

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The integrity of our own mind is the only sacred thing."

—Ralph Waldo Emerson

## 'Fewer Mental Patients & Criminals IF Society Overcomes its Anxieties'

AT the annual conference of the World Federation for Mental Health, held last week in Edinburgh, a lively critical discussion followed the paper read by Dr. Lauretta Bender on "State Care of Emotionally and Socially Disturbed Adolescents in America". Dr. T. A. Ratcliffe of Nottingham said he wondered how many adolescents went into residential care unnecessarily and as a result of social pressures, lack of other facilities, and because of the anxiety of those looking after them, and Dr. Joshua Bierer remarked that the time had perhaps come when the Federation should make a special, self-critical, study of the question of whether society, including the specialists assembled at the conference, might not be in too much of a hurry in shutting away the mentally disturbed or deficient in residential homes.

He mentioned the experiments which he had been concerned with for the last 14 years in the study of personal anxiety, declaring that: "I and my collaborators are convinced that it is our own anxiety which forces us to lock people up, to brand them, and make them criminals. I believe if we can overcome our own anxiety and treat adults and adolescents as members of the community, we will create fewer mental patients and fewer criminals."

On the same theme, Dr. D. F. Buckle of the World Health Organisation, in his paper on public attitudes to mental subnormality, suggested that subnormal children were put into institutions too frequently and that there were strong psychological reasons, hidden from the people in the community, which caused them to put away people they could not abide, or who raised the level of anxiety. "This idea, which has been present in criminology, as well as psychiatry, has been well brought out by Oscar Wilde in his *Ballad of Reading Gaol*."

"I have become increasingly aware," he said, "that we have been increasing our services in many countries, but the number of criminals and the amount of mental illness has gone up and up." Sending a delinquent youngster to prison, he went on, was exactly the same as sending a student to Oxford or Cambridge. At the universities he received the best teaching from the best men by the most modern methods and made the best connections—which is exactly what you get in prison.

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## The U.N. Congress on Crime Prevention Crime and the 'Affluent' Society

THE second United Nations Congress on crime prevention and treatment of offenders, opened in London last week.

We would like to sift and study the available material before attempting a full commentary, but a brief glance at some of the reports is enough to reveal that there seems to be a tendency to equate the easy life with the increase in delinquency.

Professor Lopez-Rey, chief of the United Nations section of social defence, said that with few exceptions crime and delinquency were increasing all over the world.

Referring to the Nordic and Mediterranean belts—the former made up with the United States, Britain, Germany, Norway, Sweden and Finland, the latter consisting of Spain, France, Belgium, Italy and to some extent Greece and Yugoslavia—he stated that incidents of juvenile delinquency in the first group had been increasing before the Second World War, but that the extent and gravity of crime within the second group was far less serious.

In the "Nordic belt" in spite of better living conditions and welfare services

Government institutions were devoting far more effort and money to combating juvenile delinquency.

Lord Kilmuir, the Lord Chancellor, made a similar point when discussing the disproportionate increase of crime among young people at a time of "unexampled prosperity".

Mr. George Edwards, of the Michigan Supreme Court, rejected the suggestion that:

there was a relationship between the increase in the standard of living and the welfare and health services, and an increase in juvenile delinquency, except in terms of statistics.

We might question the definition of crime and delinquency as applied to some offences against the law, but if we define them in their worst manifestations as acts of individual and group violence, there is danger of accepting the easy explanation provided by statistical research only.

It is often suggested by social commentators that young people today "do as they like", in addition they have too much leisure.

There is little corresponding criticism of our competitive society which encourages mass violence in time of war, whose economic morality is based on cut-throat competition and whose chief source of mass entertainment—the cinema, TV and newspapers—make millions out of violence presented in a socially acceptable form.

There is little condemnation of violence as such, but only retribution through law for the "bad men"; the "good man" who is brutal with fists or weapons is held up as an example of virtue because he acts for the "right" reasons—in defence of law and order, or the motherland, or "freedom".

It is not surprising that juveniles turn to

"vandalism, sex delinquency, alcoholism and drug addiction"

in an unstable society which while going through a period of economic well-being, threatens the future of all with H-bombs and political tyranny.

What can we expect from the children of a newly emerging affluent working class, if they have no corresponding sense of unity and purpose—not encouraged by our society—and if for the first time they are released from poverty with the consequent misdirection of energy and emotion.

Their fathers may have been at one time united in "trade union brotherhood" and working class solidarity, but there is little of that spirit at large today. The trades union leaders are in the main only interested in more money for themselves and their members; internat-

ional solidarity, justice and equality are no longer issues on a trade union platform. There is, therefore, no education in social co-operation being expounded either at home or in the workshop.

We cannot expect young people to behave responsibly when they are surrounded by irresponsible adults. Nor will it help to explain away delinquency as a possible product of too much money and leisure. Abundance is a desirable thing especially to the millions who haven't got it, but it is not an end in itself, and it is clear that human beings need more than material goods for a satisfactory life.

On the other hand gang violence and delinquency is not confined to children of the working class, especially in the United States, where the middle-class teenager is not always the "good citizen" that a bourgeois education is supposed to produce. The former, if they have more money today, have not always had it and it could be argued that poverty has made them greedy and resentful, a resentment which expresses itself in violence under certain conditions. This argument cannot be applied to children of the middle-class if we assume that they have always had comfort and plenty to eat.

The common cause, it seems to us, can be found in some of the aspects of our society which we have been discussing above, including uniformity and boredom which seeks an outlet in anti-social behaviour.

While accepting the information given by Professor Lopez-Rey about delinquency in countries where the standard of living is higher, we do not think this is a basic cause.

We are afraid that a lot of people may draw the wrong conclusions and be confirmed in their view that poverty is a good thing (for some).

### Read any good books lately?

Inquiries about people on a library waiting list for the novel *Lolita* have been made by detectives investigating the Derbyshire bubble car murder. Police, who have so far drawn a blank in spite of extensive house to house inquiries, feel that the killer of William Elliott, an estate clerk, may have had an abnormal motive. They believe he may be the type of man who would want to read *Lolita*, or other controversial novels. A senior police officer at county headquarters said yesterday: "A check has been made at the library, but so far it has proved of particular significance."

Guardian 30/7/60.

### Reflections on 'The Strike that Doomed a Ship'!

## PRESS AND STRIKERS

THE indignation with which the British Press announced the decision by the Ceylonese government to nationalise that country's newspapers would have been praiseworthy if our own Press would do more than just pay lip-service to its own freedom. With the one or two notable exceptions, the British Press is owned by an even less representative group than is the government. And as each year passes that group becomes smaller, more powerful, and more monopolistic.

The National Press' first loyalty is to its shareholders, which it serves by using every sensational means, every trick and gimmick in its armoury to increase sales. Bigger circulations draw in bigger advertising revenues by which bigger profits can be "earned". Its second loyalty is to the captains of finance and industry in whose activities some of the Press millionaires are "interested parties". Its third loyalty is to government, in so far as it is the expression of "law and order" and the upholder of the *status quo* (which means the maintenance of a social and economic order which guarantees its privileged position and safeguards its financial stake in the system). To the public the Press owes no loyalty. When it comes out as the champion of the public the only healthy reaction is to suspect its motives and question its "facts". The "public discontent" which it supports is largely its own creation just as is the public apathy on issues that really do matter in terms of human happiness and social change.

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THE above reflections were occasioned by the main headline in Tuesday's *News Chronicle*: "Cunard to scrap *Britannic*. SEA

STRIKE DOOMS A FAMOUS LINER". The justification for this sensational five-column news item is one sentence in a statement issued by the Cunard Steamship Company announcing that the 28,000 ton liner *Britannic* is due to go to the scrapyard at the end of the current season. The decision has been "accelerated by uncertainties resulting from the unofficial crew strike which is involving the company in serious losses". The *Guardian* treats the same statement to a five-inch single column headed *BRITANNIC FOR SCRAPYARD* and a sub-head "Strike Speeds end". The *News Chronicle* headline creates the impression that it is the strike that has "doomed" the *Britannic*. The Company statement instead makes it quite clear that its decision to withdraw the liner was taken in view of her age and the consequent increasing operation costs. If the *News Chronicle* were not so rabidly against the seamen's unofficial strike, not only would it not have loaded its headlines in the way it did, but the editor should have questioned the Cunard's statement that the "decision had been accelerated" by the uncertainties, etc., and suggested instead that it was not the decision but the announcement of the decision which had been accelerated by the present strikes and for obvious reasons.

The decision to scrap the *Britannic* means that 500 members of the crew will lose their jobs at the end of the season. To suggest that but for the strike they would have kept their jobs a little longer might well create bad feeling among seamen as well as make would-be strikers think twice before joining in the strike. A free, independent Press would not publish a statement such as that issued by the Cunard

Company without asking a few pertinent questions to the Company's spokesmen, which, we think, would have revealed that the topical tie-up of their decision to scrap the ship with the current stoppage, was simply a gratuitous piece of propaganda to cause further division among the seamen as well as to work-up "public opinion" against the strikers. After all, we know that a berth was reserved for the *Britannic's* replacement some time ago and the fact that it was cancelled last year is much more an indication of uncertainty in the Company's ability to compete with air transport than in its uncertainty over personnel to man its fleet.

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WHEN seamen or other workers engaged in occupations which provide a public service strike for better wages and/or conditions the National Press lets out a terrible howl on behalf of the poor suffering public, the innocent victims of a handful of agitators who have no scruples in holding up the country

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# Beatniks and the Beat Generation—II

(Continued from previous issue)

THE very phrase 'Beat Generation' is, of course, evocative of earlier journalistic talking points. After the first World War, we had the Lost Generation of the roaring 'twenties—the generation of H. L. Mencken and Scott Fitzgerald; they gave way to the Pink Generation of the '30's and early '40's—the generation tinged with Marxism and committed to the fight against Fascism; and then, after 1945, the journalists discovered the Silent Generation. Youth, back from the wars, had had its bellyful of fighting and was sick of all the ideological clap-trap. It was eager to make up for lost time, eager to get down to the serious business of living, finding a job, raising a family. It had no time for those big awkward questions which used to trouble their elders. At the same time, American society was changing rapidly: big business and big government were getting bigger; suburbia with its neat rows of ranch-type houses, its gas-stations and supermarkets, was sprawling prodigiously; the country's capacity for creating new wealth was exceeding all records. The social ethic, too, was changing: old-fashioned individualism was at a discount; the emphasis was now all on togetherness; the inner-directed personality type with his built-in gyroscopic conscience was being replaced by the other-directed type taking his cue and opinions from his peers. All this, and more, added up in the popular mind to the spawning of a generation which put security before freedom and adventure, unquestioning conformity before questing non-conformity. The Organization Society had arrived; the young were grooming themselves to become Organization Men. They were playing it safe, they were dull, they were apathetic, they were set upon finding a niche for themselves in the organization and social hierarchies, eager to get their cut of all the new wealth that was going.

It was against some such background as this that the hipster arrived on the scene. Ginsberg let out his wild and ear-piercing *Howl*, Kerouac who had round the publishing houses since the

been hawking dog-eared manuscripts mid-40's, at last found a taker. A new and promising vein had been struck. Overnight, the Silent Generation found itself transformed into the Beat Generation. All those tight-lipped conformists, it seems, were only a front. Unbeknown to their elders, they had been slipping away after office-hours to wild parties and orgies, indulging in jazz, sex and that sort of thing. That vacation trip West to visit Uncle Ben, busy making his pile in booming California, was only an excuse for careering madly across the continent to spy out a pad in ramshackle Venice or San Francisco's North Beach. Some, like Kerouac and his pals, had even been making a full time profession of it, creating a new kind of bum in the process. Clearly, all this was mixed up with the vexatious and troubling problem of juvenile delinquency. Those kids from good homes caught pinching the neighbours' hub-caps, roaring down the super highways in their jazzed-up hot rods, or playing chicken-run on precarious cliff-tops, were only getting into training for the real thing: beatniks in the making.

I won't pursue this journalistic mixture of fantasy and reality any further. Instead I'd like to make a fresh start and along a different tack. I assume as a datum line that there has appeared on the American artistic scene in the last few years a group, mainly writers and poets, many of them known personally to each other, who constitute what is usually described as a new school. This school, like any other school, is distinguished by its style of expression, its choice of literary ancestors and heroes, the type of question it is concerned with and above all by its attitude to life—its philosophy in the broadest sense. Judging from their writings, much of which is thinly disguised biography, this philosophy is existential in the sense that it expresses a way of life actually lived by the writers concerned. How representative these writers are of their own age-group in society at large it is impossible to say. The response, aided by the publicists, has been sufficiently pronounced to have contributed to a noticeable change in public manners. The majority of young people no doubt behave as they would have behaved if the beat writers had never hit the headlines but, in certain areas at least, the fashions have been affected. The popular vocabulary has been enlarged to include words like 'dig', 'pad', 'cat' and 'chick'; among certain sets, wearing jeans, leotards, beards and long hair is 'in'; listening to jazz, poetry and poetry-jazz is the done thing; and it is fashionable to have heard of Zen Buddhism or better still to have on one's shelves a few of D. T. Susuki's works on the subject. Whether there is any more to it than this is problematical. However, it doesn't appear to be the case that the beat writers have set the dominant tone for that section of society which has long been known as Bohemia, especially those bohemians living in Greenwich Village, San Francisco and Los Angeles. If there is any firm referent for the term 'Beat Generation' it would be the up-and-coming leaders of the old Bohemia. In other words, we are dealing with a new generation in Bohemia rather than in American society at large—although in this case there may be repercussions in and for the larger society.

Having thus, I hope, cleared the ground a little, let me now turn to a brief examination of certain beat mores and attitudes, particularly their social and political attitudes.

A useful first approach, perhaps, is to see the hipster as the American version of the existentialist who appeared on the Paris Left Bank after the war. In hipsterism, as in existentialism, there is a profound suspicion that science and pure rationality do not exhaust the whole range of reality and meaningful experience. There are modes of arriving at truth, more particularly the truths by which we live, which do not depend upon the careful formulation and patient verification of logical propositions. Inside the so-called rational man which our civilisation has attempted so carefully to nurture, lie deep mysterious forces and passions which, given free rein, would lead him to the light. Affirming this, the hipster seeks to break through his rational crust to the point where he can enter into sheer existence, swinging with experience, moving in harmony with the world, digging everything, feeling everything, and finding a realm where there is no need for choice and where acceptance and rejection have no meaning. As in existentialism, so in hipsterism, there is a rejection of standards derived from the past or conceived *a priori* to experience. The hipster is not

concerned with whether men are good or bad in any conventional sense. He takes it for granted that they are both good and bad and sees them rather as each a bundle of possibilities. The first and last imperative in the beat morality, so to speak, is to do what one feels, whenever and wherever it is possible; to keep prizing open the limits of the possible for oneself, and for oneself alone because that is one's need. The rationale of this imperative is the belief that this is the only way to creative living; and the underlying assumption is that the vigorous pursuit of the possible will release in each individual constructive and not destructive forces. The hipster is thus fundamentally and wholeheartedly libertarian; man needs no appeal to authority to restrain him from himself. Unlike the existentialist, however, freedom for the hipster carries with it no burden of anxiety. He is not weighed down by the terrible problem of choice, the need to commit himself. But he does share with the existentialist a sense of the larger lunacy of our so-called rational world. He has a Nietzschean feeling for the rottenness of Western civilisation. He sees man as having crawled from the slime only to build up a nightmare world of organisations and institutions which combine to oppress his holy barbarian soul. To the beat, modern man is utterly dehumanised; subjected to terrible pressures from all sides, 20th century man has taken refuge in the farcical parade of conformity. And the price he has to pay for this refuge is an abandonment of the right to examine the self. It is only on these terms, a denial of the self, that men can continue to exist in civilised society.

The hipster's response to this situation is simple and direct: disaffiliation, dis-

engagement, withdrawal, a contracting out from the senseless organisations of orthodox society. The beats reject utterly and completely the values of the American business civilisation. They see around them a world which is dominated by the cult of 'Moneytheism' which exalts the acquisition of material possessions and denies the needs of the soul. They look at the American Way of Life documented in the pages of the glossy magazines—a life filled with stainless steel kitchens, colour-matched telephones, bigger and faster, longer and lower automobiles, super de luxe special TV sets, the latest electronic marvels, a life pregnant with the promise of unlimited luxuries—they look, they turn aside and retch. Somehow, somewhere along the line, the American dream has turned into a nightmare—Henry Miller's 'air-conditioned nightmare'. The whole reality is crazier than the craziest surrealist vision. As Lawrence Ferlinghetti gently puts it in his poem, *A Coney Island of the Mind*:

The poet's eye obscenely seeing  
sees the surface of the round world  
with its drunk rooftops  
and wooden oiseaux on clotheslines  
and its clay males and females  
with hot legs and rosebud breasts  
in rollaway beds  
and its trees full of mysteries  
and its Sunday parks and speechless  
statues  
and its America  
with its ghost towns and empty Ellis  
Islands  
and its surrealistic landscape of  
mindless prairies  
supermarket suburbs  
Steamheated cemeteries  
cinerama holy days  
and protesting cathedrals  
a kissproof world of plastic toiletseats  
tampax and taxis  
drugged store cowboys and las vegas  
virgins

disowned indians and cinemad  
matrons  
unroman senators and conscientious  
non-objectors  
and all the other fatal shorn-up  
fragments  
Of the immigrant's dream come too  
true  
and mislaid  
among the sunbathers.

Born into the 'neon wilderness' of modern America, the beats have turned their backs on moneytheism and all its works and ways. They have retired from the ubiquitous rat race of American life. They have decided, in the words of Nelson Algren, that 'It is better to be out than in. Better to be on the lam than on the cover of *Time* magazine.' Their sense of alienation from the mainstream of life around them is complete. Their answer to all the talk of the New Prosperity is the ideal and practice of the New Poverty. They are beat in the sense of down and out, but beat not because they lack the ability to be up and in. Their poverty is a voluntary poverty, freely chosen in the conviction that the slums of the poor, rather than the suburbs of the prosperous, are the places to lead the new life. They know, as the down-trodden poor, the improvident, the misfits and the failures do not know, that poverty has been and still is an honourable word. And they choose poverty and revere it because in a society run by squares it is for them the only choice. They are not tempted by the rich rewards offered them if only they would conform. They know that the rewards are illusory and their price too high. As one beat writer said to the square who offered him a job in advertising; 'I'll scrub your floors and carry out your slops to make a living, but I will not lie for you, pimp for you, or rat for you.'

(To be concluded)

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## BOOK REVIEW

# Hope in Asia?

THE CHALLENGE OF ASIA,  
by Ralph Borsodi, Melbourne  
University Press, 10s.

THE title of this book is a little misleading. It is not so much a description of Asia "challenging" Europe, but rather an account of the Europeanisation of Asia. After a tour of the Eastern countries, the author writes: "Asia, as Gandhi had the vision to see, had a contribution to make to the development of an adequate philosophy of life. But not even Gandhi was wise enough to see that Nationalism was poison; that the resort to Nationalism as a means of escaping from Colonialism was like jumping into the frying pan in order to escape the fire."

"To the disillusioning report about my survey of ideas, ideals and ideologies; to my report that Asia will not save liberty, Russia will not provide peace, America will not abolish poverty, I have to add: *There is hope for mankind in the East, as there is also hope for mankind in the West*, but it will not be found in the ideas to which both the leaders and the teachers of New Asia and of the West are now devoting themselves."

"Hope exists, but it exists only in ideas and in values which both the leaders and the teachers of the whole world are neglecting."

The author, who is the Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, Florida, deals with the various ideals of modern Asia, anti-colonialism, nationalism, industrial urbanism and parliamentary democracy. Just as African women hideously straighten their hair, instead of leaving it in its natural charming fuzz, in order to look like European women, so Asia rejects its own past, Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism and Hinduism, in order to adopt the ideals of their former conquerors. These ideals have not worked in Europe. It is very dubious if the Europeans, judging by their record, are yet fit to govern themselves. Yet, for all that, Asia turns its back on Gandhi, and embraces the West. It is an ironical situation for peoples who repudiate colonialism.

But after all, what is Asia, what is Europe? We must clarify our concepts, otherwise these terms simply become abstractions, with no clear meaning. We are aware that there is a difference between Europe and Asia. Where does the difference lie?

Ralph Borsodi speaks in terms of "isms", clumsy and ugly expressions, but ones that are difficult to avoid.

He lists the things that are characteristic of Asianism as, Familism and Villagism, and the ideals that go with them, Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. Then he deals with what he calls

Semitism, the group of creeds which cover the Middle East, the Near East and the whole of Europe and the Americas. These creeds are Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Next he deals with Westernism, trying to isolate those elements that constitute the specifically Western or European philosophy and attitude to life and distinguish it from the traditional East. They are Paganism, Capitalism and Communism.

On the globe Europe appears as merely a peninsula to Asia. Yet for a long time it has had a consciousness of its separateness. To the Greeks, Asia meant the coast of Asia Minor. Beyond that lived the barbarians, Persians and suchlike. However I do not suppose they had much sense of kinship with the Gauls and other barbarians of the West. In those remote times a man might journey from Ireland to India and everywhere find much the same sort of society. The same goddesses and gods, under different names, the same taboos, the same village communities, the same way of life in all essentials. In those days it would be correct to say that there was no "Europe" as opposed to "Asia".

Europe was united under Rome, and modern people are inclined to see in the Roman Empire, with its ideas of discipline, order and the rule of law, something specifically European. But there have been well organised empires in the East as well. There is another ingredient in "Europeanism". This is "Christianity", a fierce and morbid creed that has little to do with the teachings of Jesus Christ and much to do with those of Moses and St. Paul. In spite of its Asian origin it has never had much success in Eastern countries, perhaps because of its intolerance.

With its own religion, its own ideal of "Christendom", Europe achieves self-consciousness. Its science it takes from the Moslem world, but it is driven by a diabolical energy, perhaps due to the frustrations and guilt produced by "Christianity", first in its Catholic and then in its Protestant form. In the Protestant countries scientific knowledge leads to industrialism, which now makes it possible for the whole world to be conquered.

And now we see the ultimate consequences of this great raid of plunder and conquest that Europe has made on the rest of the world. Europe is in decline. Its religion is in decay. But its secular ideas are triumphant everywhere. Its industrialism, its materialism, its political theories are being taken up in every country. China is a new totalitarian empire. India preserves the traditions of the British Raj—and its brutalities.

Japan is a new Germany. Africa is rapidly becoming a new South America.

But there have always been plenty of Europeans, mutineers in the fore-castle of the Great White Ship, who have never supported this raid, never wanted to be on this expedition at all. To them the beliefs of Asia have always appealed.

Concerning Buddhism, Ralph Borsodi has this to say:

"Buddhism of this kind is on our side—if by our side we mean the side of liberty, of toleration, of justice, of humanity, and of peace. Its realistic pessimism; its gentle metaphysics; its emphasis upon the meditative life, we do not need personally to accept or to practise if we already have an equally acceptable religion or philosophy of life. But its middle way of living we might not only encourage but personally adopt. If the West were to adopt it to any great extent, it would have to temper its aggressive belief in the virtues of a higher and higher material standard of living. That, however, would not be a loss but a gain. The fact is that whether viewed from the standpoint of eternity or that of the immediate crisis of the world, a real consideration of Buddhism and the other great religions of Asia is one of the most challenging things which Asia today has to offer us."

In the latter part of the book the author goes on to discuss, from a very libertarian point of view, such questions as utopianism, the nature of government, violence and coercion. He believes in a new form of education for living.

"1. It considers knowledge . . . as mere raw material to be used for the purpose of establishing rational beliefs . . . a humane basis for good and beautiful living."

"2. Such education is axiological and teleological and not technical in content. It puts ends first and relegates means to their proper role. It insists that technical training without consideration for the goals of a good life, simply produces more and more skilled barbarians. . . ."

"3. Finally, the kind of education which we have so completely neglected in our schools and which alone can save us, is intellectual in form but emotive in effects. It not only enlightens, it also enlivens. It not only adds to our knowledge; it must move us to implement what we discover is the right way to act and the right way to live. It is with such a central course in education that we are experimenting at the University of Melbourne. Given such a course, and our fragmented . . . education could be integrated. . . ."

There is no quick solution. Certainly revolution is not the answer. If the world is to be saved from disaster it will only be through the development of integrated individuals.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

## Press & Strikers

Continued from p. 1

to ransom. But when for instance the Cunard Company decides to scrap a ship because the operating costs are too high to bring in a profit, and for considerations of profit decides not to replace that ship, that same Press does not protest in the name of the long-suffering public that the Company has no right to withdraw a public service unless it provides an equivalent alternative. It sheds no crocodile tears for the seamen who will be put out of work. Its approach is the same practical one which it applies to its own operation as a newspaper. The purpose of being in business, whether it is to produce a newspaper or to provide transport across the Atlantic, is to make money, and it is against all the basic tenets of business as well as of common sense, to carry on at a loss, or at least to do so if there is no chance of converting that loss into a profit in a foreseeable future.

We accept such an argument as logical and as no more than we would expect. What we find illogical but not surprising, is that the National Press and the industrial tycoons expect that workers should be much more concerned with the welfare of the community than in the size of their pay packets at the end of the week! For quite different reasons we think they should, but we are not surprised that they don't.



WE are anarchist propagandists not because we have a blueprint for universal happiness which we dream of forcing down the unwilling throats of our fellow-beings, but because we seek for ourselves a way of life which does not constrain others to follow our road, but which at the same time denies to others, be they scientific supermen, philosophers or politicians, the right to determine for us what our road shall be. We believe that a majority of thinking people would agree with us. Hence our interest in stimulating independent thinking; hence our interest in persuading people to question the values which today govern behaviour and human relations.

Today the possibility of social change is so small because that majority section of the community, the wage earners, who would most benefit by such a change have failed to realise where their real interests lie. To seek to improve their material lot within the framework of the existing economic set-up is an essential aspect of the struggle. But in making it an end in itself, far from lifting themselves out of the frustrating situation of being in another's employ, they simply condemn themselves permanently to such a role. It is for this reason that we were saying earlier that we think workers should be more concerned with the welfare of the community than with the size of their wage packet, because once they start thinking in terms of community they will look upon the fatness of the wage packet as a short-term tactic, and its abolition as the goal.



THE situation of social inferiority in which a worker finds himself in a country such as Britain, where relatively speaking the standard of living is high, has been demonstrated in connection with the seamen's

# Sacco and Vanzetti—August 23, 1927

## EMPTY JUSTICE

THE case of Sacco and Vanzetti has many anniversaries, from May 5th, 1920 when they were arrested till August 23rd, 1927, when they were executed, but they must have died many times after their manifold motions were rejected. When is the anniversary of when man was first persecuted by the state? When is the anniversary of the institution of human laws (which in the words of Kathleen Millay on Sacco and Vanzetti) "kill as surely as water flows."?

Sacco (a good shoemaker) was born in Torremaggiore, Italy in 1891; Vanzetti (a poor fish-peddler) was born in Villafalletto in 1888. He was a fervent Catholic in his youth but his seeking after truth led him to atheism and anarchism. In 1908 the independent paths of the two directed them to the U.S.A., towards work and a better life. Sacco carried on his trade as a pastry cook but found in New York that he was being exploited by employment agencies and went to Massachusetts in 1913. Here he met Sacco who had become a highly skilled shoe-worker. Vanzetti was associated with a cordage-plant strike at Plymouth (Mass.) in 1916 and was consequently black-listed.

In 1917 Sacco and Vanzetti went to Mexico to avoid the draft. This in fact was the offence which rankled most with the jury and judge at their subsequent trials. One may hazard that it was for these things they were condemned to die on August 23rd, 1927.

The background of history was a surer indication of the prejudices and presumptions which condemned Sacco and Vanzetti than the limping facts of the evidence against them.

In 1917 Wilson was President on his pledge of "having kept America out of war". In 1917 Congress (at war) passed

strike. Seamen who have refused to obey the Master's orders to get ready to sail, because they supported the strike action, have been jailed or fined under the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894!

We passionately believe in a man's word being his bond. Indeed we believe that only by scrapping all the signed and sealed documents by which men now conduct their affairs, will a true sense of responsibility grow between men, because only then will an agreement be respected freely and not through fear of the repercussions of the Law. An agreement made between equals respects the freedom and the interests of all parties. There is no equality between a boss and a worker. (To say, for instance, that both work to earn a living is to overlook the very important fact that whereas the former is in a position to dismiss or employ the latter, a worker has only the power to withhold his labour, and in periods of recession he can do this only at the price of privations for himself and his dependents. In spite of the losses which the shipping companies will suffer as a result of the seamen's strike, the directors will continue to receive their salaries in full; which is more than the striking seamen will be able to say of their wages!).

And because the contracts signed between bosses and employees are not contracts between equals, they are, in our opinion signed under duress, which no society, other than one whose rules favoured privilege and inequality, could accept as binding. We have no hesitation in taking the view that workers should break the contracts they have made with their bosses, while at the same time demanding that the bosses should respect theirs. Workers make contracts with the boss out of weakness. If they were strong (if they only realised that they are strong!) they would make no contracts with them. They would take over for themselves, for the community. They are the community; when will they realise this simple fact?

the Espionage Act. The only two prosecutions under that act were of Eugene Debs and Victor Berger, the Socialist member of Congress.

The I.W.W. have published their history *The Bloodstained Trail*, aptly named. On November 11th, 1919, one of the most bloodstained chapters took place. The American Legion on Armistice Day parade raided the I.W.W. hall in Centralia, took away Wesley Everest, one of the I.W.W. organizers and hanged and castrated him. The police then took into custody members of the I.W.W. and put them on trial!

In April and June 1919, a series of bomb incidents took place. So-called 'bombs' were mailed to prominent people timed it is said to coincide with 'May Day' and the revolutionary outbreak which was due to commence then. Bomb 'incidents' are the most easily faked type of provocation. The bomb does not even have to explode it merely has to be discovered after having been planted and the incident is made. It is possible that there may have been some hot-headed devotee of dynamite amongst all this panic but there was provocation enough.

The Attorney General of the United States at this time was a Quaker, A. Mitchell Palmer. Now U.S. Quakers, as witness Herbert Hoover and Richard Nixon, are different from their British co-religionists but have a united conviction that God has told them what to do. A. Mitchell Palmer's inner voice had told him to persecute aliens and reds and this he proceeded to do.

In October, 1918, the U.S. Congress, drunk with war-fever, passed the Deportation Act providing for the deportation of alien anarchists and aliens who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the United States government, or who are members of any organization that advocates the overthrow of government by force. Sucked into the vortex of this whirlpool of righteous legality were Alex Berkman and Emma Goldman, Robert Elia and Andrea Salsedo, and Sacco and Vanzetti.

Louis F. Post (erstwhile apostle of Henry George), was Assistant Secretary of Labour from 1913-1921 and was administering this Act. His book *The Deportations Delirium of the Nineteen-Twenties* sums up the atmosphere in his title. Post excuses his own part in all the raids and deportations by pointing

out that he was acting perfectly legally in deporting 249 aliens in the *Buford* (called "The Soviet Ark"). It was Mitchell Palmer who was responsible for the destructive raids, the beatings up, the imprisonments, the third degrees, the breaking-up of families, the innumerable violations of constitutional rights which furnished the passengers for the Soviet Ark.

In February 1920, after the *Buford* had sailed for Russia, Robert Elia and Andrea Salsedo, who were both anarchists, were recommended for deportation but the Department of Justice were (illegally, as Post accuses) holding Salsedo for his suspected complicity in bombing plots. He was a friend of Vanzetti's.

The violence of the radicals and the bomb-plots was not the only hangover of the officially sanctioned violence of 1914-18 that the United States was suffering from. In New York, Alphonse Brown Clater, known as Al Capone) was looking for a trade where his war-acquired talent as a machine-gunner could be employed. Lesser men than he turned to cruder, less-efficient, smaller scale violence. One such incident took place in Bridgewater, Massachusetts on Christmas Eve, 1919. It passed without comment at the time, for it was an unsuccessful attempt to snatch a payroll and the bandits were foiled by the intervention of a passing streetcar and made their getaway after firing two shots.

On April 15th, a second, but successful payroll robbery took place at Braintree, Massachusetts. \$16,000 was stolen by five 'foreigners' and two guards were shot dead.

Eleven days later Vanzetti travelled from Boston to New York to find out what had happened to his friend Salsedo. He returned to Boston without having found out. He was not long in doubt for on May 3rd, the body of Salsedo crashed down from a fourteen storey building on Park Row, New York, where he had been held by Department of Justice agents since February. After this, Elia was hustled to Ellis Island for deportation.

Sacco and Vanzetti started upon their second course of crime. They took pathetic ineffectual steps to see that they would not be deported or arrested and tortured. Sacco, it was true, was preparing to return to Italy (and on April 15th was in Boston arranging about his

passport), but he wanted to go with his family and in his own time. With reckless bravado they both armed themselves (Sacco had a gun for his night watch duties) and set about hiring a car to dispose of, and disperse, large quantities of revolutionary literature which Vanzetti peddled. They also arranged a Protest Rally at Brockton on April 9th, about Salsedo, and leaflets were distributed to the Italian population. This demonstration and the bungling negotiations for a car seems to have aroused the dormant intelligence and suspicions of the Boston Police for they were arrested (complete with guns) on a Boston street-car on May 5th, 1920, for the attempted robbery at Bridgewater.

THUS commenced the seven-year *cause celebre* which dragged its legal way through six motions for a new trial, three appeals on motions, one motion based on a doubtful confession, one petition for clemency, an advisory committee, one motion on judicial prejudice, one attempt to bring prejudice before Supreme Court and one attempt to bring prejudice issue before Federal Court, the whole accompanied by a ceaseless barrage of publicity, propaganda, meetings and literature world-wide in scope and repercussions. But on August 23rd, 1927, they died in the chair.

To simplify a very complex case, one could say it was a frame-up and Sacco and Vanzetti were martyrs in the class struggle but that is too simple for the complex of events which led to their deaths.

Taking the two crimes as such we can accept the viewpoint of an underworld character who, taking a simple view (in *Outlook* magazine, October 31st, 1928), said it was impossible that the two crimes were committed by the same gang. The Bridgewater job was an amateur performance, Braintree was professional. (Indeed the magazine gives a confession of one Frank Silva of the Bridgewater crime which substantiates this). Secondly, who has ever heard of the police being content with the arrest of two of a hold-up gang. Given two accomplices, he claims, the police can always, by lies, intimidation and promises wheedle out the names of the others, somebody can go 'State's' and get the whole crowd. Thirdly, the underworld critic asks, "What happened to the money?" It is possible with the wild assumption that Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty that some voracious Press Fund (indeed Vanzetti was collecting for an anarchist printing-press) could have swallowed \$16,000 in its maw but the police had not, and indeed were content

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## Marching

THE chief practitioners of marching are soldiers. Normal people walk, or if they are in a hurry, run. No-one, however, can imagine a very large number of soldiers getting together and simply walking from one place to another. It is not impressive.

Soldiers have to look as if they are under someone's orders. The population of an occupied country has to be shown quite clearly that, just as these men all put their left foot forward at the sergeant's command, so they will shoot and destroy without a murmur of disobedience. The civilians of the home country have to be reassured that the same spirit of abnegation will lead them men to give up their lives cheerfully in their supposed defence.

Besides that, marching makes the individual feel under the thumb of his commander, and makes it very important not to be the one out of step.

It seems strange that within the last few years, the peace movement has taken so completely to the idea of marching. Of course, the spirit and organisation of the marches are entirely different. Ragged groups of bohemians, dropping out to sit by the roadside to rest their feet, amiably chatting controversialists laughing over anecdotes told against the next group, replace the columns of disciplined soldiers. The peace marchers chaff their marshals good-naturedly, while the privates curse the corporals outside their hearing.

What is the point of marching? Some of the participants seem to be pretty firmly convinced that it will bring concrete benefits. "It should make the public think, when they see that so many people have given up their Easter holiday and spent it marching", was a familiar remark on the road between London

and Aldermaston. Many well-wishers among the spectators wished marchers "The best of luck", so there must have been some object which might have been attained. A spokesman of the Northern Ireland Labour Party, which supports nuclear disarmament (note for budding anarchist theorists: the Labour Party is of negligible importance in the Ulster Parliament), said that his party were supporting a group which intended to "go on marching until there is not a single bullet left". It almost seemed from that remark that the amount of disarmament was proportional to the amount of marching. If that were so it would open a field for individual contributions, with a definite exchange rate in terms of man-miles and types of armament.

There are various possible antecedents for the anti-bomb march. Firstly, the political rebellion. When Wat Tyler roused the peasants of Kent their idea was to march on London and drive out the oppressive government. The purpose of the march was to gather strength from the surrounding countryside as it passed through, and there is some evidence that that did happen to a certain degree on the Aldermaston road.

Secondly, the pilgrimage. Most pilgrims travel to the shrine of a beloved saint, but it is plausible to consider a pilgrimage to the temple of an evil god to propitiate his wrath.

Thirdly, the humble petition to the king: "We, humble and obedient servants of your Majesty, are desirous of drawing his attention to diverse abuses perpetrated in His realm. . . . We can only believe our king will permit such things if he is ignorant of them."

Lastly, the symbolic lynch mob. Quite a large proportion of marchers, on

arriving at a rocket base, must be seized by, the thought "If only we had the guts, we could burn the place to the ground!" In other words, they want to take the law into their own hands instead of having it doled out by police and judges.

Perhaps all peace marches have something of all four of these elements, be sides the one which they publicly declare, that of gaining publicity for the cause. The choice of terminal points and the rites performed give some clue.

Aldermaston, Foulness and Brize Norton are macabre shrines, but if there were enough of us . . . perhaps one day . . . London has been the end of the last two Aldermaston marches "because it is the centre of political power", and presumably that is why the Danish Campaign against Atomic Weapons is arranging a march from Holbaek to Copenhagen in October. The legal and non-revolutionary character of a march can always be emphasised by a formal petition. An all-Europe march is being prepared for next Easter, visiting London, Paris, Bonn, Berlin, Warsaw, Moscow, Helsinki and Stockholm. Will it direct its appeal to the governments or the peoples? Also this Autumn, the Centre for Non-Violence in Perugia is organising a march from Perugia to Assisi, as a demonstration of human brotherhood. German movements also march on rocket bases.

Is there really any point in it? The big marches do certainly bring the questions they discuss into the limelight, but that is not quite the same thing as making converts. There is some evidence that politicians alter their tacks to suit the currents of opinion expressed. With a little imagination the participants can feel that they are doing good for the cause, and it is good fun, and one can sell a fair amount of literature without too much effort. But what is the point of marching?

P.H.

# SACCO AND VANZETTI

Continued from p. 3

not to bother, to trace the money.

This practical approach seems sufficient to acquit Sacco and Vanzetti. As to who did it, the pathetic confession of Medeiros, himself executed at the same time can be taken as proof of the effect of the anarchists upon an ordinary criminal rather than as a serious contribution. It is highly probable that it was the work of the Morelli gang.

The crimes and arrests were the occasion of the fusing of the elements which showed justice the empty mockery it has always been. Sacco and Vanzetti were not martyrs in the usual sense of the word. The whole of mankind is martyred on the same diabolical wheel of law and government.

Sacco and Vanzetti fought all the way and in fighting, was their triumph. Even a hunger strike and Vanzetti's lapse into and emergence from insanity was part of their struggle.

Sacco's last words:

"I wish to forgive some people for what they are doing to me", is far removed from the all-forgiving saints which some would make them. These words, omitted entirely in Howard Fast's novel and with the word "some" omitted recently in *The Catholic Worker*, repudiate any claims to saints and martyrs.

ing were not denied by the defence. This is laughable in view of the contradictions of prosecuting witnesses and in view of the fact that Sacco and Vanzetti's whole case was that they were not there! Technical evidence was shown to be able to be interpreted for any side and witnesses were moved by prejudice, desire for publicity, and greed.

It will not be denied that anarchists have been guilty of crimes of violence and expropriation, of murder and of theft, but Sacco and Vanzetti were not by all evidence the philosophical or psychological types to go in for 'individual acts' were it chronologically possible for them to have committed such wildly dissimilar deeds as the Braintree and Bridgewater crimes. The one committed without a heart, the other attempted without a head. The motive was lacking, there was no desperate need of funds, and the time was not one for reckless demonstrations.

It has been said that the Sacco-Vanzetti case is a miscarriage of justice comparable to the Dreyfus Case, the Rosenberg Case and the Chessman Case. The Sacco-Vanzetti Case is distinguish-

ed from the others in that Sacco and Vanzetti understood what had happened to them. Dreyfus was rather narrow-minded and never knew what hit him. (That he never learned is borne out by the fact that he is reported to have said of the behaviour of a fellow officer suspected of espionage ("There's no smoke without fire"). The Rosenbergs miscarriage of justice was the device of retrospective punishment. The offence they committed, and there was no reason why they shouldn't, was not punishable at the time, certainly not by death.

The Chessman case had no political overtones. It is possible that he was guilty but nevertheless what emerged was the futility of the death penalty for the Chessman who was executed was not the same man as the Chessman who was convicted.

All cases show the evil of the death penalty which added to human fallibility and prejudice operating a crude legal system produce nothing else but miscarriages and abortions. Those who speak of a 'miscarriage of justice' would expect a cow to give birth to a pony.

GIVEN the background of the period it is possible that the penalty the State wished to impose on Sacco and

Vanzetti originally was deportation and that the Bridgewater crime was pinned on to them as an excuse. Local prejudice, the stupidity of Thayer, the ineptness of the defence, the viciousness of Katzmann and the alibi of Sacco made it necessary to go higher and try them for the Braintree murders. The steadfastness of Sacco and Vanzetti, all the other factors plus "a previous conviction" made the second conviction certain. The vicious spiral of public opinion and private prejudice fortified Webb Thayer into his self-appointed missions of saviour of democracy from the Red Menace.

On the defence side there were mistakes. It has been charged (in "Road to Freedom", August 1929) that the Communists used the agitation of the case for their own particular party purpose and built up Sacco and Vanzetti (as Howard Fast does) as orthodox Party members, skimming over their anti-union and anarchist beliefs. There were quarrels in the defence committees. At one time there was talk of employing Clarence Darrow for the defence but then it was doubtful if even he could with the odds stacked so heavily against have changed the flow of the tide.

As Norman Thomas di Giovanni has

pointed out (in *The Nation*, N.Y. reprinted in *FREEDOM* not only has there case found a literary revival but there has been some attempt at a rehabilitation. I do not know what happened to a similar attempt to rehabilitate the witches of Massachusetts, victims of a similar spleen but the loyalty of states to their mistakes is notorious.

It is significant that Reginald Rose, the author of the Sacco-Vanzetti TV script was also the author of *Twelve Angry Men*, a telling criticism of the whole judicial system. (The final twist to the TV tale is given by the fact that the programme was sponsored by Purex, which, the U.S. Information Department tells me, is a detergent! Perhaps they will come clean yet!).

But the last words in this case rest with Vanzetti in his statement to the court before sentence of death was passed:

"If it had not been for these things, I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have died unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in all our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as we now do by accident. Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler—all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph."

JACK ROBINSON.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

### A Reader Explains Why . . .

To the Publishers, Freedom Press.

This is to inform you that I do not wish to receive the paper *FREEDOM* any more. In case you might think that it is simply the cost which prevents me from renewing my subscription, I must explain that my reason is that I dislike the tone and content of many of the articles which you publish in your paper. Although I sympathise with many anarchist ideas and have subscribed to *FREEDOM* for several years, I have decided that I can no longer conscientiously support a paper with whose policy, or policies, I disagree strongly on several important issues.

Firstly, I do not like the anarchist attitude of indiscriminate condemnation of Christianity. Although you have occasionally published grudging praise of such modern "saints" as Danilo Dolci and Michael Scott, you do not sufficiently distinguish between those who merely call themselves Christians and those who follow Christ. The Church has been, and still is, responsible for many evils perpetrated in the name of Christ, has waged wars in the name of the Prince of Peace and preached hatred in the name of the God of Love, but there are many followers of Jesus within the Church who are working to bring Christians back to Christ. They have not had much success, you may say, but by your irreconcilable anti-religious attitude you are antagonising many Christians who have an anarchistic view of governments and society. It seems to me that you are still fighting the 19th century "ape and angel" battle.

Secondly, as a pacifist I cannot accept your condoning of violence as a justifiable political weapon. When David Pratt attempted to kill Verwoerd, it was a natural reaction for people who are opposed to apartheid to think that it was a pity he did not succeed in his attempt. I do not claim to be an absolute pacifist, and I have considered the case for tyrannicide, but when I consider the practical issues of a particular case

such as this, I believe that the successful assassination of Verwoerd would have caused more harm than good. Verwoerd is not the only Boer politician who believes in White supremacy, and if he had been killed, he would probably have been succeeded by a colleague who could have imposed even more draconian "emergency" measures than those already in force. It is almost a truism to say that violence begets violence, but you must consider that the assassin and his victim are not the only ones to suffer. Unless, of course, you want to provoke the tyrannous power to take savage reprisals which will in turn provoke a mass uprising of the oppressed, with the inevitable bloodshed and suffering of innocent people. And if you do not care about the individual and think of people as abstractions, you will fall into the same error as the Bolsheviks who for forty-three years have been telling the masses that they must endure hardship and suffering for the sake of the future happiness of mankind. You may choose martyrdom for yourself, but you have no right to do any violent act which will force martyrdom on others.

Your attitude of approval for violence reveals a serious lack of charity for the victims of violence. One of your writers said that you have no sympathy with the Belgian refugees from the Congo (in *FREEDOM*, July 23rd). This illustrates perfectly his inability, or perhaps your

inability, since he writes in the first person plural, to consider these people as individuals. You are prepared to condemn them all, in mass, without any pity for anyone. It is true that many settlers are arrogant and cruel in their attitude to the Africans and that many Belgian businessmen have taken huge fortunes out of the Congo, but that gives you no right to withhold your sympathy from those people, innocent as well as the guilty, and including children, who have suffered atrociously at the hands of Congolese rioters. In your sweeping condemnation of all the Europeans in the Congo, you are revealing the fact that basically you have the same attitude as those extremist white settlers who say that all natives are vicious or lazy.

Or do you mean to imply that the Belgians who have fled from the Congo are the guilty ones, and that those who have no reason to fear personal revenge should have stayed behind? But mobs do not usually distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. Many heroic missionaries and doctors and others have remained at their posts, but as I said before, you have no right to demand that other people should face the risk of martyrdom, and to blame those who do not wish to be martyrs themselves or to place their families in jeopardy. As for the cartoon in *FREEDOM* of July 23rd, I was literally disgusted by it. Coming at the same time as reports of raping and beating-up, which even responsible, liberal papers considered important, your cartoon was in extremely bad taste, although I do not suppose that you bother about taste. But I have often noticed that your cartoonist's efforts resemble the *Daily Worker* cartoons in their crudity and naiveté.

I do not expect this letter to have any influence on you, collectively or individually, even if you have the patience to read it through, but having supported *FREEDOM* for several years, I thought that I owe it to you to offer some explanation of my opinions and of my reasons for not wanting to subscribe to it any longer.

Yours, more in sorrow than in anger,  
London, Aug. 9. MARTIN SMITH.

### The Last U.L.?

THE UNIVERSITY LIBERTARIAN, No. 11, Summer 1960, 1 shilling.

THE new number of the *UL*, which again threatens to be the last, since "there is no prospect that we shall be able to undertake an issue after this one failing a considerable increase in sales or donations or both", contains an essay on the scientific attitude, "The Heart of a Scientist", by Grey Walter, of the Burden Neurological Institute, Bristol, an anti-military poem by Paul de Mille—also of Bristol—he is the student from the university there, who on publishing a magazine called *Anacrap* at the beginning of the year, was 'shopped' by his fellow students and was told by the university authorities that he could either cease to publish his magazine or get out. There is the concluding portion of Mihal mac an Bhaird's study of Existentialism and Sartre, a note on Yoti Lane's *The Psychology of the Actor*, and a short story by Bernard Raymond.

But the best contributions, and the ones best suited to a magazine of this character, are two personal narratives, "Administering Africans" by R. J. Westall and "Serving the Nation" by Arthur Freeman. Most of us have never been Learner District Assistants in the Provincial Administration in Northern Rhodesia, or Radio Telephonist/Direction Finders on Russian Courses in the R.A.F., and these straightforward accounts of the experiences are full of interest, both of them telling us much that the newspapers leave out.

The *UL* is obtainable from 3 Henrietta Street, London, W.C.2., or from Freedom Bookshop.

## FREEDOM PRESS

### SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

- Vol. 1, 1951, *Mankind is One*
- Vol. 2, 1952, *Postscript to Posterity*
- Vol. 3, 1953, *Colonialism on Trial*
- Vol. 4, 1954, *Living on a Volcano*
- Vol. 5, 1955, *The Immoral Moralists*
- Vol. 6, 1956, *Oil and Troubled Waters*
- Vol. 7, 1957, *Year One—Sputnik Era*
- Vol. 8, 1958, *Socialism in a Wheelchair*
- Vol. 9, 1959, *Print, Press & Public*

The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of *FREEDOM* at 5/- a copy

PAUL ELTZBACHER : *Anarchism (Seven Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy)* cloth 21s.

ERRICO MALATESTA : *Anarchy* 9d.

V. RICHARDS : *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* 6s.

VOLINE : *Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed)* cloth 12s. 6d. *The Unknown Revolution (Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21)* cloth 12s. 6d.

GEORGE WOODCOCK : *New Life to the Land* 6d. *Homes orhovels?* 6d. *Railways and Society* 3d.

JOHN HEWETSON : *Ill-Health, Poverty and the State* cloth 2s. 6d., paper 1s.

Marie-Louise Berneri Memorial Committee publications : *Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A Tribute* cloth 5s. *Journey Through Utopia* cloth 18s. (U.S.A. \$3)

27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

## THANKS!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!  
WEEK 33  
Deficit on *Freedom* £660  
Contributions received £574  
DEFICIT £86

August 5 to August 11

London: M.T. 6/-; London: Anon. 1/3;  
London: C.F. £1/0/0; London: P. & G.T.\* 2/6; London: J.S.\* 3/-; Norwich: V.R. 4/6; Hove: A.R. 5/-; Los Gatos: C.S. £3/8/6; Leeds: G.L.\* 1/-; Solihull: K.P.D. 5/6; Prestatyn: C.S. 10/6; Sutton: Anon. £1/0/0; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.\* 4/-; Los Gatos: per Osmar, Part proceeds Picnic, Aug. 7, £35/0/0; A.L. 14/-; Surrey: F.B.\* 5/-; London: W.H.T. 2/6.

Total ... 43 13 3  
Previously acknowledged ... 531 2 11  
1960 TOTAL TO DATE ... £574 16 2

GIFT OF BOOKS: Tunbridge Wells: A.W.U.

\*Indicates regular contributor.

## 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)

at 7.30 p.m.

All Welcome.

ANG. 21.—Hem Day (Brussels) in French with translation NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE AND DIRECT ACTION

AUG. 28.—Ian Dixon on THE CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE

### 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.

### L.A.G. JAZZ GROUP

Record Recital at

37 Old Compton Street, W.1.

Friday, September 2nd at 7.30 p.m.

JACK STEVENSON

on

LOUIS ARMSTRONG (Part I).

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