

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"For him who knows the compulsory vices of the slave, freedom is the possibility of virtue."  
—MICHELET

## Reflections on

# THE POLITICAL GAME

ONE of the most lucid and honest journalists in Fleet Street bids farewell to his trade to take up the less frustrating business of writing books. He has decided he can no longer spend his time commenting on the trivialities and tragic consequences of political ineptness. In a goodbye message to his readers, James Cameron writes in the *News Chronicle* (June 28th):

Most of it (his time) was by necessity (since it is that kind of world) tied and tangled in the business of politics and politicians. I confess that I find their antics less amusing than I did.

Internationally they have, I think, got pretty nearly out of control, the human machinery sustained by various sets of myths and legends that may probably be alright for soldiers and statesmen and bishops and bureaucrats, but which no longer make sense to me.

It must have been a difficult decision to make, journalism was his living and his way of life, and a job which had already taken him to "80 countries in every continent" cannot have been entirely without personal reward. We acknowledge his courage, but it seems regrettable that this anarchistic voice will not longer be heard in Fleet Street.

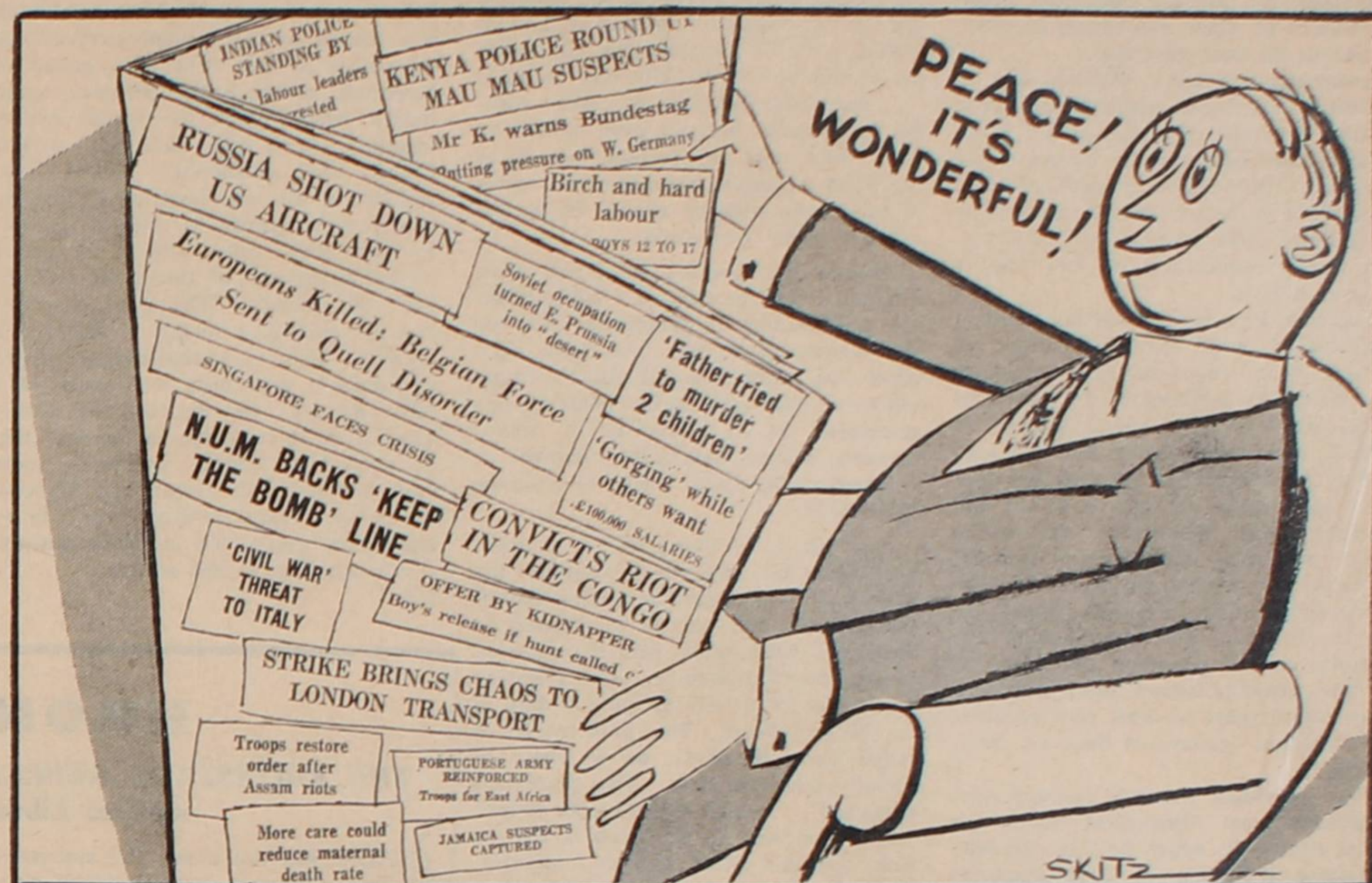
We have come to expect the critical situation; a colonial war, a breakdown in disarmament talks, crisis at the summit, riots in Africa and poverty in Scotland, to mention but a few. The root causes can be traced to political folly and greed, and what depresses us is that even the politically disillusioned can see no alternative to government but continue hopefully to support 'the lesser evil', or sink into apathy.

The 'realistic' critic of anarchism looms over us with accusations of negativism, but his alternative 'positive' solution is at best a change of government which by some indefinable process is to remove fear of war, hunger and injustice.

It seems to have escaped him that the political world is made up of all kinds of government, some of which have changed their methods of governing or are in the process of change, but the problem of conflict between nations and between individuals within nations remain as pressing as ever. If he chooses the lesser evil—democracy—and if he is honest he has to admit that the Western Alliance, Christianity and all that, has only one answer to the threat of totalitarianism—nuclear war and the H-bomb.

He has to admit that nothing changed with the advent of 'government by the people' because the people are divided and without understanding. In times of economic prosperity they are docile, and in depression they look for scapegoats, but rarely at the cause of their misery, at best they 'demand' that the government should 'do something'.

The issue we have to grapple with is not how to make government work, but how to penetrate through



the mush to reach the rusty mechanisms of reasoning in an effort to imbue the people with understanding, to demonstrate that government cannot work in their interests.

The democratic believer obstructs this end no less than the dictator—who with his obvious intentions can be seen to govern. The former cajoles and compromises in the name of the "greater good", and pretends that the polling booth signifies choice and participation. He may even believe it, but if he is politically ambitious and successfully voted into government his experience soon teaches him otherwise. If he is honest he resigns, for he cannot change anything, if he loves power more, his life of compromise has begun, and his follow-

ers become corrupted.

An eloquent exponent of the principles of government by the people was Aneurin Bevan (who last week got more praise in death from his political opponents than was ever conceivable in life!) In his book, *In Place Of Fear*, he wrote:

In one sense the House of Commons is the most unrepresentative of representative assemblies. It is an elaborate conspiracy to prevent the real clash of opinion which exists outside from finding an appropriate echo within its walls. It is a social shock absorber placed between privilege and the pressure of popular discontent.

Whether he was genuine in his desire to change it may be discussed some other time, the point is, that on matters of principle it appeared

to the simple observer that he steered a brilliant course between rebellion and compromise with 'right wing' elements within his party.

With the acceptance of the H-bomb as suitable attire for a foreign secretary, he made his final bid for power and perhaps the greatest compromise of his career, in so doing, betrayed many of his followers (we hope they are now wiser men) and the principles of socialism as we understand them.

It will be argued that politicians have to compromise (which is a sound enough argument for steering clear of politics), and one certainly compromises in the course of living, but not on issues which may cause injury in some way to millions of people. R.M.

## BUSINESS INTERESTS AND BIRTH CONTROL PILL RESEARCH

The London Rubber Company, manufacturers of Durex, have begun to take an interest in the oral contraceptive pill. They are sponsoring research in a London hospital into possible new lines of development in this field.

A spokesman of the firm told me last week that this step is a precautionary measure. "If all the problems are overcome," he said, "and the pill becomes a generally accepted method of contraception, we want to be able to take advantage of the situation."

In the United States the Food and Drug Administration has approved the sale of one brand of pill for oral contraception, but only on prescription. It is called Enovid and is the preparation that was first used in the large-scale trials in Puerto Rico five years ago. A month's supply will cost 12 to 14 dollars (£4-£5). The pill must be taken daily for 21 days each month.

Commenting on this news, the *Medical Letter*, a critical review of drugs circulated to American doctors, says: "No one can yet prove that five of ten years of continuous use will not result in premature decline of ovarian function... Since the average period of use has been relatively short (the longest reported is 44 months) no physician can feel completely confident that long-term use will prove safe for all patients. It is advisable that women using Enovid remain under medical supervision."

(Observer, July 10).

# HANDS OFF CUBA!

EISENHOWER'S reply to the Russian leader's warning to the United States against intervention in Cuba was typical of the threats and counter-threats which are regularly exchanged between the two Great Powers and which only the political columnists accept at their face value. Khrushchev in warning the Americans that they were within range of Soviet Rockets if the Pentagon had a mind to intervene in Cuba, declared that the "socialist countries" will help their "brothers" in Cuba to "make a failure of the economic blockade" on which America is relying at present to bring down the Castro régime. He supported the colonial and dependent people in their fight to free themselves from "the enslavement of the United States imperialists" and added:

We on our side will make use of everything to support Cuba and her brave people in the struggle for freedom and national independence which they have won under their national leader, Fidel Castro.

Of course this is all hypocrisy so long as the Russian leaders do not apply the same arguments to the people who live under the whip of Soviet imperialism without much hope of receiving freedom from their Russian masters (for many of them, we are sure, America is the

symbol of freedom!).

But so was the Eisenhower reply in which he said that Mr. K's statement was "revealing" in two respects:

"It underscores the close ties that have developed between the Soviet and Cuban Governments. It also shows the Soviet purposes in this hemisphere.

"The statement of the Soviet Premier reflects the efforts of an outside nation and of international Communism to intervene in the affairs of the Western hemisphere.

"The inter-American system has developed itself, on more than one occasion, beginning with the Rio treaty, as opposed to any such interference. We are committed to uphold those agreements.

"I affirm in the most emphatic terms that the United States will not be deterred from its responsibilities by the threats Mr. Khrushchev is making. Nor will the United States, in conformity with its treaty obligations, permit the establishment of a régime dominated by international Communism in the Western hemisphere."

Overlooking the fact that Mr. K's "help our brothers" statement was issued as a warning to those in American government and military circles who might be tempted to solve the Cuban problem by landing the marines there (and after all it would not be the first time that the U.S. had dealt with Cuban politics

in this way), Mr. Eisenhower turns the facts upside down and says that America will not hesitate to carry out her "responsibilities" by intervening, if Russia seeks to interfere in the affairs of Cuba! Mr. K's statement did not "underscore" the "close ties that have developed, etc." It was a typical statement, which could have emanated from political leaders of either the East or the West, aimed at, on the one hand, curbing the ambitions of their rivals in the affairs of a small strategic nation or area, and on the other of making propaganda out of the fact of taking up a position on the side of the people. On the issue of Cuba, America has obviously everything to lose and nothing to gain, hence Eisenhower attempts to obscure the real issues with the Communist bogey, of Russian infiltration into the Western hemisphere—as if America has no outposts on the doorstep of the Eastern bloc!

IT would be a pity if the power politicians of both East and West succeeded in making Cuba a shuttlecock in their Power game, for with all its shortcomings, the Cuban "revolution" is something more than a mere change of masters. One of the most interesting aspects of the

new régime is that it is being operated by young people with the active support of young people. It is something so rare that for this reason alone it is to be hoped that the old boys of East and West by their mutual threats if either intervenes, will in fact keep out of Cuba and so give youth an opportunity to carry through its own revolution. In an interesting article published in last week's *New Statesman* Paul Johnson makes a number of comments on the visible effects of this revolution by the young.

At the Institute of Agrarian Reform, which now runs virtually the entire Cuban economy, chaos prevailed—but a happy, enthusiastic chaos of young men and women who have suddenly seized the reins of power and are having fun learning how to use them.

Unlike his more experienced elders, Castro did not make the mistake of trying to keep the existing army cadres. He simply destroyed the old Cuban army, and in this way, as Paul Johnson puts it "has made himself invulnerable to internal subversion, the classic U.S. method of eliminating awkward Latin-American governments". His defiance of the American Big Brother is again a manifestation of youth; of young people who look to the future and refuse to be cowed by their country's American-dominated past.

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE NEED TO ENGAGE

LOOKING IN, LOOKING OUT, by Charles Humana. Collins 15s.

ANARCHISTS maintain that the individual and the society in which he lives are indivisible concepts, or rather, should be. Society which in present-day systems of social organization has resulted in a conglomerate mass consists in fact of many individuals; and conversely the solitary individual needs the society of other individuals in order to live to his best advantage.

Awareness of one's individuality is something which not many people seem to have achieved—the man in the street (a significant phrase) sees himself as a man in a street—a mere speck of little importance in the vast macrocosm of our complicated and lunatic twentieth-century social organization, only he doesn't see it as lunatic.

The man who has realised his supreme individuality and follows through in thought from recognition of his own sovereignty to concepts of an inevitably revolutionary nature about society in general, must in so doing lose any real feeling of integration with his environment as soon as he sees it to be not working in the interests of life, as he wants, but rather towards disintegration, in every meaning of the word. As the motivating forces in society appear to him to be more and more against the interests of the sovereign individual so he must extricate himself more and more from commitment to what now becomes a monstrous society—in fact an 'anti-society'.

The individual becomes isolated—uncommitted and disengaged from the social context in which he finds himself, assuaging the pain of this unnatural condition by constructing as best he can ideas of a more pleasing social organization in his mind and by propagating them in the way he expresses himself through various activities, and indeed where possible by the way he

actually organizes his life. In doing this he also co-operates with other isolated individuals to try to achieve sounder social relationships and a small measure of integration within a small group. But these individuals still remain isolated from everything that goes on around them. Decisions are taken to tax him, to squash him into a certain mould, to limit his freedoms, to poison his children, and to kill him outright . . . and these decisions are taken without his consent, without even consulting him. And once he realises this he is forced to a position of washing his hands of the whole stinking affair. He is disengaged in his own world.

This is the position in which most anarchists find themselves. While wishing and needing to contribute ideas for the betterment of our lives with each other—on whom we all depend, mutually—we know that as our ideas are unacceptable to an Authority of vested interests, a State inextricably involved in violence, so the State's ideas are unacceptable to us.

Looking In, Looking Out is a novel by Charles Humana which examines the position of a Frenchman, Pierre Cottin, uncommitted and neutral in relation to the Israeli-Arab feud, who is employed by the Israeli government as an Irrigation Adviser on a project to build a dam in the Negev desert. The problem he is called upon to advise on is where to actually build the dam. Two places are suggested . . . which would be the better?

One site, near to the Arab border, is, from Cottin's point of view, superior. Geologically sound against water seepage, it is however close to an Arab village. Although living inside Israel, these people are distrusted by the Israeli authorities, who therefore would prefer to build the dam elsewhere, and have chosen a site near to a rapidly developing small town further in, away from border dangers, but with a substructure unsuited to the formation of a dam. The risk of seepage here is present, which Cottin, as technical advisor to the government, makes perfectly clear; but the government, of course, pays far more attention to the advice of the Military Authorities, who say they refuse to undertake to protect the dam should it be built in the site near the Arab border. This is Cottin's apparent dilemma. At first the solution is clear. But his real position emerges in relation to this. His need for detachment, for an uncommitted position, seen against the background of his convenient, hygienic marriage, and the passionate background of the country itself reveals a situation which should interest most readers of this paper. A moral position, held as a defence, even an escape; an intense concern with the rights of peoples regardless of national commitment, compensating perhaps for a failure to assert his own rights in his own private life; and an eventual submission to the demands of the Israelis, to the pull of a nation. Or was

it only that he yielded to his love for an individual woman, but still the anti-septic neutral in him needed to rationalise, to justify.

It struck me while reading this book, that another book I had read just before, held a certain relevance. J. Bronowski's *The Face of Violence*, which is a play with a long prefatory essay, examines the roots of violence in society. Running right through Humana's book is a feeling of this violence, crystallised sometimes in the form of a group of 'terrorists', or else as the extremely tough thread which holds the whole society together. It is also this that attracts Cottin. As Bronowski points out, violence is the manifestation of the revolt in man against the order of authority, and is the other side of the penny of the acceptance of this order and the guilt this causes. 'The guilt is order, and the guilt of a society is that it is a society'. This is a challenging remark to quote at anarchists who speak of a 'Free Society', but the need that Cottin was forced to recognise in the end, that he needed to 'engage' in society more than he needed his clean and innocent detachment, may perhaps help one to understand one's own invidious position as an anarchist in this society. F.S.

KRONSTADT

THE KRONSTADT REBELLION, by Emanuel Pollack, Philosophical Library, New York, \$3.

STALIN did not create the systematic state terrorism that is indelibly associated with his name. Its foundation was laid in the early days of the Bolshevik régime and its main architects were Lenin and Trotsky. No-one knows this better than the anarchists, who were among the first of its millions of victims. And one of the most convincing facts that Stalin was the son and not the father of the Bolshevik terror is symbolised by the name 'Kronstadt'.

In this book Emanuel Pollack tells again the story of the Kronstadt Rebellion. How, in March 1921, the sailors of Kronstadt assembled at a mass meeting and demanded the ending of some of the grosser abuses of the Bolshevik régime. How their demands were met with a blank refusal and how, under the leadership of Trotsky, an armed attack was launched by the Bolsheviks in order to crush what was termed a 'counter-revolutionary' rebellion.

Drawing heavily upon such anarchist sources as Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, the author gives a fairly detailed account of the progress and collapse of the Rebellion. He points out how what began as a peaceful protest became conceived of as the beginning of a Third Revolution, a revolution of workers and peasants against the dictatorship of the Communist Party. The Kronstadt Rebellion was the last stand of those who saw the October Revolution

had become not a means of liberation, but, in the words of the *Kronstadt Izvestia*, a "greater enslavement of human personality". Like many anti-Communist writers, however, Mr. Pollack confines his radical criticisms and conclusions to the Communist régime itself. "Power," he writes, "is the Communists' god. Human sacrifice is the legitimate food of the monster the Communists worship." Very true—but it is not the Communists alone who worship power and demand sacrifices at its altar. The worship of power is the psychological root of all types of government, and no government would refrain from using the same methods as did the Bolsheviks at Kronstadt if they were believed to be necessary.

It was thought that a thorough exposure of the extent to which Lenin and the Bolsheviks collaborated with the Germans during the 1917-18 war, both interested in bringing down the Tsar, would have a salutary effect. The capture of massive archives of the German Foreign Office in 1945 presented a fine opportunity.

Now it is quite possible that Dr. Possony will produce a detailed and scholarly account of his subject, the co-operation between the German Foreign Office and the Russian revolutionaries, which could be useful and interesting. However, his copybook has been blotted in advance by the appearance of *The*

*Russian Revolution* by Alan Moorhead, serialised in the *Sunday Times*, published by Readers' Union, and soon to appear as a paper-back.

Although, chronologically, Moorhead deals with the events from 1914 to 1918, his treatment is very uneven. Character portraits including that of Rasputin, occupy a disproportionately large space, and the "exposure" of Bolshevik-German co-operation, supplied to Moorhead by Dr. Possony is elevated to a central theme of the book. The research workers, ploughing through their 100,000 documents, scattered as widely as Turkey and Japan, may have wanted a general survey in which their results could be set, or even simple advance publicity, but this book will serve their cause badly in either case.

The author has no sympathy with the people making the revolution. He is horrified that discipline should break down in an army and the soldiers leave the fronts. He constantly expresses surprise when a soviet issues a proclamation, and the naughty people take more notice of that than of the decrees of the government.

Although he gives an exciting description of the scene in the Petrograd soviet, with sweaty soldiers in greatcoats arriving breathlessly, to deliver their brief messages, "Our company held a meeting and decided not to fire on the people, but to join the revolution", he does not enter into the excitement, but can write: "One would have thought that that was a mater for the Duma", when the soviet had taken a decision about war policy.

Yet even so unsympathetic a writer as this has to make the point that the February revolution and all its constructive achievements were the work of the people, and not of any political party. It was after that, when the professional agitators began their intrigues that the revolution took a political turn, and the fate of peoples could be affected by changes at the top. Why then, having admitted this, do writers chiefly discuss the personal politics of the "leaders"??

For Moorhead, the desirable alternative to Bolshevik rule was capitalist democracy, and for him, Lenin and his fellow conspirators were rascals who did not play the parliamentary rules. For most anarchists, who see social upheavals in terms of the people *versus* the state, the problem is not so much to dissect the villainy of the politicians who seized power, but to find out why the people allowed them to.

S. E. PARKER.

P.H.

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WOMEN & CHILDREN FIRST

THE GREAT DECISION, by Michael Amrine, Heinemann, 18s.

THIS book is subtitled "The Secret History of the Atomic Bomb". I found it almost unbearable to read. The statesmen confer, the time runs out. It is like the story of an execution.

However, it is necessary to point out that the Bomb did not, as is usually said, mark the beginning of a new era. The mass-bombing of cities was already the policy of both sides.

"It appears that the American public then or later did not realise that we had already adopted a policy of bombing entire districts with high explosives and incendiaries. Hiroshima was the first such raid in which this policy was clearly seen by the whole world.

"The number of civilians killed at Hiroshima shocked the air power command, as it shocked Oppenheimer and others. This was not planned. It appears that we did not, in fact, have any idea that the city would be so unprotected. We sent only three planes, because any more might perhaps have brought out dangerous anti-aircraft or fighter planes in counter-attack. As a result of avoiding this attack, we inadvertently achieved another effect in that the Japanese did not set off the air-raid alarm that would have driven the Hiroshima citizens to shelter.

"That accidental happening cost the lives of tens of thousands of women and children who were not military targets and whom we had no intention of killing."

This seems to me an incredible statement. To begin with, Oppenheimer had already witnessed a trial explosion of the bomb in the United States. Unless he was a complete fool, which obviously he was not, he must have known, at least roughly, how destructive it was going to be. Secondly, if the city was as well protected as the Americans had expected it to be, and an anti-aircraft alarm had been set off in time to give the citizens a chance to get into shelters, there would also have been time for fighter planes and guns to come into action. To prevent precisely this the Americans sent only three planes. So the statement is nonsense as it stands. Thirdly, those who knew, even only approximately, the power of the bomb, and sent it over, must also have been aware that shelters would not have been of much use against it. Fourthly, a bomb which does not kill people is no good. Hiroshima was not devoid of military targets, but the aim was to strike terror into the enemy and bring him to his knees by destroying one of his cities. To destroy a city without killing the inhabitants, a large proportion of whom are women and children, is impossible.

I do not believe for one minute that anyone was taken by surprise at the result, anyone of those in the know that

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CINEMA

LIVING FOR KICKS

TWO films that are currently to be seen in London may well appeal to anarchists and libertarians; they are *Pull My Daisy* (National Film Theatre, July 15th-17th) and *Black Orpheus* (Curzon). Both deal with living in a mode that justifies itself to you personally, the first with the beatniks of New York City, and the second amongst the Negro working-class of Rio de Janeiro.

*Pull My Daisy* is described as being a beat experience on film rather than a film about the beat generation. The screenplay is written and spoken by Kerouac, being a free improvisation on one scene from an as yet unproduced play of his. It would perhaps be unfair to criticise a film too harshly which is amateur, but both as a film and as an insight into beat and Zen Buddhist ways of carrying on it fails to make any lasting impact. The main talent featured unfortunately is the brittle acidity of the narcissic mind. The entire film is set in the apartment of Milo (a railway worker with mystic aspirations) who has an artist wife, and a small son. They are visited by their poet friends (one of whom is Allen Ginsburg) and through the stimulus of their own voices gradually work themselves into a pitch of excitement that I found hard to share. The major highlight of the film is then presented in the form of a very young bishop who calls socially and on whom they project the pent up frustrations and hostilities. The beats lounge, drink beer and try ever so hard to shock, generally giving the poor sap the third degree. The fact that the bishop is presented as such a

poor sap is the film's major flaw, but apart from not being given any time to reply, the questions themselves are all very smart and sixth form—"Is baseball holy . . . are alligators holy . . . have you ever looked at girls in those tight dresses?" etc. If the bishop had been more like Donald Soper instead of Alley-Oop we too might have been stimulated. Finally they drive the bishop away (who incidentally leaves with a grace that produces the opposite effect to that which Kerouac must have intended!) and the beats jump up victorious and giggling to rush out to the Bowery and live it up and dig the scene and feel for real and play by fires. Kerouac and his team have missed the very effect that they set out to achieve—the mystic poetic vision—because of their inordinate self-consciousness and pre-occupation with their own intellects. They are not anarchists but hedonists, and compared with the brilliant bite of a film like *L'Age D'Or* the result is very disappointing.

The all Negro cast of *Black Orpheus* do live it up and in a much less inhibited and freer style. The story itself is simple, being the Orpheus legend set against the background of the carnival in modern Rio; both the people and their situations are very real and vital. Wonderfully they abandon themselves to the frenzy of the carnival dancing and the rhythmic music that is all around them. The film makes no message, it is just ordinary people in ordinary and routine situations trying to make the most of life in a live and let live way. As an insight into human values it has a lot to commend it.

D.G.



## Hands off Cuba!

Continued from p. 1

Many correspondents now think that Castro has "gone too far" in his open defiance of America. But how could he and his friends hope to change the pattern of economic and social life in their country without freeing themselves from U.S. tutelage? And it is not only words of defiance that he is addressing to his Big Neighbour. When he warned that he would "strip the Americans down to the nails in their boots", there is no doubt—writes Paul Johnson—"that he means it".

More than half of American property in Cuba has been "intervened", and so far nothing has been done about compensation. The land too is being taken over on a large scale, and estates over 995 acres are being broken up. Only 600 peasants however have received individual plots in the redistribution, the intention being to pass the land to agricultural co-operatives—500 of which are already in existence. According to Paul Johnson: "Most of the Latin-American economists to whom I talked, were convinced that the reform is working. One of them—viewing Cuba from the relative objectivity of the FAO—told me emphatically: 'The Cuban land-reform is the first in Latin-American history to have raised production during the first year of its operation'".

Economic sanctions by which the U.S. government is hoping to bring the government down is a weapon which can operate both ways. If the Americans decide to eliminate the Cuban quota of sugar in 1961 the loss to Cuba would be \$350 million. But what should also be borne in mind is that Cuba's imports from America exceeded her exports. Since the advent of Castro's régime there has been a marked decrease in these imports from America as the following figures (taken from the *New York Times* for July 3) clearly show:

1957	— \$617,000,000
1958	— \$543,000,000
1959	— \$435,000,000
1960	— not expected to exceed \$295,000,000.

It may well be that the appreciable drop in imports in 1959-60 is an indication that more land is producing Cuba's basic food requirements and she is therefore having to import less.

For this is the cock-eyed state of affairs that existed when she was under American "protection": that America was importing more sugar than she actually required at a subsidised price, to the annoyance of American farmers but for the benefit of American sugar interests in Cuba (the American Sugar Refining Company alone owned 550,000 acres and the U.S.-owned Atlantica del Golfo, 290,000 acres of plantations in Cuba). On the other hand Cuba was importing many of her basic food supplies from high-cost U.S. farms to the tune of \$100,000,000 a year! Thus tomatoes came from Florida, fruit from California and ham from Chicago. The agrarian reform which aims at a more sensible use of the land must result in a decrease in the production of sugar cane and a consequent increase in the production of fruit, vegetables and meat required for home consumption. But, as we were pointing out last week in these columns, the switch from one to the other takes time, and in the meantime the people must live. Food must therefore still be imported for some time to come—and by the laws of capitalism there must be an outlet for sugar to pay for them.

## FROM MOSCOW TO UTOPIA

ONE of the effects of the October Revolution has been the appearance of a new literary style—the revelations, autobiographies and self-analyses of ex-Communists. *The God that Failed* is the classic in this genre but there are many more. In a sense, apostasy from Moscow is, perhaps, only a variation on the older theme of apostasy from Rome but the former is now more likely to find a publisher, as Communism has become the greatest threat to the institutions of the "free" world. Catholicism is now represented as a defender of those institutions.

Because of the universality of the experiences with which this literature deals, it is not surprising that even a New Zealander should have contributed to it. In his *Rebel in a Wrong Cause* (Collins, 18/-), S. W. Scott, formerly General Secretary of the New Zealand Communist Party, describes how he became and, after many years, ceased to be a member of the Party. His experiences fall into a familiar enough pattern—a sensitive and inquiring mind predisposed to acceptance of radical ideas by a hatred of injustice and by a conviction that society, as at present constituted, cannot remedy injustice. Then the first contact with Marxism, the conversion and years of hard, self-sacrificing work for the Party, the sowing and flowering of doubt and, finally, the break.

Reading this book, one can see how the same idealism and sense of injustice which led Scott into the Party was instrumental in leading him out again. Like Milovan Djilas in Yugoslavia, or Richard Wright in the United States, or M. N. Roy in India, or Ignazio Silone in Italy, he has not lost the sense of outrage. Now that he is an old man he has returned to where he started from: "It is close on forty years since I embarked on my journey to Utopia. The strange thing is that from 1920 onwards I did not term my journey's end Utopia, but 'Scientific' Socialism or Communism. 'Utopia' a name which in Greek means 'nowhere' was 'unscientific' because it was based on men's desires, their dreams of a just society. My brand of Socialism-Communism was based on economic and social laws and was no mere product of man's will, but 'inevitable', predetermined by forces beyond men's will."

"One somewhat inconsistent footnote was added to this concept by Lenin and it changed the whole nature of the socialist movement. Economic 'laws'

To our minds the dangers of Russian infiltration are less than they ever were, for if the general picture painted by Paul Johnson and confirmed by others is accurate, then one can be reasonably hopeful that the people of Cuba will as jealously guard their independence from Russian tutelage, as they are now fighting to wrest it from the clutches of American imperialism.

Once outside the despairing tourist fringe, a different atmosphere prevailed. I can only describe it in one word: happiness. Whatever else Castro's revolution has done, it has made the people of Cuba happy. Even his bitterest critics admit this, ruefully. It is as if the entire country had been born again. People may not be getting much more to eat, but they now have hope: the poorest little bootblack—who gave me a superb Caterham shine for twopenny—now believes that some day, soon, he will come to regard a square meal a day not as an uncertain privilege, but as a right. There is gaiety in the air. The streets bustle with crocodiles of laughing schoolgirls, off to a free performance of the Peking Opera, with jeeps crammed with bearded soldiers and their girls, with coach-loads of wide-eyed peasants, brought into see an agricultural exhibition.

★  
"HANDS off Cuba!" should be a slogan for the youth of the world. More than just a slogan, for before long the young "revolutionaries" of Cuba may well need the people's solidarity in their struggle for survival in a world run by old men for old men. That solidarity will have to come from the young, and the young in spirit. Not from the political parties of the Left, who are as much a part of the Establishment as are the parties of the Right, but from the uncommitted who have the imagination to see in this Caribbean experiment the seeds of a new way of life.

were to be given a push on by a band of self-elected Samurai, men who combined the qualities of the Guardians of Plato's Republic with the iron discipline of a Spartan soldier.

"This book tells of how these concepts worked out in my own life and in the history of a party in a small country in the South Pacific... My personal experiences have convinced me that 'Scientific Socialism', not Utopia, is the myth. The Good Society cannot be founded in abstract 'laws' but on the 'Utopian' strivings, the wisdom and goodwill of individual men and women... I am back now to something not unlike the Utopia of my pre-Communist 'teens. It exists nowhere except in the hearts of men, but it is, hope and trust, in the process of germination."

Scott was one of several children of a nonconformist, lower middle-class family which emigrated to New Zealand before the First War. He says of himself that: "It was a strange point in my character, even as a small boy, that I could not tolerate anything in the nature of injustice" (p. 16). This led him to make protests in class and to become involved in fights on behalf of boys who were being badly treated. That he should have been rankled by injustice is not surprising considering that an unorthodox strain ran in his family: one grandfather, a lifelong vegetarian, was often pelted with refuse by his neighbours because of his "advanced" political views, while an uncle spent the War in gaol as a socialist conscientious objector. Given this family background it was natural for his mind to be receptive to new and subversive ideas. Voltaire, Thomas Paine, Robert Blatchford, H. G. Wells, Rationalist Press Association reprints, books on history and social questions, radical journalism—he read them all and by twenty was a socialist and freethinker.

But "I was a socialist of a rather nebulous type, sometimes terming myself a Guild Socialist, supporting the New Zealand Labour Party and also wholeheartedly supporting the Russian Revolution, of whose inner conflicts however, I virtually knew nothing" (p. 35). These early ideas were crystallized by a lecture and some study classes on "scientific" socialism which he attended in 1920 and 1921. In April, 1921 we find him participating in founding New Zealand's first Communist Party branch. Within two years several more branches were founded and there were individual members and study groups scattered throughout the country.

Up until 1928, however, the Party was "by and large, an outgrowth of New Zealand radicalism, somewhat superficially tempered by a covering of Marxist and purely English socialism" (p. 52). In 1928, following the Sixth Congress of the Third International, the "social chauvinism" policy was adopted. This heralded progressive isolation from the mainstream of the working class movement. In addition, New Zealanders be-

## The Great Decision

Continued from p. 2

is. Maybe they had guilty consciences afterwards, but they knew that the weapon they were sending over was a weapon of mass-destruction.

Stimson's memorandum (p. 51) states categorically, "Within four months we shall in all probability have completed the most terrible weapon ever known in human history, one bomb which could destroy a whole city..."

The men who designed the bomb must have been perfectly well aware that it would kill a lot of people. They may have been surprised it killed so many, but one cannot take very seriously someone who is shocked at the death of a hundred thousand people, but can take the death of five or ten thousand in his stride.

Truman could write in a letter, "I know that Japan is a terribly cruel nation in warfare but I can't bring myself to believe that, because they are cruel, we should ourselves act in the same manner. For myself, I certainly regret the necessity of wiping out whole populations because of the 'pig-headedness' of the leaders of a nation and, for your information, I am not going to do it unless it becomes absolutely necessary. My object is to save as many American lives as possible but I also have a humane feeling for the women and children in Japan."

His "humane feelings" cannot have been very deep, for no one can say that the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki

gan being sent to Moscow for training. "All the men who went to these schools of Communism came back sectarian, dogmatic and unfit to deal in a realistic fashion with the problem of mobilising the New Zealand workers in the struggle for Communism" (p. 56).

It would be pointless to discuss Scott's day-to-day experiences in the Communist Party from 1921 until he resigned in 1957. The internal struggles, the twists and turns to follow the Moscow line and the constant leakage of members can be paralleled from the history of any other Communist Party. It is more interesting to ask why he stayed in the Party for so long and how it was that his belief in the Party's mission finally crumbled.

The first doubts seem to have occurred about 1930, when Scott's wife went to Russia for training. He speaks of feeling a "chill of disappointment" at some of the reports he received from her. In 1939, he went to Russia himself. The low standards of living which he saw there, the hostility of the press to Britain and France (this was after the Stalin-Hitler Pact and before Germany attacked Russia) and the secrecy which prevailed, came as a shock to him but, as with the disappointments he had had from his wife's reports, he managed to explain these things away as passing phenomena or aberrations due to special historical circumstances.

More significant was his growing divergence from the official Party line and everyday Party practice in matters of policy and tactics. These especially made themselves felt after the War. Scott, following Earl Browder, had come to believe in the possibility of a peaceful and gradual transition to socialism. By 1949 he was asking himself: "Do I want to be responsible for a dictatorship in New Zealand? Could I really agree to or help to operate the kind of thing that Lenin advocated and sometimes resorted to?" I know in my heart that I did not want such a society even if it were by hypothesis a mere transitional stage" (p. 157). In addition he was troubled by the Party's relativist morality and by the hardness and ruthlessness which characterized its dealings, both towards its members and in its tactical manoeuvres.

These doubts and disagreements were not gathered together with explosive intensity until 1956—the year of the Twentieth Congress and of Hungary. Up until then he had believed that, despite aberrations, the Party was working in the direction of progress. The events of 1956 were too much, however, for him to continue believing this and, like thousands of other Party members all over the world, they caused his final disillusionment. He made a press statement disassociating himself from the New Zealand Party's support for the Soviet intervention. This was published in the daily newspapers on the 21st

was "absolutely necessary". It did save American lives, since it avoided a long-drawn battle in Japan itself, but in what sense are American lives more valuable than Japanese ones? The Americans proved at least that cruelty in war (can you have war at all without cruelty?), was no prerogative of the Japanese.

The bit about women and children sets one's teeth on edge. What does it mean, except as a piece of meaningless rhetoric, a kind of verbal shorthand perhaps? The words have lost all emotional content. You cannot make war at all without harming women and children. Even if you do not bomb them you deprive them of their menfolk. To lose a loved one may be almost as painful as dying oneself. Often a part of oneself does die.

I prefer the old barbarians who slaughtered their enemies, piled up their skulls, and surveyed their handiwork with a jolly satisfaction, to these hypocrites who try to cling to the rags and tatters of the liberal tradition, while killing on a scale never before known, and in ways as diabolical as any that man could conceive. Even the Nazis were more honest than these unspeakably cruel "champions of democracy". It would be far better if they neither excused nor defended themselves, but proclaimed outright that they believed in the divinity of might, and the justice of force.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

3  
November, 1956 and on the same day he was suspended from the Party in consequence.

Apart from the rationalizations, which I have mentioned, it seems as if Scott's immersion in Party work may have contributed to his long membership, by creating a sense of identity with the Party and depriving him of the opportunity for doing some reflective thinking about it. To these factors we should, I think, add his blindness (although he, himself, does not offer this as an excuse). The sight of one eye was lost in 1934 as the result of deliberate neglect by the prison authorities of the direction of the magistrate who had sentenced him that he be given treatment for his eye trouble. He became blind in his other eye in 1942. It is hard to imagine that blindness did not have some effect in shutting him off from awareness of events.

What is surprising is that, despite his blindness, he was able to do so much. Not only did he write numerous pamphlets but he was officially General Secretary from 1949 to 1951 and had been discharging the functions of that office for a number of years before his actual appointment to it. Also, for many years, he edited the Party newspaper, *Workers' Weekly*, the name of which was later changed to the *People's Voice*, and the Party theoretical magazine *New Zealand Labour Review*.

The Communist Party has never been a powerful force in New Zealand affairs. During the War, it acquired considerable strength in the trade unions but this was soon lost. The membership never rose above 2,000 and the maximum circulation of the *People's Voice* was 14,000. Both are much smaller now. Nevertheless, the Communist Party has played a part in twentieth century New Zealand which it is proper that we should know about and this book, although not purporting to be a history, is of great value as documentation. Primarily, however, it is not only a history but is not a personal autobiography either; it is a political and intellectual autobiography. As such, it helps to fill one of the many gaps in New Zealand literature.

One of the features of the book is the persistent way in which the author effaces himself. In 1949, when the Party was looking for a General Secretary, after over ten years without one, Scott seems to have been the only member who was seriously considered. "It was said, and I could not but acknowledge its truth, that I was the only one with the prestige to effectively fill the position" (p. 156). Again, when a remit came before the Returned Services Association to the effect that Communists be refused membership "it was felt that, as general secretary and as the best-known Communist in the country I should personally present the plea against the ban on Communists" (p. 157). Earlier in the book he mentions how, when he was taking a university course in the 1920's, he met and became friendly with certain other students, whose names he gives. Some of these students were to become leading figures in New Zealand art and literature. We are left puzzled as to how he should have gained this prestige and these friends for the book, although it makes it clear that he was a dedicated Communist, a hard worker and a widely read man, is silent as to the other qualities which he must undoubtedly possess. It is to be hoped that now he has written an account of his relations with Communism, he will turn to a more personal autobiography.

At the time of his break with the Party, Scott gave a broadcast talk over the NZBS. The script of this talk is given in an appendix to the book. In it Scott said:

"To hate cruelty and love mercy, to extend compassion and understanding to every race and creed, whether English, Russian, Chinese or American, to fight for peace and justice everywhere in the world; never to feel free, as Debs said, while a single soul remains in chains—these things are not 'petit-bourgeois' sentimentalising, but the warp and woof of the real socialist movement" (p. 253). He had arrived back at Utopia.

K.J.M.

**"FREEDOM"**  
**SHOULD HAVE**  
**MANY MORE**  
**READERS!**  
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# Education Conferences 1960

AT this year's Education Conferences a great displeasure was recorded at the lack of morals in the world outside the school gates. The N.U.T. Executive urged a determined effort to counteract the debasement of standards resulting from the misuse of the press, radio, cinema and television, the deliberate exploitation of violence and sex, and the calculated appeal to self-interest. And it called upon those who used and controlled the media of mass communication and upon parents to support the efforts of teachers in an attempt to prevent the conflict which too often arose between the values of the classroom and those of the outside world.

This demonstration of altruism did not, however, prevent half the membership of the N.U.T. from voting that a motion calling for an increase in salaries be placed first on the Agenda for the Conference. Nor did it save a motion on nuclear disarmament from being ruled out of order by the president—a motion that just scraped in on the last day of the Conference when its rejection could not be challenged.

Far from there being "a complete dichotomy" between morals in school and out of school, as the seconder for that motion claimed, there would appear to be a serious discrepancy between the things preached and the things practised by many school teachers and educationists. The nuclear disarmament motion, just on the agenda with 16,686 votes to the salaries motion's 146,000, was put forward in the belief that it was the "greatest issue of the age" and the "concern of teachers whose work lies with the future of mankind". Apparently it is of little concern to most teachers whether their pupils are to be afflicted with disease and disintegration by nuclear weapons. The motion was quite a "safe" little affair, merely asking teachers to appeal to the powers to bring a fresh approach to multilateral disarmament talks. There was no suggestion of unilateral action. As with last year's resolution the objection was that it was outside the aims of the N.U.T. Some of us will wonder, then, why the motion on morality outside the schools was allowed.

Compare this seeming lack of interest with the motion on salaries calling for a basic scale of at least £600 to £1,200 with a reduced incremental period. No teacher, if reports were complete, suggested during the debate that workers in other essential services who get considerably less than the teachers' present £520—£1,000 basic, should get a rise in wages first (at least one teacher, speaking at the rival N.A.S. Conference, admitted that "schoolmasters were workers in the same sense as anyone else"). If this wasn't an example of "calculated appeal to self-interest", it was severe forgetfulness or something. Or something—because we are left in little doubt that the average teacher considers that his industry to the community is of greater value than that of the Signaller, the Fitter, the Farm Worker or the Nurse.

The N.U.T. president himself said that so far as salary measured status and value teachers were not rated highly today. Which on the facts of comparative wages gives some idea of the value teachers are content to have placed upon their academic skulls. Favourable comparisons, ingenious in their deceptivity, are often put forward by selfish spokesmen in all professions but Mr. Exworthy, the N.U.T. president beat most of them with "... it took a teacher seven years to reach a salary equivalent to the average weekly earnings of male workers in this country". When Mr. Exworthy came out with this vague, misleading statement one of the educated multitude on the floor should have told him, as if he didn't know, that the average weekly basic wage for manual workers over 21 years of age is approximately £11—the minimum starting rate for a teacher.

But, of course, Mr. Exworthy told no lies!

Other matters raised at the Conferences included *pay differentials* (teachers didn't seem to object to degrees pulling in extra cash but other differentials worried them), *qualifications* (unqualified teachers lowered the prestige of the profession), *Crowther* (main proposals welcomed), *Teacher Supply* (we can't afford to kick out the unqualified teacher until 1968), *Government building cuts* (strong condemnation) and *Pensions* (for those connected with the Profession).

The N.A.S., which met at Hastings, was sure that a new salary scale for teachers, £750—£1,400, would be the surest way to assure all children of their right to a proper education: "buoyant recruitment" of "high quality men" would result. It was very upset with the N.U.T.'s efforts to destroy the association, about the recent emancipation of women teachers, about Sir David Eccles' betrayal on pensions, and, most of all, the continued exclusion of the N.A.S. from the Burnham Committee: an emergency resolution saying that they were "deeply angered" by the Minister's refusal to allow their representatives on the Committee was passed unanimously.

Remember, these are only assistant teachers that have been talking. With the foregoing as an example from the lower rungs of the educational hierarchy, the magnitude of the task before us is pretty plain. Our children's minds will be corrupted at schools all over the country for years to come. We can only hope to lessen the corruption, with the help of a small number of teachers who care not for status, and make it easier for the next generation to carry on. E.F.C.

## The Kingdom of Heaven

IN the article "More about Rationalism" in July 2nd issue of FREEDOM, the writer states that as rationalists, anarchists are more atheist than agnostic. I wish to record the minority view of a Christian anarchist. The attempt to explain away religion as a clerical swindle has failed, because although there have been many priestly frauds, these have merely taken advantage of the human religious faculty. We, as rationalists, should examine religion comparatively and critically. It is little use a tone deaf person developing a theory of music, even so, any study of religion must be sympathetic and constructive. While spiritual philosophy is rational, it is not merely rational. Gandhi found that rationalism was insufficient to move the people to do great things for a free society—the ideas of reason may not have the emotive power. The anarchist ideal will be realised by the spiritual regeneration of mankind. This indeed is the Gospel of the Kingdom which was the message of Jesus.

Atheism is often a re-action against superstition, clericalism and fundamentalism; as such it serves a useful but negative purpose.

The common teaching of anarchism is the negation of the State for our future (Eltzbacher "Anarchism" p. 189). Atheism is in no way involved in anarchism. (Compare Tolstoy's Anarchist Christianity). The creative life can be helped by "a rational body of theory", but it can also be inspired by a mythology which is related to human realities. This was very well illustrated by the creative life of Eric Gill.

The witness of the Christian socialists,

of the Bruderhof, of the Taena Community, of the Bhodan movement, etc., all show that spiritual religion has more dynamic for the creation of a free society than negative scepticism or scientific materialism. Let us have more science. Let us combat obscurantism and authoritarianism in religion—but remember that the prophetic tradition in religion is essentially revolutionary and non-conformist and offers a constructive basis for the unity of mankind—THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN.

ERIC G. HUGHES.

## Meetings and Announcements

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

#### IMPORTANT

MEETINGS WILL BE HELD in basement, 5, Caledonian Road, N.1. (near King's Cross Station) during repairs at "Marquis of Granby" in July.

JULY 17.—Jack Robinson on SACCO AND VANZETTI

### 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, Middx.

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m.

At Dorothy Barasi's, 45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green, N.2.

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m.

At Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

2nd Tuesday of each month at 8 p.m. (International Libertarian Group)

At David Bell's, 39 Bernard Street, W.C.1. (Local Readers Welcome)

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP SUMMER SCHOOL AND CAMP

SATURDAY, JULY 30th to MONDAY, AUGUST 1st at

Alan Albon's, Little Marshfoot Farm, Hailsham, Sussex.

The main theme this year will be "Youth and Anarchism in the Present Day", speakers will include Geoffrey Ostergaard and Tony Gibson. Lectures 4 p.m. Saturday, 11 a.m. Sunday and 11 a.m. Monday.

Inclusive cost 35/-. Children (welcomed) pro rata.

Please state whether you have your own tent as accommodation is strictly limited. Those staying for a week will be expected to cater for themselves after the School.

CLOSING DATE: Booking must reach M. Stevenson, c/o 27 Red Lion Street, W.C.1, by July 15th.

Details of Transport, etc., will be supplied on booking.

## A Plea for Scientific Agnosticism

IF Anarchism fails to make headway, the reasons for this are certainly becoming very evident indeed as the result of the Readership Survey together with the lively controversial attitudes displayed following the David Pratt affair. Added to this we have a laying-bare of opinions which indicates sharp divisions of opinion such as one finds between the "Rationalists" and those of the "Flat-Earth" type.

It seems quite impossible to condone *in toto* the arguments put forward on any one side, and one is led to suppose that the writers are suffering from what may be thought of as a form of philosophical colour-blindness. Do they not realise that the world of knowledge and ideas is not indeed made up of black and white, but is in fact composed of a spectrum of opinions which may, as with real colours, often induce the appearance of a monochrome pattern?

G, for instance, seems to have entirely missed the point when he assumes that an Agnostic is a kind of moral coward who dare not stand up to the deists. In actual fact, the Agnostic may be such a person, but the fact remains that there are other Agnostics whose attitude is merely the result of intellectual honesty. They are aware of the fact that no real information is really forthcoming as to the origin of the Universe, and they see no definite evidence, either positive or negative as to the existence of some sort of Maker or God. The true scientist, in whatever field he may work, must be agnostic in his attitude to his own work. I suppose we could say that he must be a sceptic: it really comes to the same thing. Assuming that such an agnostic attitude of mind could prevail, many of the apparently opposite attitudes, such as those currently displayed in FREEDOM, would automatically vanish. The "scientifically" minded, who sneer at Reichianism, would first of all repeat his experiments for themselves and then pronounce judgment. Conversely, those who really feel that they have confirmed Reich's work by experiment would refrain from erecting, on the basis of the work, whole philosophies for which there is no justification in fact.

In his Presidential Address to the British Association in 1870, Thomas Henry Huxley said that the "Great tragedy of Science" was "the slaying of a beautiful theory by an ugly fact". Anarchists should take thought lest it also be the great tragedy of their own philosophy!

The danger is that the Anarchist in correctly expressing and practising tolerance towards all minority and crank opinions, fails to adopt a sufficiently sharp and scientific form of criticism to unorthodox ideas. There is a danger that many Anarchists persist in the rather "adolescent" attitude (or "under-

graduate" attitude) that everything that is unconventional is right and everything that is "established" is wrong. The logic behind any such assumptions is obviously puerile.

I think it can be fairly said that A. S. Neill is an excellent example of an unorthodox thinker who brings to his work the genuinely agnostic attitude which is so necessary.\* His idea was to find the real truth about child nature and to refrain from theorising until he had some facts to go on. He tells, in one of his books, how students were once amazed to find that he would decline to answer some of their questions because he felt he really did not know the answers. His interlocutors were used to University dons "knowing all the answers" and a dose of scientific honesty came as a shock. Neill has also said that he would refuse to found a school on any "ism" whatsoever (including Reichianism, let it be noted), and he pointed out that, in the latter case, even if he wanted to, Reich would not let him! Even Neill seems to have slipped up a little, however, because he did go so far as to say (in one of his last books) that he was offering self-regulation as a "panacea". But we all know that there are no panaceas; it is the panacea-worshippers who are the ruin of all progressive movements. They raise the germ of an idea, or an idea of limited practical value, into an end in itself. Their attitude is not distinguishable from that of the orthodox religious person, and that, most readers of FREEDOM will agree, is not complimentary!

I feel bound to say that there is one unorthodox system of thought which has not been castigated in the columns of FREEDOM during the recent explosion of controversy. I hope that no Higher

\*These comments on Neill were received before his letter appeared in FREEDOM—EDITORS.

## Half Way!

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\*Indicates regular contributor.

editorial office by the adherents of the system to which I refer, namely Nature Cure. I raise this issue here, because Nature Cure is quite typical of those beliefs which have an immediate appeal to those who are seeking out the Good Life, and yet which, on being adopted, demand absolute and unswerving loyalty. The writer has met a good number of Nature Cure adherents in his time, and feels bound to say that a surprisingly large number of them, in spite of their ardent proselytising, are to be found enjoying more than an occasional glass of beer, or puff at the weed, to say nothing of eating fish and chips. This is important, because it is likely in fact to be typical of the attitude of many "unorthodox" people in quite other fields than Nature Cure. It really is important that there should be a true correspondence between one's beliefs and one's actual way of life: what the Marxists would call the unity of theory and practice. If Anarchists generally would give their stock of ideas a thorough going over occasionally, and would courageously admit errors when found, more progress would be made. The writer has experienced in his own life mixed-up attitudes due to rigid theorising and, having profited by fundamental and shattering experiences has profited by rejecting previously held notions which had seemed to admit of no doubt or question. He was a conscientious, practising adherent of Nature Cure, and having been left by its mumbo-jumbo methods in a state where death might have occurred in a relatively short time (a year or two perhaps), was ultimately "resurrected" by an incredibly massive amount of "poisonous drugs", and has lived to tell the tale without any after effects to complain of. This is a magnificent example of the "beautiful theory" (Nature Cure) being slain by "the ugly fact" (Experience).

Parentetically, this reminds one of the fact that the R.C. Church classes the "rejection of the known truth" as a very great sin indeed. Whilst the Roman Catholic notion of "truth" can be thrown out without question, there can be no doubt that the rejection of genuinely known truth certainly is a tragedy. Equally tragic too is the converse: the eager acceptance of unproven theories as if they were truisms.

To sum up, what is needed in the Anarchist Movement is a strong dose of realism, it being clearly understood that this word has none of the hard and inhuman undertones it sometimes acquires in the mouth of the ultra-Conservative business man. The idealist in each one of us is the enemy, demanding only too often great sacrifice and pain with only a promise of joy which never materialises.

Co. Durham, July 3. J. H. GOUNDRY.

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