

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"All that is founded on force is fragile and denotes poverty of genius."

—CHARLES FOURIER

Generous People, Mean Government

VOLUNTARY contributions donated by people of this country to various refugee relief organisations during the past year have amounted to the considerable sum of £7,736,723. This is the official figure, and probably in diverse ways and through uncharted channels the actual sum donated amounts to much more.

The idea of World Refugee Year was first mooted in this country—actually in an article in *Crossbow*, the organ of the Bow Group of Conservatives, and it was taken up and developed in 76 other countries.

The target aimed at for Britain was £2 million, already a figure thought by the organisers to be an optimistic one. But it has in fact been over-subscribed to the tune of nearly four times as much.

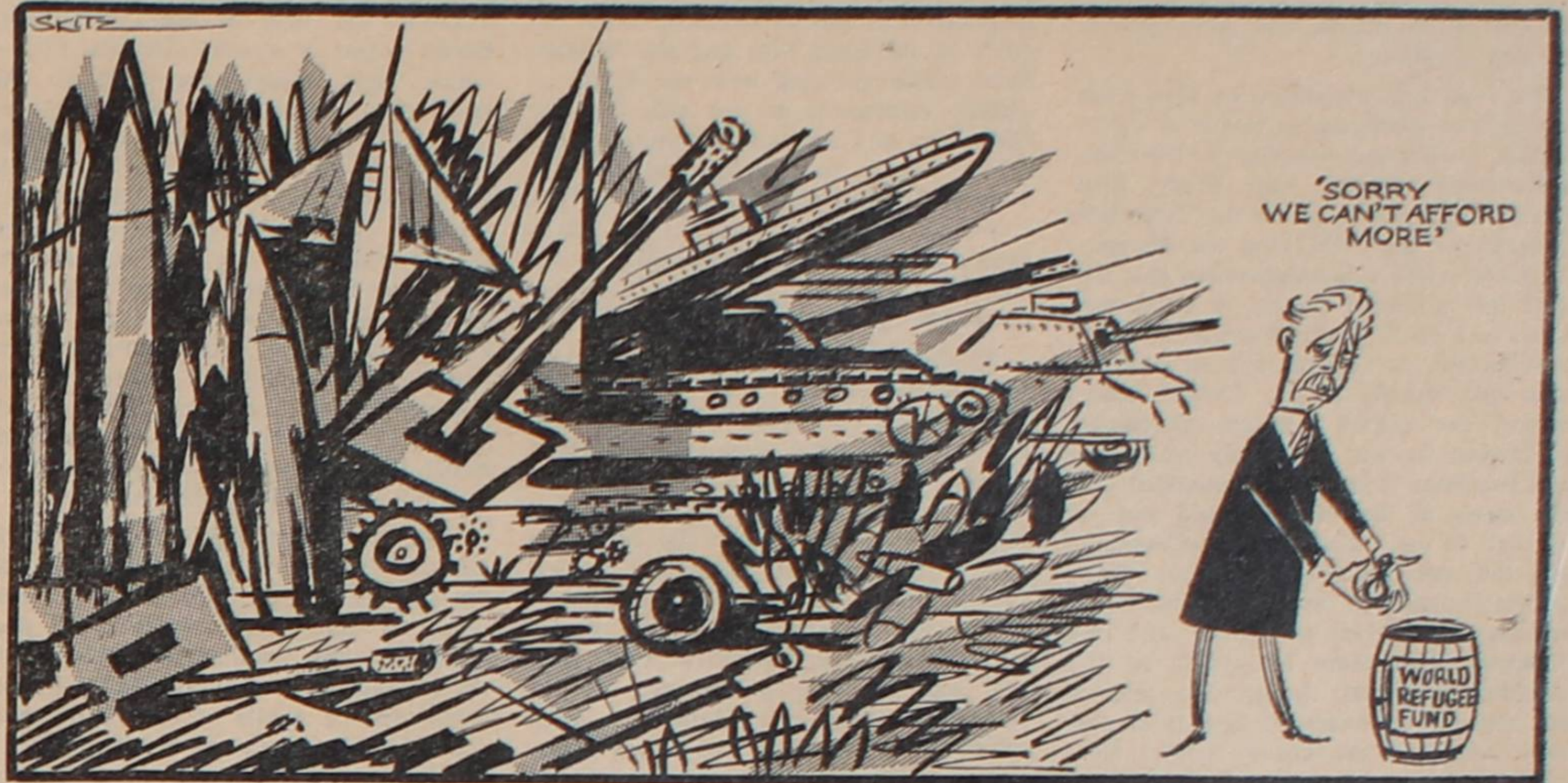
This is a triumph of voluntary organisation and gives some little idea of the tremendous wealth of goodwill that exists among people that can be uncovered when the attempt is made. Even though the total is not really a lot in terms of the wealth and population of this country, everyone who has ever had anything to do with raising money will know what a triumph this is.

But we cannot help contrasting this generosity of the people with the niggardly attitude of officialdom. We have already drawn attention to the City of London's Appeal and its target of £100,000—a piddling amount for the centre of the British Commonwealth's financial power.

Even more paltry, however, is the Government's contribution. Originally offering the tremendous sum of £200,000—about one penny per head of the population—Mr. Macmillan has now been shamed by the public response into doubling that sum! This great country of ours, proud of the fact that World Refugee Year was first thought of here,

has supported it on the official level to the tune of £400,000—less than one-seventieth part of what was thrown away on the Blue Streak missile. The defence of British interests has been a primary cause for two world wars, internal upheaval and frontier-fiddling, but our Government, whose extravagance knows no bounds where the means of destruction are concerned, kicks back tuppence per head to salve its conscience for the misery this has caused.

The people are more generous. Isn't it time we gave our better impulses more opportunity, removing mean and destructive government from the path of our humanity?



'Elder Brother Cemal' - or Big Brother? - Takes Over TURKISH GOVERNMENT'S FEET OF CLAY

WHETHER General Cemal Gursel, who led the successful *coup d'etat* in Ankara last week meant what he said—when he declared that the army acted to "put an end to tyranny and an illegal administration", and that the purpose of his government was to bring the country to "a fair, clean and solid democracy"—remains to be seen. And in the very near future, for the General has assured the country that "he would transfer power, probably within a month or six weeks, to a Government elected by the free choice of the people".

So let us give the General the benefit of the doubt and echo the description of him by those members of the Army who familiarly call him "elder brother Cemal" and not jump to hasty conclusions by labelling him "Big Brother" instead! Our generous feelings towards the General have surely been deserved. Whatever may be his intentions (and there is no doubt that most generals in similar circumstances have second thoughts after a week or two in their new role of politicians, and decide that they like the job and see no reason why they should give it up and return to the position where they take orders) we must be grateful to him for presenting us with the spectacle of how easy it really is to round-up, and bloodlessly remove, a government from office.

In a matter of hours a bunch of politicians who had been strutting on the political stage like turkey cocks, giving orders, threatening demonstrators with armed force, suppressing all Press criticism of the Prime Minister and his acolytes, closing the universities and seeking to use the Army to interfere with the liberties of his political opponents—in a matter of hours their feathers had been plucked, neatly, swiftly and completely, and the naked individuals left after this operation were then safely housed in the very jails they had reserved for those who dared resist their "authority"!

We are obviously not alone in seeing the funny side of the ups and downs of government. The General himself also showed a sense of humour when, after liberating journalists imprisoned by the Menderes

régime, and restoring freedom of the Press, he issued a "request" to the newspapers asking that their cartoonists should not make fun of the fallen Ministers!

A few words must also be said of the efficiency with which the *coup* was executed. Operation Round-up took place at 3 a.m. Not only the leaders of the Menderes government, about 70 in all, but the 150 parliamentary deputies of his so-called "Democratic" party were caught in the net, and the only violence reported were minor clashes between army units and members of the police force. The *Guardian's* correspondent in Ankara reports:

As for the revolution itself, this, one feels, is the way they should be—and seldom are. Although it is less than three days since an Army *coup d'etat* overthrew the Government of President Bayar and Mr. Menderes, Ankara wears

a cheerful and welcoming air, like the living-room of a conscientious housewife who has just finished her spring cleaning. The military are in charge and there are certain inconsiderable restrictions on movement, but there is more freedom in Turkey than there was three days ago and the Turks are holding their heads high in the knowledge that what has been done in their name need not be done and has been done well, with little bitterness and even less bloodshed.

As far as bloodshed goes, only two people—one Army cadet and one civilian—are known to have been killed when the Army moved swiftly and competently in taking over the reins of Government on Friday morning. For the rest, the President and his Ministers and some hundreds of their more extreme supporters in the country have been rounded up and placed in custody—but many people whom they had imprisoned have been released from detention, including nine army officers, about fifty students, and seven journalists sentenced under

the severe press law by which the defunct régime tried to stifle criticism of its policy.

Of course what has happened in Turkey is *not* a revolution. As the reader will notice in the report, for the *Guardian's* correspondent, "revolution" and "*coup d'etat*" are synonymous. Revolution implies a turning upside down, fundamental changes in the structure of a society. At best all that "elder brother" Gursel intends by his *coup d'etat* is to restore the *status quo*, the machinery of parliamentary "democracy" through which the opposition party of Menderes was elected to power in May 1950 at the expense of the government of Mr. (formerly General!) İnönü, who, according to the *Observer* "to everyone's surprise gracefully retired in favour of Mr. Menderes". In the course of 10

Continued on p. 3

THANK YOU? But We Need More, Please

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 22

Deficit on Freedom	£440
Contributions received	£351
DEFICIT	£89

May 20 to May 26

Surrey: F.B.* 5/-; Farnham: D.M.B. 5/6;
Manchester: M.G. 6/-; Manchester: Anon. 10/-;
Stoke Poges: K.S. 6/-; Glasgow: J.M. 2/6;
Pittston, Pa.: D.L. £7/0/0; Donaghadee: J.T. £2/0/0;
Chigwell: R.A.S. 7/6; London: D.S. 2/6;
Westthorpe: E.M. 7/6; Billingham: J.G. 2/-;
Wolverhampton: J.G.L.* 3/-;
Birmingham: H.D. £1/1/0;
Enfield: J. & M.S.* 3/-; London: P. & G.T.* 3/6;
London: T.S. 1/6; London: Anon.* 2/6;
London: J.M.P.* 15/-; Aberdeen: W.M.R. £1/1/0;
Waltham Abbey: R.J.H. 6/-;
Nelson: M.E.S. 1/-; Leicester: C.M. 11/-;
Fife: G.G. 1/-; London: Anon. 1/-;
Keighley: S.E.K. 5/-; Chalfont St. Peter: W.C. 12/-;
Edmonton, Alta.: W.G. 2/6; London: B.R. 6/-;
London: A.A.L. 7/6.
Total ... 17 18 0
Previously acknowledged ... 333 11 5
1960 TOTAL TO DATE ... £351 9 5

GIFT OF BOOKS: London: C.W.
 *Indicates regular contributor.

Demonstrations in Japan The U.S.—Japan Treaty

THE sight of 200 parliamentary socialists wrestling with members of the ruling "Liberal Democratic Party" in the Japanese Parliament last week made a change from the polite, but equally futile, parliamentary debates we are used to in the West.

The occasion was the presentation of the new U.S.-Japanese treaty of alliance which the Premier, Nobusuke Kishi, decided to rush through parliament, and which was passed by a standing vote after some of the socialists had been evicted by 500 policemen—the remainder walked out with 27 members of Kishi's own party.

The socialist plot which was to prevent the speaker by force from getting to the chamber to call the session failed, but the following day 30,000 demonstrators came to grips with the police in Tokyo against the Premier and the treaty.

An American paper reported the demonstrations as being organised by "left-wing students and trade unionists", and the *Observer* correspondent in Tokyo writes that:—

... there is no indication that the

country as a whole is much concerned one way or the other over the security treaty.

It strikes us however that Mr. Kishi's days may be numbered although he has adopted a similar attitude to President Rhee when he says that he has no intentions of resigning.

It appears that he has little support from any sections of the press, and is severely criticised by some members of his own party.

The "sensible" thing would be for the Democratic Party to force his resignation as one concession to popular demand (it won't be the first politician who has been sacrificed by his own supporters) in the hope that the opposition might accept the treaty or at least call off any demonstrations likely to take place on June 19th, the date scheduled for President Eisenhower's visit to Japan.

It is not unlikely that the Americans will repeat their Korean performance which was to "advise" Rhee to step down after his usefulness was expended.

Although it is contended that:

The average man in the street (in

Japan) has been looking with distaste on the endless lines of university students, unionists and intellectuals who have been closing streets and delaying tram and bus services. (John Campbell, *Observer*). it seems to us that the Japanese people above all others are more likely to have deep-rooted objections to modern militarism than any other nation in the world. And while much of the vocal opposition to this particular treaty may come from elements with Soviet or left-wing sympathies, that silent section of the people who appear to have no articulate voice cannot have forgotten the terrible effects of the American A-bomb, effects which are still being felt. It is in this section that any hopes lie for non-political action to any Japanese war aims.

A timely reminder of the consequences of modern war has just been given by the Tumour Registry of the Hiroshima City Medical Association who publish for the first time statistics on cancer effects of radiation relating to distance from the "hypocentre of the explosion" and cancer incidence.

Continued on p. 4

VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE

Therefore, while I think it is very good that FREEDOM should speak up for David Pratt, I do not think he should be regarded as someone to be emulated.

Yours fraternally, Alfriston, May 16. ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

The Editors of FREEDOM, "A Pacifist Viewpoint on Assassination" (FREEDOM, May 7th) is an apology for justifiable murder. As such, it knocks the props out of the Anarchist fight against capital punishment.

Progress can never stand still, not even for G., and does it really seem unlikely to him that in years to come things will be discovered and proved which now to him seem totally irrational?

Sincerely, A.B. New York City, May 27.

DEAR EDITORS, You suggested in your "Reply from the Editors" (FREEDOM, May 22) that counter-violence may be an effective policy for coloured South Africans.

The 'Father Gapon's' In Our Midst

DEAR EDITOR, It might be always more to the point when discussing the so-called Pacifists, just as with the so-called Communists, to deal with their record rather than their alleged principles.

There are some sincere members of the P.P.U., no doubt, such as those who try to reconcile their consciences by selling Peace News and FREEDOM—how wrong it is of you to "embarrass" these poor souls by taking an anarchist point of view in FREEDOM!

Note how the case of Mr. David Pratt shows them in their true colours. L. Otter and Arlo Tatum, it seems, know all about him—strange they never mentioned him before this incident and that their knowledge of his peculiar ways tallies with the statements issued by the press relations branch of the South African police!

Anarchism and the Flat Earth Mentality

I was surprised to see in this week's FREEDOM that a casual observation at a recent L.A.G. meeting should provide most of the fuel for the article "Anarchism and the Flat Earth Mentality".

Words like "Liberty" and "Freedom" seem to be used so much by some anarchists that they lose their original meaning. If my Mum wants to hold a spiritualist seance then good luck to her. Can G. say she is a potential menace to liberty because she is exercising hers?

Heath, John Christie, Rudolf Hess—but striking at the rotten head of a foul dictatorship, one who might by now have been military dictator, is a crime which puts a man beyond the pale in their eyes.

YOGA

DEAR FRIENDS, With regard to T.S.'s statement that David Pratt "recently caught religion, and has been studying Yoga", I must point out the 'Yoga' is not a religion but a system of self-regulation.

Yours fraternally, M. YOGANANTHAN, Manchester, May 22.

I think that G.'s thinking towards the many unknown factors in life is dangerously like the old hokey that if the Lord meant us to smoke he would have put chimney stacks in our heads.

Yours truly, D.G. Bexley Heath, May 28.

London Anarchist Group AN EXPERIMENT IN OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. At Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, N.9. Day to be announced. At Dorothy Barasi's, 45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green, N.2.

Japan

It is hard to believe that the "average man" of the Japanese population is too worried about the dislocation of his transport system when confronted with the following figures (as well as his daily contact with the victims of American experimentation):—

Table with columns: Distance from hypocentre in metres, Surviving population, Incidence per 100,000. Rows include 500-999, 1,000-1,499, 1,500-1,999, 2,000-2,499, and Non-irradiated.

So far the increased incidence has been noted in cancer of the stomach, lung, breast, uterus and ovary.

It should not be forgotten by complacent people that the A-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima after the "Japanese had sued for peace", and that within a radius of one and a half miles it was estimated in 1945 that 80,000 people were killed.

The dropping of that bomb surely proved that moral arguments will not prevent governments massacring people when mad political ends make it "necessary".

Can we hope that the people of Japan have "learned" their lesson—we in Europe certainly have not.

is the retreat of left-wing intellectuals from the Popular Front; and when one remembers that Thompson was himself a Communist until 1956 one may guess further what he is so angry about.

If former left-wing intellectuals in Europe have subsequently become right-wing, the fault lies with the Communist leaders as much as with anyone. Thompson may sneer at the idea that Communism has "failed", but he will not get rid of The God that Failed and all the rest of the published truth about Communist practice by trying to switch the blame into the "Natopolitan" leaders.

Alasdair MacIntyre also deals with intellectual conformism, but his treatment could hardly be different. I don't pretend to understand his polysyllabic essay fully—"Breaking the Chains of Reason" is a thoroughly appropriate title—but it seems to be a Trotskyist version of the Marxist critique of Hegel, containing references to Karl Popper, Talcott Parsons, Wright Mills, Ludwig Wittgenstein, György Lukács and J. S. Mill.

Into What?

The final section, from which the book takes its name, contains two essays. Kenneth Alexander's is a modest proposal for greater workers' control in industry on roughly Guild Socialist and moderate syndicalist lines.

Edward Thompson's "Revolution" (also published in NLR 3) is neither. It is a continuation of the thesis of his Introduction, and is intended to show what sort of revolution he envisages to carry us from "this last stage of capitalism" through into paradise.

Thompson scarcely says just how this is to be done—how a concept of revolution originally based on "the explosive negatives of class antagonism" is to be humanised into such a relatively mild process. He calls for "the elaboration of a democratic revolutionary strategy", which surely means more than magazines and meetings, but then declares that "in the end, we must return to the focus of political power, Parliament"—this, from a disciple of William Morris!

Altogether I am afraid this is a most unsatisfactory book. Inevitably it will be compared with Declaration and Conviction, and inevitably it will suffer by the comparison; its essays are neither personal credos (interesting because of the personalities they reveal) nor pro-

found analyses (interesting for their own sake). The contributors don't seem to have realised that what may well be good enough for a more or less ephemeral magazine is quite unsuitable for a book; anyway, these essays do not reach the standard of many of the articles, pamphlets and speeches produced in the last three years.

What is perhaps most serious, there is so far no proposal for the sort of mass movement that is necessary if the New Left is to be more than a sect or a ginger group. A mass movement does exist in the CND; for, although the Campaign's leaders are chiefly interested in the single demand for unilateral nuclear disarmament, a great many of its supporters have many other, more radical—even libertarian—ideas.

We should not shrug off these problems as of no account. We may feel that the New Left does not go far enough, but we must agree with Jay Blumler that it is "a source of constructive and responsible suggestions for dealing with the problems of society" (Socialist Commentary, February 1960). True, this book is a flop, but it was a brave experiment. After all, some form of libertarian socialism is greatly preferable to the present inanity of the Labour Party: William Morris and George Lansbury have something to say to us when Sidney Webb and Hugh Gaitskell have not. What happens to the New Left may well be important. Let us hope that their next volume is better.

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

JUNE 5.—Max Patrick on ECONOMIC DELUSION OF MARXISM

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 week-end. 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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