . The vacuum created by the organisational requirements of a society in a period of rapid population growth and industrialisation at a time when unrestricted exploitation had to yield to a growing extent to the demands of the exploited, has been filled by the State, because of the weakness, inadequacy or incompleteness of libertarian alternatives. Thus the State, in its role as a form of social organisation rather than in its basic function as an instrument of internal and external coercion, is not so much the villain of the piece as the result of the inadequacy of the other answers to social needs. This is the implication of Gustav Landauer's profound contribution to anarchist thought: *The State is a condition, a certain relationship between human beings, a mode of human behaviour; we destroy it by behaving differently.*"

Now it is these anarchist alternatives

"Would like an easing up of the almost adolescent expressions of intolerance of religion and obsession with sex—the angry young man stuff."

"I am sure you could be even more outspoken."

"Writing style could be sharpened."

"People to whom I pass on my copies are often antagonised by one isolated extremist article in an issue. How many potential readers are frightened off like this? Frankly I like the paper as it is—I find it well-balanced, provocative and informative."

(To be concluded)

which it is the task of the constructive side of anarchist activity to reveal—and to make available for anarchist propagandists. I welcomed Leval's article precisely because he realises this.

Take the instance which R.M. cites from her experience on the platform in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon. "The opposition was tedious but strenuous," she says, "the usual reaction to what is in a sense a theoretical situation—how people are likely to behave when there is no authority to guide them or police to restrain them—human nature being what it is." Now apart from the experimental evidence on this point—the creation of 'a kind of anarchy' by social experimenters like the Peckham biologists, or by people concerned with delinquents, like Aichhorn and Lane, or by the people who instituted 'adventure playgrounds' for children, there is some empirical evidence to be gained from the eye-witness accounts of, to take recent cases, the Hungarian revolution and the interregnum between Batista and Castro in Cuba.

In Hungary, wrote the Oxford economist Peter Wiles, who was there (*Encounter*, Jan. 1957):

"Where for weeks there was no authority, in a frenzy of anarchist self-discipline the people, including the criminals, stole nothing, beat no Jews, and never got drunk."

In Cuba, wrote Robert Lyon of the American Friends Service Committee, who was there (*Peace News* 20/2/59):

"There are no police anywhere in the country, but the crime rate is lower than it has been in years."

Now you might think that in the study of human behaviour and social relations, these moments of time, when society is held together by the cement of human solidarity alone, without the dead weight of power and authority, would have been studied and analysed with the aim of discovering a new kind of 'norm' whose preconditions could be set out as a desirable goal for people seeking an increase in social spontaneity. These "brief honeymoons with anarchy" are surely of immense interest, even if only for criminologists. Yet you never find them discussed in the text-books of social psychology, and you only find them described in journalists' accounts as a background to some more sensational aspect of a revolutionary situation.

The study of such situations is one of the innumerable tasks which have to be undertaken by the anarchist social scientists that Leval was writing about, and in undertaking this work they will not only be making their contribution to anarchist theory, they will be providing R.M. with the basis for factual answers to her questioners, and the evidence to back up her "belief that men and women are capable of acting responsibly given the chance and the encouragement."

London, S.W.6.

C.W.

## ASSASSINATION

IN your reply to Arlo Tatum's letter (*FREEDOM* 14/5/60) you decline to discuss his last paragraph about "a doddering old anarchist who has failed to keep up with the times", etc., on the grounds that is too childish to be taken seriously. I think this is a pity, as it would be interesting to know whether he means that your attitude of opposition to assassination as a principle combined with sympathy for the assassin is reminiscent of the old *FREEDOM*, or whether he supposes that anarchists some time ago were the advocates of assassination as a policy.

If the former, Mr. Tatum is quite right. There is still in print\* a reprint of a *FREEDOM* article in 1893 in which assassination was discussed and it was made quite clear that the then editors were utterly opposed to assassination:

"The man who in ordinary circumstances and in cold blood would commit such deeds is simply a homicidal maniac; nor do we believe they can be justified upon any mere ground of expediency. Least of all do we think that any human being has a right to egg on another person to such a course of action. We accept the phenomena of homicidal outrage as among the most terrible facts of human experience; we endeavour to look such facts full in the face with the understanding of humane justice; and we believe that we are doing our utmost to put an end to them by spreading Anarchist ideas throughout society."

They were, however, sympathetic to the odd anarchists and others who made individual attempts on the lives of individual tyrants, in much the same way as

we sympathise with David Pratt:

We hate murder with a hatred that may seem absurdly exaggerated to apologists for Matabele massacres, to callous acquirers in hangings and bombardments, but we decline, in such cases of homicide or attempted homicide as those of which we are treating, to be guilty of the cruel injustice of flinging the whole responsibility of the deed upon the immediate perpetrator. The guilt of these homicides lies upon every man and woman who, intentionally or by cold indifference, helps to keep up social conditions that drive human beings to despair. The man who flings his whole soul into the attempt, at the cost of his own life, to protest against the wrongs of his fellow men, is a saint compared to the active and passive upholders of cruelty and injustice, even if his protest destroy other lives besides his own. Let him who is without sin in society cast the first stone at such an one.

But it is quite possible that Mr. Tatum believes, in common with many others, that the anarchists were once a large bomb-throwing group, committed to assassination as a matter of principle, who declined into a small "philosophical sect about 1914. This is the current form of the bomb-thrower myth, a development of the ridiculous fantasy about murderous secret armies of anarchists which was invented at the turn of the century. Who invented this myth, why they invented it and how it achieved popular acceptance has been the subject of a lecture to the LAG and may, if you are interested, be the subject of an article from *FREEDOM*. Meanwhile it should be reiterated that the myth has no basis in fact.

London, May 16.

D.R.

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\*Anarchism and Outrage, Freedom Office, 1909.



## Labour Idealism

Continued from p. 1

of masters. Under the new régime the people have the new masters to fight but only their disillusionment or cynicism with which to face the new situation.

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WE anarchists also accept that the struggle is one of power but with the very significant difference that we want the initiative to come from below and not from above. In other words that any popular discontent will not be exploited by politicians for their personal ends but will be informed as well as willing; forward looking and positive as well as blind in its determination. For we believe neither in the magical powers of numbers (think of the poor sheep!) nor in the positive achievements of violence (look at Franco's Spain or at the aftermath of two world wars). Yet we still believe that *l'union c'est la force*: but the union of socially-conscious people who know what they want and why they want it; and power which spring from a unity of ideas as well as of determination. Such a movement would no more dream of attaining its ends through violence than it would hesitate in resisting—by violence if necessary—those who would seek to impose theirs.

We will be told that in a country such as Britain there is in fact no popular discontent. On the surface this may be true. Unemployment is minimal; and apart from a hard-core of problem individuals and families "we have never had it so good". But scratch under the surface and what we find is a people which in general terms could be said to have solved the material problems of living but which was dissatisfied with life itself. Many have understood the causes but cannot bring themselves to put theory into practice. Here surely is the first question we must ask ourselves: *How to convince people that the anarchist approach is not only right in theory but rewarding in so many ways in practice as well.* How to convey that what one loses in terms of bank balance, career, status and security in the context of present-day values, is more than compensated for by a new sense of freedom and independence, of control and even purpose in one's life? That in spite of the fact that *earning a living* may be more precarious, is so exciting, eventful and unpredictable that at no price would one exchange its uncertainties for the womb-to-the-tomb security of the pensioned job a comfortable old-age but at the price of a life shackled by timetables and monotony. How to express this convincingly?

For eating one's cake and having it is the malaise which afflicts not only our radical, manifesto-signing intellectuals but many people who call themselves anarchists. And from the point of view of propaganda half the battle of convincing others is the visible proof that you practise and *enjoy* what you preach! We are concerned with offering alternative values to the recognised, accepted, values of a competitive, capitalist society. Intellectual acceptance of these alternatives is not enough as FREEDOM'S readership survey demonstrated. It is clear that a considerable proportion of our readers accept the validity of the anarchist ideas, but equally clear that many of them are not prepared to break away from the customs, or able to judge, not only events but their own lives, other than by the

## Anarchism and the Flat Earth Mentality

AT a recent public meeting organized by the London Anarchist Group, a member of the audience observed that anarchists should not be too critical of astrologers, because both anarchists and astrologers are regarded by society at large as "cranks". While having no particular interest in astrology, I think that the general question raised is one of considerable importance—that is the general relationship between anarchism and pseudo-sciences. I use the term "pseudo-sciences" for want of a better, but most people of some experience will know the element of identity which runs through such beliefs as Astrology, Spiritualism, Scientology, Phrenology, Reichianism, Radiesthesia, Palmistry, and the Flying Saucer Cult. Having mentioned these various things together, of course it is now on the cards that some astrologer or spiritualist or one of the others, will write a furious letter to FREEDOM accusing me of having maliciously included his particular "science" among the other phonies to obscure the fact that it is TRUE and PROVED (and have I ever had my horoscope read or sat with Madame X the medium, or . . . ?)

What I am interested in, however, is anarchism, and it is because I am concerned with anarchism as a rational body of social theory, that I am going to be bothered to discuss the various phony cults that are adhered to by a fringe of people who are attracted to anarchism because it is regarded by them as being "crank" and therefore attractive. The cultist may reason syllogistically:

"I am a Flat-Earther.

Society regards me as a crank.

Anarchists are also regarded as cranks.

Therefore I am strongly sympathetic towards anarchism."

But it does not follow that anarchists should be in the least sympathetic towards the theory that the Earth is flat, and the monstrous perversion of reasoning which is necessary to make the Flat-Earth theory tenable. Anarchism is primarily a *rationalist* system. It has always been opposed to *irrationalist* systems, and hence the traditional opposition to such bodies as the Churches who inculcate a belief in the supernatural. While we are opposed to major weeds of irrationalism like the Roman Catholic Church, there is no reason to be at all tender to the many minor weeds of irrationalism which batten on the credulity of the superstitious. It is true that astrologers, spiritualists, etc., have little power in contemporary society, while the churches still wield a great deal of power, but the historical rationalist struggle against the power that the churches once possessed was conducted on a broad front of rationalism. The fact that the State has partly taken over the mantle of the Church means that secular politics is very much bound up with obscurantism. The magic of the monarchy is just one example of the uses of obscurantism in present-day statecraft.

In spite of the fact that anarchism is a rationalist system, the anarchist movement has always attracted more than its

standards of the system which their reason rejects.

★

ON the one hand we have the "working class" man desperately seeking to escape from his class instead of at least persuading people of the dignity of labour!; and on the other, the professional, non-productive middle-class radical who has a conscience about the humiliation to which workers are subjected, but who shudders at the thought of being one of them (which is what the Labour Party's lip-service to equality" proposes, if put into practice). Both are slaves to the values which they despise, but this, alas, is the pattern prevalent today. For a worker to remain a worker and develop as a human being; for a professional man to practise his profession and at the same time feel himself a worker these are attitudes which may lead to the disappearance of classes. . . . And this will produce the idealism to which Mr. Morgan Phillips refers. Not to win elections but certainly to create the atmosphere in which a carefree idealism can be born and in which we think it will thrive.

fair share of basically superstitious people. Such people have not been adherents of the major magical systems like the Roman Church, but of the many minority systems of magic like astrology, spiritualism, etc. Their reasons for adherence to anarchism, even in a tentative sort of way, are fairly obvious. Firstly there is the appeal of the unorthodoxy of anarchism; the phrenologists, numerologists and flying saucer addicts seek an unorthodox social theory. Again there is the great tolerance of the anarchists; they organize public meetings and permit discussion where any nut can get up and air his weird theories. This tolerance extends to many anarchist newspapers where letters to the Editors can become the vehicle of the most fantastic nonsense provided it is somehow geared to anarchism. In the same way anarchism can be used as a stalking horse for quite unrelated matter. I well remember a dear old man of the name of Humphreys, who would begin a stereotyped discourse on anarchism after the Kropotkin model and then work it round to a triumphant discourse on the proved merits of phrenology, demonstrating of course that Capitalists, Militarists, and Bureaucrats were party to a huge conspiracy to suppress the truths of phrenology because a general recognition of them would mean an end to their reign of power!

A similar use of anarchism is made by those spiritualists who assure us that in the spirit world there is perfect anarchy and harmony (hence anarchists should turn to spiritualism), and a fairly recent writer to FREEDOM who assured us of the social harmony of the Flying Saucer People (hence anarchists should believe in and welcome the coming flying saucers). But such systematized baloney is not only *irrelevant* to anarchism, it is part and parcel of the irrational weedy jungle which anarchists must destroy as part of the general rationalist effort to get people to face facts and think for themselves instead of being taken for suckers all their lives. For one is as much a sucker if one expects to get help by wrapping oneself in an "orgone-impregnated" blanket as by lighting a candle to the Virgin. A

person who has embraced anarchist beliefs along with a hodge-podge of superstitious beliefs is in no sense attaining emancipation for himself or aiding others to achieve emancipation. He is still a slave to unreason and can be led by the nose into practically any political movement providing his gullibility is manipulated in the appropriate manner. Germany, during the Nazi régime, was the happy hunting ground for astrologers and spoofer of every sort. When the rational capacity of man is mocked at and superstition lauded, as in the Nazi perversions of scientific thought, then every sort of bizarre nonsense has a chance to flourish. Studies of the fascist mentality in America have shown a tendency among fascist types to be attracted to superstitious beliefs in general.

The question arises as to why certain types of people favour irrational systems of thought rather than rational systems. Is it stupidity? Certainly the yellow press which caters for the more stupid sections of the populace often have a staff astrologer, and delight in playing up any far-fetched story of a haunted house or other allegedly miraculous happening. But even highly intelligent people can hold weirdly irrational beliefs. There is an organization called MENSA which admits members solely on their ability to pass an intelligence test at a certain level. Not long ago they carried out a survey of the beliefs of their members and the following is an extract from the statistics obtained, which gives some information as to the degree of crankiness and credulity which may be found among a group of high I.Q. people peculiar enough to wish to join such an organization.

Belief	MENSA Members	
	Ignorant Believers	Disbelievers
Crowleyanity	71	2
Orgone Therapy	70	7
Radiesthesia	67	9
Anthroposophy	55	5
Serialism	53	5
Psychometry*	46	22
Scientology	38	19

(\*N.B.—Psychometry has two entirely separate and distinct meanings, hence this odd statistic).

The point about irrational beliefs

which must be considered is that they are *dynamic*. If I believe that the ghost of my grandmother is giving me good advice, or that the lines on my palm indicate the number of children I will have, or that I can eat the literal flesh of Christ and drink his blood—then I must have a very strong reason for *wanting* to believe this nonsense. Irrational beliefs flourish and we are more or less impervious to argument or evidence because the believer would be acutely unhappy if he lost his belief. Loss of irrational belief can most easily occur if the believer replaces it with an equivalent belief *e.g.* when a Communist turns Catholic by a sudden somersault.

Now comes the big question: is anarchism just an irrational dynamic belief which anarchists hold because of the emotional need for such a belief?

I would say that this is true for some anarchists, but not for others. Anarchism can be worn as a badge on the lapel alongside a lot of other badges, and worn moreover because it is considered weird, romantic and cranky. But on the whole anarchists are a pretty rational lot. When anarchists drift away from anarchism they do not usually take up some fervid political or religious faith; more often they become liberal sceptics. For anarchism itself is rationalistic, and we need have no anxiety about enquiring into the degree to which it serves purely emotional needs. Every anarchist should be prepared to abandon anarchism if new facts convince him of a better social theory. Anarchism postulates no sacred tenets of belief; all is open to the frankest of criticism. We cannot blaspheme. We have no God that can fail and leave us helpless and disorientated, for the final arbiter in all things is our own critical intelligence.

It is right therefore that we should be critical of every system of irrational belief whether it be astrology, or monarchy, and to denounce humbugs as humbugs whether they are petty kidologists like Ron Hubbard or major ones who reach the Summit. As to the degree to which anarchist beliefs can be considered to be a mere delusion propping up a weak ego—that depends on the individual holding the beliefs.

G.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

### Reich and the Scientific Approach

G.'s letter attacked Wilhelm Reich under the heading "Progressive Education Today" in an unscientific manner, unhappily a usual method of today.

"The fact that Reich appears to have been insane for the last years of his life" was not a fact but a slanderous attack from the ambush against Reich. This rumour had been and is still being widely spread. The purpose of the rumour had been and still is to depreciate Reich's scientific discovery of the Orgone, the cosmic life energy and it is not accidental if G. continues that Reich's "later findings were quite worthless".

One of America's most noted pioneers in the wireless field Lee de Forest who gave us the radio tube and transformed Fleming's valve into the audion was also charged with fraud and brought into court like Wilhelm Reich. The charge of fraud was that "a strange device, which Forest called an audion, had proved worthless". Today Forest is celebrated as "the father of Radio" and few inventors have had greater effect upon the life and culture of our time. From his inventions have come not only the radio but also the phonograph, the talking picture, television, radar, the cyclotron, the guided missile and even atomic bombs would have been impossible without them.

It is not worthwhile for G. to prove scientifically that Reich's "later writings were worthless". I want to ask G. if he has tried to repeat the many experiments published by Reich. Reich once wrote that "any and every 'opinion' uttered in regard to the validity of orgonomy should and must be tested by the answers the various 'critics', 'authorities', 'specialists', 'physicists', M.D.'s etc. can or cannot provide to these specific questions. We must—by all means—keep off the empty blabberer and gossipier. It happens again and again that painstakingly elaborated and carefully presented orgonomic findings are met by mere 'opinions' without any basis in observations or experiments."

Such a thing as "Reichianism" as G. tells us did never exist, only the discovery of Orgone by Reich. This discovery is not and cannot be "pretty well dead" and "the Orgone Boxes" are not "now collecting dust in attics" as G.

is writing in a sneering way. On the contrary: the interest in orgonomy is growing especially in academic circles.

The defamations and prosecutions of Reich's person have caused me to experiment in the field of orgonomy and I am in the position to confirm each one of Reich's published experiments.

I only want to mention one of the hundreds of my own experiments in orgonomic medicine and orgone physics: A skin Melanoma of the face, one of the most dangerous cancer forms, was treated with my orgone accumulator. The diagnosis was made by well-known specialists: a surgeon, a dermatologist, two radiologists and by myself. The same specialists withdrew their own diagnosis

and changed a cancer tumor to a harmless inflammation after orgone reached decisive therapeutic success and the tumor was in a rapid disintegration. But a microscopic examination of the remainder of the tumor at the University of Jerusalem resulted in the unequivocal diagnosis of a cancerous Melanoma.

My experiments are in line with the experiments of many specialists in different countries.

The name of your journal, FREEDOM, assumes responsibilities. I hope you as we, will fight with the weapon of the truth against everything that tries to suppress the scientific truth and the scientific freedom.

Tel Aviv, May 8. W. HOPPE, M.D.

### Bringing up Children

The Editors of FREEDOM,

If G. thinks my view of how ordinary parents bring up their children is false, we must agree to differ, because neither of us has the facilities to produce statistical proof. Still, I should be interested to have the observations of other anarchist parents. The examples I gave I carefully chose as being things I have observed as commonplace and certainly they are not characteristic of particularly intellectual, theoretical types of parent! It is interesting to see that G. misunderstood my reference to clinical experience as relating to such examples. The relevance of clinical experience is, as I see it, this: you can see by everyday observation that people suffer from certain illnesses—but only by clinical observation of cases manifesting specific syndromes to a heightened degree can you go into such detail and depth of observation as to work out the etiology of the illness and so arrive at curative and prophylactic measures.

If horse-sense (of our breed of horses) in dealing with children is near-universal, and most of the benefits of progressive schools are derived from the use of horse-sense (I agree that they are), then why are there so few progressive schools and why are the normal schools so diametrically different in their outlook and their approach to children?

I would personally affirm that I owe a great deal of my present understanding of human relationships to having read Reich's books "The Sexual Revolution", "The Mass Psychology of Fascism", "The Function of the Orgasm", and a number of the articles in the four volumes of the *International Journal of Sex-Economy and Orgone Research*. Whether that makes me a "Reichian" I just don't know. I don't think it makes me a mystic, anyway. But I certainly think that to repeat a rather hoary calumny, long since refuted, about Reich's last years, is singularly irrelevant to this discussion.

Really, Comrades! If people are so full of horse sense why the hell is the world like it is? What are you FREEDOM writers wearing out your pens over? Or is it just in this one matter of bringing up children that people suddenly become rational? I don't think so, and I fail to see how one could *escape* the conclusion that relationships and attitudes within the "normal", conformist family *must* mirror those in society at large. Well, if the activities of society at large are dictated by horse-sense then I am certainly insane.

London, May 2.

I.L.

(more letters printed on p.4)



# Tactics & Morality

DEAR EDITORIAL COMMITTEE,

It was, perhaps, not politic to have applauded David Pratt's attempted assassination of Verwoerd, but since when have Anarchists been politicians? In any case, even if the article "Too Bad He Missed" did alienate a few mild revolutionaries about to be converted to Anarchism and embarrassed their potential converts, it eased the embarrassment of those of us who had in vain looked elsewhere for an expression of the general consensus of opinion on the subject in order to prove to South African friends in this country that not all our papers think the shooting of one white more heinous than the killing of 91 blacks. To correct the impression the remainder of that particular issue seemingly gave—mistakenly, I trust—that Anarchism is 'respectable' and for ever turning the other cheek, was also something worth doing.

Inference that the country as a whole endorsed the horror expressed by Macmillan and practically every newspaper editorial, and that those who pray prayed for Verwoerd's speedy recovery and consequent return to brutality is inference, I would suggest, that those who criticised the article are out of touch with reality. The C.N.D., though, has always been thus. Fondly they imagine that those who march with them and support them are as pacifist as they are, conveniently ignoring, for example, the Hungary-stained Communist Party banners sprouting in their midst. The Communists, it may be argued, are in a minority, the bulk of support being drawn from the Labour Party. Despite their presence on the march, though, Hugh Gaitskell was still able two weeks

later to confidently predict that the Labour Party is not 'going pacifist'. People who unless they get married or buried in the interim will not go near a minister of religion until they march again next Easter consent to receiving Canon Collin's blessing in Trafalgar Square, so does that make them pillars of the church as well?

The leadership and active membership of C.N.D. is a 'Popular Front' of religious, political and Trade Union dissenters, dissenting because conformity has not given them the 'fruits of office' to which they think they are entitled. Each is anxious that the rank and file be moulded into his own image and made to serve a purpose to which disarmament is subsidiary, what they cannot understand being the opposition of the rank and file to nuclear warfare on the very personal basis of a desire to continue living rather than on political or theological grounds.

Similarly, those who suffer because of Verwoerd and his like are not concerned to discuss ethics but wish to be rid of him because of what he has done to them and what he will do. That country's industrialists are now intriguing to free themselves if not of Verwoerd of the economic consequences of apartheid and a seemingly perpetual state of emergency, but having nothing to freely offer or withdraw neither the Africans or David Pratt who acted on their behalf were or are in a position to bargain. Less even than is ours, their labour is not their own, it being the police and the pass system that makes wage-slaves of them. Not hunger, but police in Saracens break strikes, so what is the African and those who support him to do? Violence, it is true, breeds violence, but in South Africa, and not only in South Africa, non-violence also breeds it.

There is no one blue-print of society, therefore no one course of action. As it is claimed to have done in India, non-violence can attain its ends only if there is a third party as final arbiter to which the oppressed can appeal. British troops firing on protesting Indians resulted in questions being asked by whichever party was in opposition and letters being written to the press, the officer concerned being sacrificed as a consequence and sometimes the minister, too. Indian troops firing on Indians, however, is merely a news item and evidence of what happens when independence is granted, so that non-violence has had to be discarded in favour of something *à la* Kashmir. In Germany, the Jews had no one to whom to appeal to see fair play and did not themselves organise in their own defence, so almost to a man were exterminated. Possibly, both when they were rounded up and when they entered the gas chamber, Jews non-violently protested. By then it was too late.

The moment he was in power it was too late to non-violently protest against Syngman Rhee, so would it have been preferable had their been no violent protests a few weeks ago and the ageing dictator allowed to remain in power until he died of natural causes? One hundred and seventy-two people died during that brief revolt, but how many died during his fifteen years of office? Unless they are forcibly deposed or die violently, dictators live to a ripe old age, Stalin, Salazar, Petain, de Gaulle and Adenauer

## LETTERS

### "THE UNINTELLIGIBLE MR. B."

GENTLEMEN,

I want to thank you for the excellent article on Samuel Beckett (The unintelligible Mr. B.) by N.W. in the April 23rd edition of FREEDOM, which I received yesterday. Since it is currently my ambition to finish a book on the subject of Mr. Beckett's art, I was naturally quite pleased to read this fine résumé in my favourite newspaper.

I think the title was rather unfortunate, since the art of Mr. B. is no more unintelligible than any other manifestation of human experience. The article itself constitutes an excellent argument for the genuine intelligibility of Mr. B.'s art.

N.W. may be "no nearer to a considered judgment of this extraordinary writer, since it is still impossible to decide whether he is a genius or a charlatan" but his own criticism would seem to indicate that the word "charlatan" is a little strong. For myself, it is quite possible to decide after due consideration that Mr. Beckett is in the genius class. It is also comforting to know that I am not alone in this decision; but Time, as always will cast the definitive vote.

What I really missed (the main purpose of this note) is a discussion by N.W. of the relationship of Mr. Beckett's art to anarchism. I believe that such a discussion would be extremely fruitful to the majority of your readers, in view of the philosophical implications in Beckett's work. In a universe of infinite purposelessness, the immediate purposes that any single individual constructs for himself must ultimately draw on anarchist philosophy. With a most urgent sense of desperation, Beckett's art strikes me as being a magnificent step in the search for an intelligent basis for existence in our tiny circle around the sun through the terror of black space.

I would greatly appreciate hearing from N.W. on this subject.

Sincerely,  
F. M. DUSENBURY.

Mount Vernon, N.Y.,  
May 17.

joining with Syngman Rhee in proof that theirs is a long-lived profession. Killing them is an extreme form of protest that not necessarily changes anything, but if the lives of their subjects is not sacred, neither is theirs. Amongst leaders, of course, leaders are sacrosanct, but the led do not always think so.

Tactics and morals are inextricably mixed: a plea to morality being a tactical measure, a refusal to do anything generally held to be 'immoral' good public relations. If, though, it is thought they are separate and a difference in degree in no way constitutes a difference in kind, there is no answer, only a question. If alone in a room with a beer- or power-drunk individual about to press a button unleashing nuclear warfare on the world, exhortations having failed do we resign ourselves to the fact that if he doesn't press the button someone else will, or do we violently protest with the heaviest paper-weight to hand?

Fraternally,

London, May 2. NORMAN DAY.

## Where's our 'Horse Sense'?

The Editors,  
DEAR SIRS,

I would agree with G. that "horse sense" is a better guide for helping children to grow up mentally healthy, than following a theory. But—what has happened to our horse sense?

I suggest that it is *not* theory that does most harm in child-rearing, but the fact that our heritage has been authoritarian. For countless generations, we have been conditioned, moulded, and indoctrinated with irrational beliefs, to such an extent that our natural, spontaneous instinct—the horse sense (still discernable in some primitive tribes), has been overlaid. And now, some of us have tried to find our way back, with the help of theories which seem to fit the innate need of children to regulate themselves (as they regulate their breathing, without adult interference). The more external control is used by parents, teachers and society, the less children need to be responsible, and the more they lean on others, and feel helpless; and this leads eventually to adult dependence and apathy, "lack of confidence in their own strength and judgment, with a consequent longing for an omniscient, guiding father-figure, etc." (Reich)—surely the antithesis of anarchism.

Ordinary parents interfere with their children's feeding, excreting and sexual development, and suppress their instinctive feelings. They demand conformity and standards, which, while not deriving from *learned* theories, are from mistaken expectations (handed on by misguided predecessors). These are considered 'normal' by all but a small number of 'cranks', who often derive their different approach, from Neill or Reich.

Unfortunately, holding a theory does not change the basic character structure of the parents who may not have the capacity to tolerate the freedom their

children need. Here lies the problem.

As to Reich "appearing to be insane", it seems a pity to go on repeating this, and discouraging people from reading Reich's work. Reich was pronounced sane by a board of Psychiatrists a year or so before his death. If G. has other information, or if he cares scientifically to demonstrate that Reich's later work was invalid, it would be more conclusive than making sweeping statements to that effect.

I am sure G. knew he would court plenty of opposition by making that particular statement in FREEDOM and that this would provoke discussion? But G. has a habit of calling his opponents political leaders, and those with whom he disagrees—insane!

Yours, etc.,

Aberdeen, May 9. D.B.

### 'Freedom' as seen by one Reader

DEAR FRIENDS,

Thank you for providing six months' stimulating reading. I enclose the necessary to ensure another six month instalment. The "Is Anarchism Authoritarian?" debate alone was worth paying nine bob for—it gave me furiously to think and still does.

At the moment I am engaged on an essay dealing with the life and influence of Bakunin. One result of this work has been to reinforce a longstanding feeling of mine, namely, that the social and industrial differences between our own day and that of the classical anarchists demand, not a revision of anarchist principles but, a restatement of them in the light of modern psychological, sociological and anthropological studies.

Without advocating making "blue prints for the future" I do heartily support recent pleas in FREEDOM for a symposium presenting anarchist attitudes to a wider public.

Yours sincerely,

Edinburgh, May 13. A.J.F.

## The Only Method

DEAR COMRADES,

The second article printed in FREEDOM on the defence of David Pratt has succeeded in goading me to write the letter which should have been written on reading the first. Like you my first remark was one of satisfaction—"about time too"—I think it was. It seems I was also guilty of a heresy in feeling relief that Pratt was white not black.

I must admit I get no feeling of elation from the idea that a mighty massacre may unite the liberals of the world who would rise and swamp apartheid.

This feeling of relief I speak of I remember having in Burma on hearing of the dropping of the first atomic bomb. My doubts began a few days later on hearing of the effect and what it meant, the relief turned to horror which has grown ever since. So with this shooting, a day or so of relief then the doubts becoming overwhelming on seeing the actual thing on television. I must repeat what T.S. in his letter says, that we spare pity on the sight of a man shot through the face, obviously in great pain, his head being nursed in his wife's hands.

A great many words have been written in these two articles but this film has either not been seen or has been deliberately ignored. Films of the Sharpeville shootings have also been shown but I must say that my revulsion at violence done to a human being is no way altered by the victim's colour or what he may have done. Even so, my pity and sympathy are with David Pratt. He has and will suffer for an act I and most readers of FREEDOM have not the guts to commit—even if we wished.

It has convinced me more than ever that non-violent resistance though less satisfyingly dramatic, is the only method that should be used. But, although it may sound contradictory, I believe I would kill to save my own life and that of my wife and child. On the other hand I would not commit an act for any moral or ethical belief or any society for which it would mean the sacrifice of our lives.

This letter may seem emotional and sentimental but it is deliberate, I refuse to intellectualise them out of existence.

Yours sincerely,

Newport, May 5. MILWARD CASEY.

### PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 21

Deficit on Freedom	£420
Contributions received	£333
<b>DEFICIT</b>	<b>£87</b>

May 13 to May 19

London: L.A.E. 5/-; London: C.J. 6/-; Hereford: J.H.M. £2/0/0; Peterborough: A.W. £1/10/0; Reading: A.C. 6/-; Cardiff: M.G. 10/-; London: Colney: E.H. 12/-; Oxford: G.L. 5/-; Stockholm: O.H.\* 5/-; London: Anon.\* 2/-; London: J.M.P.\* 9/2; Enfield: J. & M.S. 5/6; Ipswich: W.M.D. 11/-; Edinburgh: A.J.F. 15/6; Liverpool: R.D. 11/-; Argyll: H.D. 1/-; Chelmsford: C.A. 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.\* 4/-; London: J.S.\* 3/-; London: Anon. 1/3; Stevenage: J.W.P. 6/-; Smethwick: E.W. £1/10/0; Glasgow: J.M. 6/-; Henley: I.I. 5/-; Godalming: N.S. £1/0/0; London: E.W.P. 11/-; Keele: A.N.P. 2/6; Slough: E.C.\* 2/6; London: O.C. 1/-; London: Anon. 1/3; London: J.H. 1/-; Bolton: R.T.S. 1/-; Dublin: Anon. 3/6; Guernsey: B.S. 1/-; Hailsham: A.A. 1/-; Bromsgrove: A.W.H. 16/-; High Wycombe: J.R.G. 1/-; Wembley Park: F.E.S. 7/-; Arvika: R.S.-B. £1/0/0; Detroit: J.C. 7/-; Nuneaton: D.H. 3/-; Sevenoaks: W.E.C. 1/-; Surrey: F.B.\* 5/-;

Total ... 16 17 2  
Previously acknowledged ... 316 14 3

1959 TOTAL TO DATE ... £333 11 5

\*Indicates regular contributor.

## Business as Usual

Continued from p. 1

Out of all the solemn commentary on the Summit drama a picture of Britain as a calm, wise and responsible power has emerged, and with it significantly some reappraisal of her economic interest in the Soviet Union involving millions of pounds worth of trade, sound reasons for remaining calm!

Large and powerful companies, including Vickers and I.C.I., are supporting the British trade fair organised for next year in Moscow (Vickers investors please note) and, it is rumoured, the Bank of England itself has had men over in Moscow this year to talk about the chances of London holding the market if and when the rouble becomes freely convertible.

Russia too is anxious to increase her trade with Britain, and would like to widen her oil markets, readily available in Britain it seems but for the fact that up until now oil companies have opposed bringing more

oil into the country when they themselves have a surplus.

But trade is stepping up and more and more interests are becoming involved which might indicate that Britain and the Soviet Union have good reason not to let the periodic crises get too much out of hand.

In spite of this "business as usual" spirit it strikes us that in a sense it only adds to the general atmosphere of fantasy which surrounds us, as one might feel when looking at a recognisable object in the middle of a surrealist picture.

The difference is that if we are not amused or delighted by a picture we can turn our backs and forget all about it.

Government is not amusing and we cannot ignore the economic and political madness which springs from it. It is not enough to turn our backs on it, sooner or later we are going to be devoured unless we destroy it first.

Are you among them?

## 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 29.—Jack Robinson on STRIKES, BOYCOTTS AND DIRECT ACTION

JUNE 12.—Bonar Thompson (Benefit Lecture) REMEMBRANCE OF THINGS PAST

### 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 will be able to stay for a week. Further details of cost, lectures, etc. will appear later.

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