

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"When we take man as he is, we make him worse; but when we take man as if he were already what he should be, we promote him to what he can be."
—GOETHE

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Threepence

THE CITY SALVES ITS CONSCIENCE—ON THE CHEAP

LAST week there was a great banner stretched right across the imposing entrance to the Stock Exchange in the City of London—the centre of Britain's commerce, starting point of booms, slumps, scares and crises and dictator of our standards of living and dying.

The City, it seems, was celebrating its very own Refugee Week. Through the auspices and with the help (presumably the Stock Exchange could not afford to mount and show alone) of that well-known humanitarian journal, the *Daily Telegraph*, an exhibition was organised within the holy precincts of the Exchange itself, showing the denizens of one of the wealthiest stretches of the world just what it is like to live as a refugee.

City gents are obviously very impressed and concerned with the problem, and are no doubt patriotically proud of the fact that the idea of holding a World Refugee Year first came from this country. The same City gents are probably also very proud of the many contributions they have made for the provision of refugees in the first place.

If it were not for the hard work put in over many years by these solid citizens who are so very much the backbone of our country, there might even have been a shortage of refugees in 1959. As it is they can be counted in hundreds of thousands in camps all over the civilised world, and if we add the numbers of persons (are they persons? Can't we just think of them as numbers?) who have gone through these camps and are now living in exile among strangers in countries far from their own, then the count gets up into

millions and millions.

Astronomical figures, of course, are nothing strange in the City. With share values at an all-time high, holdings by the City gents and their clients can be expressed in figures only comparable to the distance between the earth and the sun.

It should follow therefore, that the City would express its pride in the very healthy refugee situation, for which it can bear so much of the credit, by setting its target for the week's collection at a sum which would bear, in pounds sterling, at least some close relationship to the numbers of refugees in say, Hong Kong, or the Middle East, or some other area where British finance has for long had handsome pickings.

But what in fact is the target for the City? It is £100,000! This is exactly half the amount involved in one little deal which was discussed at the Tribunal of inquiry into the Bank Rate leak two years ago—a deal which, you may remember, was put through by the lifting of a telephone after the Stock Exchange had closed one afternoon.

We mention the Bank Rate leak Tribunal not because we want to stir up dirty water about the City (perish the thought!) but because it provided us *hoi-polloi* with practically our only glimpse into the working of the Old Pals' Act in the City and how it affects the national economy and the fantastic figures

involved and how it all pays off so handsomely. At that period one firm attempted to unload £2,000,000 worth of gilt-edged shares, sold about three-quarters of them and a few days later bought back £500,000 worth and made themselves a profit of £32,000! And the difficulty of the Tribunal investigating these business deals was precisely due to the fact that these sort of transactions were not so unusual as to point unerringly to a misuse of information by a director of the Bank of England!

The City of London sets as its target for the relief of the World's refugees a figure only three times what one firm made in one week in 1957 by selling and buying shares. And even this figure is not coming from the over-loaded coffers of the syndicates of bankers, brokers and underwriters who operate this whole filthy business. Outside shops and offices there are bins and collecting boxes for passers-by and humble office workers to drop in their contributions. If by these means the target is reached, the bowler-hatted vultures who buy and sell the bones and blood of others, whose activities are responsible for war and waste and so many of the tensions and conflicts which create refugees in their countless streams of misery, these respectable thieves and legal murderers will have their consciences quieted—on the cheap.

Krupp's Empire

ALFRED KRUPP, controller of a £200 million industrial empire, is no ordinary twentieth century capitalist.

Although these days his workers are well cared for and are reputed to be the most loyal in the world, during and before the last World War, Krupp was among the largest individual employers of slave labour in modern times.

The Americans sentenced him to 12 years imprisonment for war crimes committed by the Krupp firm—Britain refused to take part in the trial—and in common with other large German industrialists Krupp was ordered to sell "a major part of his steel and coal holdings" under the Allied "deconcentration laws".

Last January the five-year period granted for the sale expired, and the mixed German-Allied commission appointed to study the Krupp case granted him another year's extension. Now a further year has been given by the commission who also report to the allies that:

"... it is useless trying to enforce the sale".

The commission recommends that Krupp be allowed to keep his coal mines and steel mills.

It was obvious from the start that the powerful Krupp would get round the order to sell. His plea has been that he could not find a buyer abroad or in Germany for his holdings. Shortage of money is certainly not the reason, and the socialists in Germany have pointed out that their Government is having no trouble selling up State-owned industry. It seems that capitalists have a greater sense of international solidarity than

the men they employ!

Quite apart from the influence Krupp wields in important places (and the vast sums probably being paid in bribes), few foreign buyers are prepared to risk the possible effects on production which might be caused by antagonisms emanating from the German people, particularly Krupp employees (of which there are 80,000), should large chunks of the massive empire be purchased by foreign capital.

The Krupp interests also extend to shipbuilding, aircraft and machinery of all types. Krupp has said publicly that he will never make arms again, a pledge not to be taken seriously. West Germany is part of the Western Defence bloc, and there may come a time soon when German arms production is considered necessary "for the defence of freedom and democracy", assuming Germany herself is not again the next enemy.

In the meantime Britain (basically uneasy about German economic competition) is content to see German industrialists producing domestic and 'peaceful' goods, like ships and aircraft, because Britain can supply all the arms that Germany needs at this stage.

Germany has in fact deposited here £42 million for the purchase of British arms, and may be the first buyer of the top secret artillery rocket made by English Electric.

It is not outside the bounds of possibility that it will be returned some time in the future with greater speed than it will take to ship it across the North Sea and with an 'enemy' label on it; it has happened before with armaments!

Reflections on 'The Hottest Thing in U.S. Politics'

Politics, Bishops and Birth Control

IN spite of Eisenhower's parting remark on birth-control that: "I cannot imagine anything more emphatically a subject that is not a proper political or governmental activity or function or responsibility"—a remark which we shall try to show, no politician or government leader could easily substantiate—Press reports from the United States make it clear that, to quote the *Evening Standard's* correspondent, birth-control is "Now the Hottest Thing in U.S. Politics". With nearly a year to go before the Presidential Elections, and candidates still to be nominated by the parties, any controversial issue is bound to be "hot", and the opinions of the leading Presidential candidates determining factors for or against their chances of nomination.

Birth-control is always a controversial subject (even in countries where it is recognised) probably because birth-control is linked to sex, and in no country is sex a non-controversial subject. The present political excitement in America has probably very little to do with birth-control in fact, but much more with the problems of the relations between Church and State (or "politics", for the man-in-the-street).

Briefly the birth-control issue in U.S. politics has developed in the following manner: Earlier this year a United Nations Population Commission expressed concern over the "social and economic" consequences of the world's population more than doubling by the year 2,000 with Asia's proportion increasing from

56 per cent. in 1958 to 62 by the end of the century. These figures have caused considerable talk of a "population explosion" which might outpace the world's capacity to produce food.

Numerous bodies, including the Protestant World Council of Churches, have proposed that mass birth-control measures be employed to slow population growth. And last July the Draper Committee on Foreign Aid recommended to the President that the United States should assist those countries which ask for such aid "in formulating

programmes designed to deal with the problem of rapid population growth". No steps have been in fact taken by the U.S. Government along these lines so far, but the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States have decided to make their position clear in any case. And a fortnight ago they issued a 1,500 word statement in which they denounced what they called a "systematic and concerted" campaign in favour of birth-control, and criticised the "recently coined terror technique phrase 'population explosion'".

While recognizing the problems raised

by rapid population growth the Bishops said that "in a chronic condition where we have more people than food, the logical answer would be, not to decrease the number of people, but to increase the food supply." They said Catholics "are prepared to dedicate themselves" to the task of increasing the food supply. But, the statement added, Catholics "will not... support any public assistance, either at home or abroad, to promote artificial birth prevention."

Apart from the fact that the Bishops have got the wrong end of the stick when they suggest that birth-control is intended to reduce

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COMPARISONS

FOR the refugees of the world—£100,000, but two years ago a managing director of a famous motor manufacturing firm was paid £100,000 not to go and work for somebody else.

IN the *Evening Standard* for 3/12/59 there appeared a headline: "£72,000 for a Flat". The article below it told us that blocks of flats of unparalleled opulence are being built in London's snooty St. James's area:

In one of them (No. 26, St. James's Place), a lease on a first-floor flat can be snapped up for £70,000. Jauntily, I was told that extra charges for rent, service and rates would leave little change out of £2,000 a year.

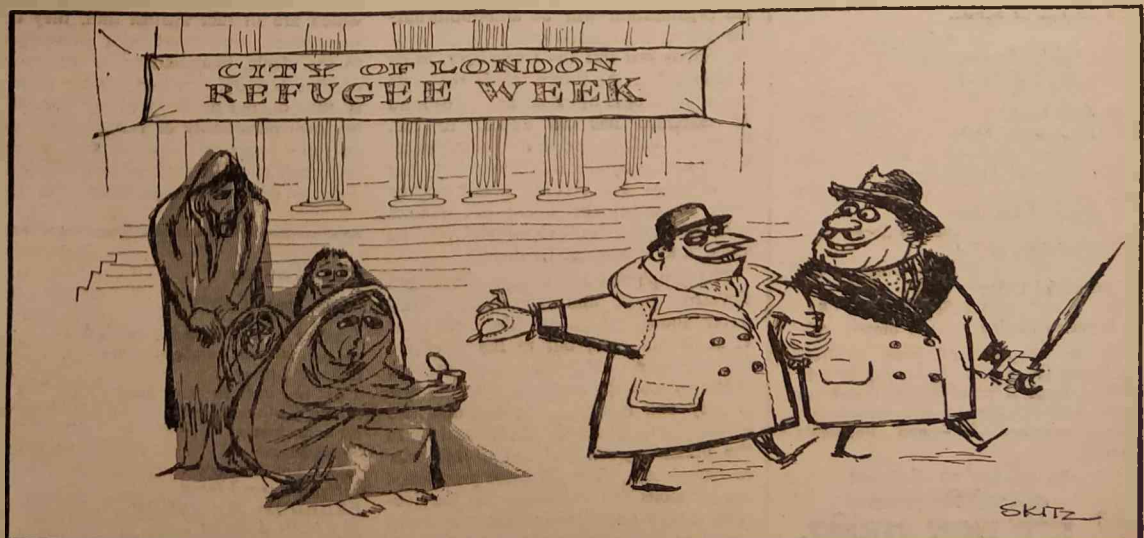
Another flat with a panoramic view across Green Park has a price-tag of £72,000, with the same extras.

This splendid structure will be finished early next year, and only two floors out of seven have been leased. Yet, despite the huge prices, I am assured that buyers will easily be found.

While next door, Mrs. Lilley, widow of a shoe manufacturer, has built herself a new block of flats because, she says, "I am a simple person. I like to see trees and hear birdsong at my window in the spring. And I have found two other quiet, simple families to take flats in my block."

What is the price of simplicity in Mrs. Lilley's building? It is about £50,000 per flat. Services come to £700 a year, and ground rent to another £300. The rates are high.

AT the Law Courts last week, Lord Keyes was awarded £40,000 libel damages against some publishers who were also ordered to pay the costs of the case—estimated at nearly £20,000.



'As I was saying, Sir Jack, if we start a take-over rumour about Mammoth Armaments this week and THEN get Freddie to drop a clanger in the House over that border incident between ...'

WELL over two thousand years ago, Aristotle considered man as an animal, albeit a special one whose nature it was to live in a polis. Thomas Aquinas paraphrased him by describing man as "animal sociale et politicum, in multitudinem vivens". But Christianity had intervened, and men believed that they had been created in the image of God and were really quite different from other animals. The practice of preaching to birds and beasts was considered an aberration in Francis of Assisi, even if it were a charming one. The Dominicans were not influenced by their greatest member's philosophical remarks, nor were the Franciscans by their founder's behaviour, to preach the Word of God to animals.

Today, after a century of familiarity with evolutionary theory, we have little excuse for being unaware of man's ancestry, even if we still credit him with an immortal soul or its modern equivalent, a unique brain. In school indeed we find ourselves classed with the apes and monkeys; in spite of such an admission, however, we do not like to be reminded of our animal nature and only reconcile ourselves to it by calling our order *Primates*—the Top Animals. Snobs even in zoology. Only the Chinese have admitted a Top Animal to their pantheon by having a monkey-god. Christians today mostly accept evolution, but they still consider man to be unique.

Even when religious considerations are not applied, a clear division is maintained between animals and men (by men). The Abbé Coignard, who objected to the Declaration of the Rights of Man because of "the excessive and unfair separation it establishes between man and the gorilla", has not had much of a following. Perhaps it is just as well; otherwise we might hear *Beasts of England* at the summer conferences instead of *The Red Flag* or *Land of Hope and Glory*.

We are all humanists today, and many of us are very chauvinistic about it. Those who do bother about the rights of animals tend to fall into false or sentimental attitudes—"dear doggies" and "our dumb friends" and so on (if only they were dumb!). Unnecessary cruelty to animals we deplore, not because it is cruelty to animals but because it is unnecessary. Experiments useful to men that involve the suffering of animals are regulated, but are opposed only by cranks (as slavery and the subjection of

women used to be); the same is true of the slaughter of animals for food. Men with odd colours and odd cultures are regarded as members of the human family more than ever before; some rights are even conceded to the most primitive stone-age aborigines. The twin influences of Christianity and humanism have made mankind more self-conscious than it has been at any other time in history. But there are still times when we compare men to animals: when they behave particularly badly.

The best way of seeing this is to examine some of the words we use. "Man's inhumanity to man" is a mild example. In the Oxford Dictionary you can find Dryden's "The inhuman sword" and Swift's "The beastly vice of drinking to excess". Who else uses swords but men? How many beasts have you ever seen drunk? Such usage can be found in every book and newspaper, in the conversation of everyone. Did Chingis Khan kill twenty million people? Did Cromwell massacre the citizens of Drogheda? Did we drop atom-bombs on Japan? Did the Nazis murder six million Jews? Did the Russians storm Budapest? Did Christie strangle six women? These actions are inhuman, brutal, beastly, bestial or abominable (which is commonly but incorrectly derived from *homo*, the Latin for man, instead of *omen*). The people who perpetrated them are animals, beasts, brutes.

Did you ever hear of animals of the same species preying on each other for fun or out of conviction? It can be argued that murder is an inevitable instrument of nature in this harsh world, but men seldom kill each other for food or survival. The only motive they seem to share with other animals is that of sexual lust. The horrors of slavery, oppression, persecution and war are peculiar to men. The relationship of ants to their aphids is more like that of Hindus to their cows than that of Southern gentlemen to their negroes. The most blasé ecologist would be shocked to find an

animal community like South Africa. Auschwitz is inconceivable outside the species *homo sapiens*. And beside the human game of war the jungle is a kindergarten.

The corruption of the best, said Aristotle, is the worst. "Lilies that fester . . ." etc. That is how we like to look at it. Man is the lord of creation or the fittest animal to survive so far (according to taste), but regrettably retains features reminiscent of the lower animals; these become dominant when he forgets his humanity. This attitude assumes that our real nature is "humane" and that we only cease to be so by relinquishing something of ourselves. But it is difficult to discover when we have not been corrupt, not been festered. Unless we wish to postulate a Golden Age of innocence before a Fall, we must recognise that while we may be the toughest, cleverest, most intelligent, perceptive and altogether most skilful of animals, we have some extremely unpleasant characteristics. If we could live "in a state of nature", it would be more like that of Hobbes than of Rousseau or Genesis.

There is no point trying to excuse ourselves by claiming we inherited these characteristics from our non-U ancestors. We are the first generation in the evolutionary process to display them so prominently. We have begun to acknowledge that our "flesh" is as much part of us as our "spirit". We should also understand that we are if anything more "brutal" and "bestial" than the brute beasts who don't know any better. Animals who have no moral sense cannot be blamed for their worst actions; men who pride themselves on their knowledge of good and evil have an enormous responsibility. The men who thought up and carried out the Final Solution of the Jewish Question were mostly such horribly ordinary people. Nothing, in fact, is more specifically human than so-called inhumanity. Leave the poor animals out of it.

N.W.

A Discussion of Henry Miller

ART AND OUTRAGE, Henry Miller. Lawrence Durrell, Alfred Perles, A Correspondence. Putnam, 10s. 6d.

THIS book consists of a series of letters between Lawrence Durrell and Alfred Perles, a discussion begun as a means of introducing Henry Miller's work to the English reader. In the middle of the correspondence Henry Miller himself joins in.

Unfortunately Miller's art has so effectively outraged the "Anglo-Saxon" reader that his most important books are not published in this country, or allowed to be imported. He is known mainly for some works on travel and some essays.

This attempt, by means of a series of letters, to put "the totality of his work into perspective" seems too diffuse to me. It is interesting, but too imprecise. It will be of more interest, I think, to people who already know a lot about Henry Miller, than to those who know little about him.

Henry Miller has progressed from a modern Villon to a modern Chuangtse. He has no ambition to reform the world.

"I certainly do not hope to alter the world. Perhaps I can put it best by saying that I hope to alter my own vision of the world. I want to be more and more myself, ridiculous as that may sound."

Yet further on he says, "But this business of youth—rebellion, longing for freedom—and the business of vision are two very cardinal points in my orientation. At sixty-six I am more rebellious than I was at sixteen. Now I know the whole structure must topple, must be razed. Now I am positive that youth is right—or the child in its innocence. Nothing less will do, will satisfy. The only purpose of knowledge must be certitude, and this certitude must be established through purity, through innocence. . . ."

Must art always be outrage? Appar-

ently so, as long as society is taboo- and authoritarian. In earlier times art sprang from the ritual of life and this seems to be impossible once civilization has passed a certain stage. On a certain level has been reached art and society are at war.

It is difficult to judge from the correspondence whether "the whole structure" must "topple" or "be razed" in material civilisation in which we live, the body of ideas and beliefs which give this civilisation its support and justification. Perhaps it is immaterial, since the ideas go the civilisation based on them also crumbles. Undoubtedly the whole way of life is based on falsity and cruelty. There seems little possibility of reforming it.

Henry Miller looks back to Thoreau and Whitman, as well as still further back to the Taoist teachers, and he undoubtedly belongs to that particular American tradition, the tradition of philosophical-mystical individualism. It is encouraging to find this tradition flourishing in the modern world, which seems in some ways so much more hostile to it than the America of a century ago.

He has never allowed himself to become in any way involved in a cause. George Orwell found him indifferent to the civil war and revolution in Spain. His stand during the Second World War was a simple repudiation of the war business, without any special desire to convert others to his point of view. Orwell says. Since movements generally fail, this position may well be the wisest in the long run. It is certainly closer to Taoism or Zen than to the traditional European attitude, which might be described as a "joining" one, the Werner general feeling that he must put up with some party, church or force of some kind, that it is obligatory to support some cause and have a label.

Miller's feeling of being attracted to Eastern ways of thought is easy to understand from this point of view.

"Where the writing is concerned, I do nothing consciously. I followed my nose. I blew with every wind. I accepted every influence, good or bad. My intention, was there—as I said, merely to write. Or, to be a writer, more justly. Well, I've been it. Now I just want to be. Remember, I beg you, that this infinitive is 'transitive' in Chinese. And I am nothing if not Chinese."

ARTHUR W. ULOTIL

VIEWPOINT ON ANARCHISM-2

Is Anarchism Authoritarian?

(Continued from previous issue)

I HAVE to admit that as an anarcho-individualist I reject organisation as being authoritarian. Life has its own inner dynamism, which tends to grow, to be expressed, to be lived. Any thwarting of this tendency, of this growth is a perversion, and the energy which should be directed towards life undergoes a process of decomposition.

To organise life is to give the individual some precepts of behaviour and conduct he must follow. There is no place for freedom; or, to put it another way, there is a tendency to curtail freedom. And it is freedom on which we put the emphasis. We can not imagine the full realization of individuality without freedom, "positive freedom", which implies the principle that "there is no higher power than this unique, individual self; that man is the centre and purpose of his life; that the growth and realisation of man's individuality is an end that can never be subordinated to purposes which are supposed to have greater dignity".

Some anarchists will not be pleased with my extreme individualism and my interpretation of organisation, and as good socialists they will advance the idea that in the future socialist society the organisation will be anti-authoritarian and an anarchistic one. This line of thought is just like the Christian's, in its description of the future where the souls will enjoy a blissful existence. This kind of existence has no appeal to me, because I will no longer be in existence. In the same way the anarchist society has no value to me, because I will not be there to judge; the world of shadows will be silent, the executioner will be alone, and I will not be there.

The prophecies are always subtle and elevated, pure and moralistic. They never touch this dirty life, and their value is not now, but in the indefinite future. The difference between the prophecy and the reality is that the first is grey and immobile, fixed somewhere in the future, whereas the second is in the present, green and full of life. Or as Camus says, "The aims, the prophecies are generous and universal, and the doctrine is restrictive; the reduction of every value to historical terms leads to the direct consequences"—namely, justification of enslavement and humiliation, a rejection of man's dignity, and the nega-

tion of that most important and sublime thing, Freedom.

Well, the argument will be that life is impossible without organisation, and there must be organisation or some substitute for it. My answer is that here and now between people as individuals or different groups there is the link of spontaneous activity which does not adopt patterns suggested from outside. Spontaneous activity is free activity of the self, and implies psychologically what the latin root of the word means—"sponte"; of one's free will. By activity we do not mean just doing something, but the quality of creating; activity which can operate in one's emotional, intellectual and sensuous experiences and in one's will as well. One premise for spontaneity is the acceptance of personality as a whole and the elimination of the division between "reason" and "nature", for only if man does not repress essential parts of his self, only if he has become transparent to himself, and only if the different spheres of his life have reached a fundamental integration is spontaneous activity possible.

Other activities, which lay stress on abstract entities such as organisation, society, ideas, etc., channel the individual's energies into aims and purposes which he believes to be his own, but which are in fact against him, they depersonalize him, make him subservient to the ideals, imaginations or inventions of that activity. In fact, future society is built on the negation of my own "I", my own personality or individuality; or, as some anarchists love to say, on the voluntary curtailing of my own freedom.

It is easy to comprehend that the

emergence of such a society is the submergence of my individuality, and we are once more back in an authoritarian society. We are deluded by our dreams, and astonished to see that our "free society" resembles a cemetery. But we still cry for the future, for the future generation.

But let us not speak in terms of the future or of finality, where social and personal problems are solved by some magical virtue. "Finalities", as Emma Goldman said, "are for gods and government, not for human intellect." While it may be true that Herbert Spencer's formulation on liberty is the most important on the subject as a political basis of society, at the same time life is something more than formulae. "In the battle for freedom," as Ibsen has so well pointed out, "it is the struggle for, not so much the attainment of, liberty that develops all that is strongest, sturdiest and finest in human character."

Anarchism is not however, just a process that marches on with sombre steps, touching all that is positive and constructive in organic development. It is a conspicuous protest of the most militant type. It is so absolutely uncompromising, insistent, and permeating a force as to overcome the most stubborn assault and to withstand the criticism of those who really constitute the last trumpets of a decaying age.

Even if on some points I disagree with what E. Goldman said, I accept her and Ibsen's view that the battle for freedom is the important thing; not only that, but it is a true anti-authoritarian attitude, rather than the battle for the Utopian conception of finalities. In other words, instead of fighting for finalities, that is for the so-called free or socialist society, it is much better for anarchists if they try to preserve the true anti-authoritarian spirit and fight here and now for affirmation and enlargement of our freedom and individual integrity. Finalities appear to be adequate ground for escapism, and good weapons for authoritarians to justify the means they employ for the realization of their organization or efficiency.

There are a few more points which I think are of some importance in understanding the authoritarian tendency in anarchism. They are respectively conscience and duty. We often hear people assert emphatically that anarchism is

impossible, and they declare it utopian on the basis of conscience. But what impresses me is the anarchist appealing to conscience and its corollary, duty. In such an appeal we feel an authoritarian tendency, and more observation will show this to be right. Now I will put forward some ideas, not necessarily original, to clear the way to a better understanding.

The first thing I want to speak about is "conscience". It seems to me that this conscience the anarchists talk about is something needed to achieve Utopia. In many cases such a conscience is directly inherited from our Christian parents or Christian environment. In other cases it is Marxist in particular and Socialist in general. That means: "Not because members of the proletariat are gods, but simply because they have been reduced to the most abjectly inhuman conditions. Only the proletariat, totally excluded from the affirmation of their personality, are capable of realizing the complete affirmation of self". When the proletariat realize the affirmation of self and become conscious as a result of some fundamental economic change or some powerful current idea, then the social revolution will be realized. Obviously this kind of consciousness does not belong to the present time, so we will leave it alone.

The conscience the anarchists want us to have for judging our dead is not in the future, but in the present. And it means to me that it is this particular conscience that Eric Fromm is referring to when he writes "Analysis shows that conscience rules with a harshness as great as external authorities, and furthermore that frequently the contents of the orders issued by man's conscience are ultimately not governed by demands of the individual self but by social demands which have assumed the dignity of ethical norms. The rulership of conscience can be harsher than the external authorities, since the individual feels its order to be

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Les Textes

de ma Tante

I never send Christmas cards but when my aunt sends me those tasteful little texts I get the urge to send back a neat little card with an anarchistic countertext* which you can get (if you hurry) from FREEDOM BOOKSHOP at 3s. for a set of six, all different with envelopes.

*sayings by Herzen, Turgot, La Bruyere, Maupassant, Pasternak and Max Kavanagh.

Politics, Bishops & Birth Control

Continued from p. 1

the number of people—that is genocide not birth-control—we heartily agree with them that if population strips food supplies then we must do it that we produce more food. We are equally delighted to learn that if such an event arose "Catholics are prepared to dedicate themselves to the task of increasing the food supply".

Well, what are they waiting for? Here we are in 1959 arguing about what will happen to the world's population in the year 2,000 when we know, and the United Nations' experts have already told us, that at least half of the world's present population is living in conditions of starvation or on diets insufficient to maintain health! What pronouncements have the Catholic Bishops made about the millions of tons of foodstuffs rotting in improvised stores in the United States, or of the government's "soil bank" whereby farmers are subsidised to keep parts of their land out of production? What moral strictures have the Bishops passed on their faithful among the industrialists and the financiers who have been industrialising the world at the expense of its agriculture, because it is more profitable?

THE Bishops' denunciation and criticism has had political repercussions only because one of the most favoured Democratic candidates for Presidential nomination, Senator John Kennedy, is a fervent Catholic, and we can only presume that since his religion has not so far been considered a liability in a country in which Catholics are still a minority, supporters of rival candidates within his own party are using the issue to try and force him into the position of saying that in a clash between his Church and the State he would be on the side of his Church. As a good Catholic politician he must know that the Pope does not make such black and white demands on the faithful-in-high-governmental-positions. The Pope knows his place in the game of politics, especially in a predominantly Protestant country*. Obviously he is much more interested in seeing a Catholic President of the United States, than a might-have-been with principles! The Bishops, it is true, started all the trouble and as a writer in the *N.Y. Times* (Nov. 30) put it "are following their mission as they see it, regardless of the effect on the Presidential Campaign". But are they? Their power and influence outside the Church depends on the numerical strength and discipline of their flock, a concern not only of the Bishops but of Trades Union leaders as well. The only difference between them is that the Bishops show more understanding, and show more intelligence and their ambition is "made of sterner stuff".

THE Bishops in their statement also emphasized that the church's opposition to "artificial birth prevention within the married state" was unchangeable. Continence or the "rhythm method"—love-making by the female calendar—for those miserable creatures who cannot abstain—are the only "morally acceptable" methods of birth-control so far as the Roman Catho-

lic Church is concerned. We cannot help feeling that this is the thin end of the wedge, and that in giving his blessing to the rhythm method the late pope made a cardinal mistake. By abstaining from sexual intercourse during the period of maximum fertility in the woman's menstrual cycle, and presumably changing one's luck during the "infertile" period, the participants are engaging in sexual intercourse for the purpose of pleasure, love or by whatever name one calls the banned word, not for the purpose of procreation, which, until only very recently, was the R.C. Church's only justification for this otherwise disgusting, humiliating, obscene act. In so doing the Church has recognised a distinction between sexual intercourse for the ends of procreation, and intercourse for the pleasure the participants derive therefrom. Is their line of defence that there must be a balance between procreation and pleasure for the latter to be moral? If so, by what authority, by what standards of morals?

BUT to return to the Bishops! Clearly it is more important for them in the long term to maintain their hold on the flock than to overwater their spiritual wine in seeking immediate political successes. This they can confidently leave to their politicians. And Mr. Kennedy is obviously neither so naive nor inexperienced to be unable to cope

with his political enemies within the party, as the following extract from a *N.Y. Times* reports shows:

Long before the Bishops issued their statement, he had felt it would be a "mistake" for the U.S. to advocate birth control in other countries. Such action by the U.S. would undoubtedly be considered "objectionable" by such countries. It would be the "greatest psychological mistake for us to appear to advocate the limitation of the black or brown or yellow peoples whose population is increasing no faster than in the United States". If he were President and the question came before him in the form of legislation or as a recommendation he said, "I would base my determination . . . on my personal judgment as President as to what would be in the interest of the United States. If it became the law of the land I would uphold it as the law of the land."

What a master-stroke his remark that after all why should the Americans tell the people of Asia and Africa to control their population when in fact it was not increasing at a faster rate than in the United States! And what an important statistic, too often overlooked by those Americans who spend sleepless nights worrying about the fate of the rest of mankind in the year 2,000!

ANARCHISTS have been among the pioneers of birth-control in all countries,† but not as a solution to "problems" of population or poverty, but in the first place for providing couples with the knowledge of how to avoid unwanted

pregnancies; secondly, of combating the church's view on sex that its primary purpose was procreation, and that any pleasure involved was exclusively reserved for the male (hence the officially recognised brothels in most Catholic countries); thirdly, because sex is one of the major symbols of real freedom and equality between the sexes.

For these very reasons birth-control has never been advocated by governments. For political, economic or military reasons they encourage or discourage large families. Thus birth-control is a greater crime in secular France than in a Catholic Italy, and prolific motherhood both in Communist Russia and de Gaulle's France is prized and financially rewarded. In Britain some Parliamentarians have been talking of the need to impose a tax on parents with large families (why not in fact adopt the proposal of another M.P. who suggested keeping down the dog population by subjecting them to Purchase Tax irrespective of whether they were sold or not?)

The interest now shown in birth-control "in other countries" is less a concern with the fate of generations yet unborn than with the "yellow, brown and black menace" to white supremacy in the world.

BY all means educate the world on birth-control, and make available the means by which this

knowledge can be implemented. But this will not stop some people having, because they enjoy having, large families. Birth-control—voluntary birth-control that is—will undoubtedly slow down the world population increase. But it will not solve the food problem which has been with us for a very long time. It is simply that we must produce more food by putting more land under cultivation and using our scientific knowledge and modern technology to increase the productivity of the land.

Food production is not a paying proposition for the industrialist and the financier. Producing motor-cars and missiles is. For the hungry millions it's the other way round and surely it is time their view prevailed.

†For our American readers caught up in the political controversy over birth control, it may be of interest to know that more than half a century ago Emma Goldman gave her first lecture on birth control in New York, and in her *Living My Life* she reminds her readers that:

"Neither my birth-control discussion nor Margaret Sanger's efforts were pioneer work. The trail was blazed in the United States by the grand old fighter Moses Harman, his daughter Lillian, Ezra Heywood, Dr. Foote and his son E. C. Walker, and their collaborators of a previous generation, Ida Craddock, one of the bravest champions of women's emancipation, had paid the supreme sacrifice. Hounded by Comstock and faced with a five-year sentence, she had taken her own life. She and the Moses Harman group were the pioneers and heroes of the battle for free motherhood, for the right of the child to be born well."

In fact, how slowly we progress if we bother to relate our puny efforts to all the spade-work that has been done before our time!

PEOPLE AND IDEAS:

ORIGINS OF THE WELFARE STATE

AT the Labour Party's "rethinking" conference at Blackpool, Mr. Gaitskell described the Welfare State as "another Labour achievement" adding that "Unfortunately gratitude is not a reliable political asset". But should we be grateful? Conservative and Liberal politicians would hasten to deny that Labour created the Welfare State, and would point to the basic legislation of the Liberal government before the first world war, and to the fact that all parties in the coalition government in the second world war supported the Beveridge proposals. Anarchists on the other hand would respond with a variety of attitudes. Some would admit the advantages of the social services, and piously regret that the State runs them, some would adopt the middle-class attitude of taking the mickey out of welfare, and others would adopt the critical position based on statistical analysis of who pays in and who draws out, which was discussed in a pungent and entertaining series (*The Welfare State and I*) in *FREEDOM* a few years ago.

But what do we mean by the Welfare State? Social Welfare can exist without the State. States can (and frequently do) exist without undertaking responsibility for social welfare. Every kind of human association may be said to constitute a welfare society: Trade Unions, Christmas Clubs, Churches and teen-age gangs—all of which presumably aim at mutual benefit, comfort and security—may be considered as aspects of social welfare. The State, on the other hand is a form of social organisation which differs from all the rest in two respects, firstly that it claims the allegiance of the whole population, and secondly that it has coercive power to enforce that allegiance.

Association for mutual welfare is as old as humanity itself, it is biological in origin. Kropotkin, whose *Mutual Aid* chronicles this innate human tendency, describes, not the strengthening, but the destruction of the social institutions which embodied it, with the growth of the modern nation-state from the fifteenth century onwards:

"For the next three centuries the States, both on the continent and in these islands, systematically weeded out all institutions in which the mutual-aid tendency had formerly found its expression. The village communities were bereft of their folknotes, their courts and independent administration; their lands were confiscated. The guilds were spoiled of their possessions and liberties, and placed under the control, the fancy, and the bribery of the State's official. The cities were divested of their sovereignty, and the very springs of their inner life—the folknote, the elected justices and their administration, the sovereign parish and the sovereign guild—were annihilated; the State's functionary took possession of every link of what was for-

merly an organic whole . . . It was taught in the Universities and from the pulpit that the institutions in which men formerly used to embody their needs of mutual support could not be tolerated in a properly organised State; that the State alone could represent the bonds of union between its subjects; that federalism and 'particularism' were the enemies of progress, and the State was the only proper initiator of further development."

That this is not an extreme view can be seen from the history of pauperism in this country. In the Middle Ages, such cases of destitution as occurred were relieved without recourse to State action. Guild members who fell into poverty were assisted by the fraternity, whose interest extended to the widows and orphans of deceased brethren. "Monastic charity was exercised towards all who needed it, and many great lords and great ecclesiastics kept open house to all comers. Hospitals and lazar-houses existed for the sick."

WITH the passing of the Middle Ages, and the establishment of a firm nation-state by the Tudors, it was characteristic that the first State legislation on poverty was that beggars should be whipped and the second was that they should be branded, and that the essence of the Poor Law, from its codification in 1601 to its amendment in 1834 and its ultimate disappearance in our own time, was punitive.

We may thus conclude that there is an essential paradox in the fact that the State whose essential characteristic is that of the policeman and the soldier, should have become the administrator and organiser of social welfare. The connection in fact between welfare and warfare, is very close. Until late in the 19th century the State conducted its wars with professional soldiers and mercenaries, but the increasing scale of wars forced states to pay more and more attention to the physical quality of recruits, and the discovery that so large a proportion of the eligible cannon-fodder was physically unfit (a discovery which the State made afresh with each war of the last seventy years) has led the State to take measures for improving the physical health of the nation. Professor Titmuss remarks that "It was the South African War, not one of the notable wars in human history to change the affairs of men, that touched off the personal health movement which eventually led to the National Health Service in 1948" (*War and Social Policy*).

With the extension of warfare to the civilian population, the need to maintain morale by the formulation of "peace aims", and the general feeling of guilt over past social injustices and of resolution for the future, which war engen-

ders, the concern over physical health extended to wider fields of social well-being. Again Titmuss remarks (*Essays on 'The Welfare State'*) that the "war-time trend towards universalising public provision for certain basic needs . . .

"means in effect that a social system must be so organised as to enable all citizens (and not only soldiers) to learn what to make of their lives in peacetime. In this context, the Education Act of 1944 becomes intelligible; so does the Beveridge Report of 1942 and the National Insurance, Family Allowances and National Service Acts. All these measures of social policy were in part an expression of the needs of war-time strategy to fuse and unify the conditions of life of civilians and non-civilians alike."

His sardonic conclusion is that "The aims and content of social policy, both in peace and war, are thus determined—at least to a substantial extent—by how far the co-operation of the masses is essential to the successful prosecution of war."

This "co-operation of the masses" in a different respect is another factor leading to the development of the Welfare State. The industrial revolution brought with it the need for a minimum of technical skill and knowledge amongst all but the lowest grades of factory workers, and there consequently arose a new skilled artisan class who could read and write and figure, learning at Dame schools, Mechanics Institutes, charitable schools or those of rival religious denominations. When, in spite of the punitive activities of the State under the Combination Acts, this class developed trade unions and friendly societies for mutual aid and protection, it demanded in turn, political representation, and though the Chartist demand for 'manhood suffrage' failed, the extension of the franchise became inevitable, and with it (since "we must educate our masters") the Education Act of 1870. But universal popular education, as Lewis Mumford observes in *The Condition of Man*,

"contrary to popular belief, is no belated product of 19th century democracy: centralised authority was now belatedly taking up the work that had been neglected with the wiping out of municipal freedom in the greater part of Europe."

YET another factor also resulting from the industrial revolution, is urbanisation. The herding together of masses of people in the early industrial towns and cities led to the most appallingly insanitary conditions, and the consequent spread of contagious diseases, which were no respecters of persons, striking down the squalid dwellers and property owners alike. The growth of public health legislation and building regulations in the 19th century was hastened by each

new outbreak of cholera. Meanwhile, though the State merely feared the city mob, individuals sought to penetrate the lower depths of the 18th and 19th century towns and alleviate their horrors. From the concern over the conditions of special groups at the very minimum conditions of human existence—John Howard and Elizabeth Fry working in the prisons and asylums—to the urge to improve the situation of occupational groups—Lord Shaftesbury and Robert Owen seeking to improve factory conditions and end the slave labour of orphan children (the wards of the State), then to the investigation and alleviation of the conditions of whole social classes and finally the organisation of voluntary societies to transform the whole urban environment—The Town & Country Planning Association for example, or the Smoke Abatement Society—there is a continuous history of pioneering effort by individuals and voluntary associations, followed by official recognition and legislative action.

It is in fact almost a tradition in this country for the work of unofficial pioneers to be the precursor of action by the State. Voluntary Hospitals, Sick Clubs, Threepenny Doctors, Coffin Clubs, Friendly Societies of all sorts were testimonies to the infinite variety of organisations for mutual aid and support whose functions have been absorbed by National Insurance.

Some of the critics of the Welfare State—usually those who are under the impression that it is a device in which the middle class subsidises the working class, (whereas if we are to believe the contemporary school of investigators represented by Messrs. Titmuss, Abel-Smith, Martin and Vaizey the opposite is true)—some of these critics seek to reverse this trend. Mr. Colin Clark in *Welfare and Taxation* actually recommends that the social services be "denationalised"—the residue of their functions being put into the hands of Churches, local friendly societies and voluntary organisations.

This kind of suggestion is in harmony with an anarchist approach, because of its anti-statism, but it is hardly put forward from an anarchist point of view; it is simply an expression of the dogmas of *laissez-faire* liberalism. But it implies a problem of strategy for anarchists. Should our 'line' be to advocate "denationalisation" and voluntarisation of social welfare, along with Mr. Clark, or should we agree with those who see the future development of social welfare in this country to lie in making its benefits more "free": in the abandonment of the "insurance" basis, which is simply a form of regressive taxation, and in the general direction of the "divorce of income from production" which Galbraith sees as the logical corollary of an affluent society?

*In fact the Catholic Church is the largest religious denomination in the United States. According to the *Official Catholic Directory* there were 26,718,343 Catholics in the U.S. The Baptists were next with less than 16 million.

Dr. Young's Meritocracy

THE RISE OF THE MERITOCRACY by Michael Young (London: Thames & Hudson, 15s., New York: Random House, \$3.50).

THIS anti-utopia, cast as a socio-history of the years 1870-2033, projects the likely course of British society—barring war, siege, unmanageable population growth, and assuming only the acceleration of evident trends by stiffening international economic competition. Britain becomes a meritocracy: she is ruled by an intellectual elite impartially raised from all classes of the population by accurate and continuous testing. Mobility, even within a single lifespan, is made strictly conditional on merit—IQ plus Effort. The result is a permanent redistribution of intelligence between social classes, the ironic terminus of the socialist vision of a society fully open to talent.

Britain survives American and Russo-Chinese competition through a drastically more efficient exploitation of her intellectual resources, achieved by completing the series of reforms begun by the establishment of competitive entry to the Civil Service and including the Education Acts of 1870, 1902, 1918 and 1944. Such techniques as a "learning wage", to be paid directly to students, are adopted. Nepotism, privilege, even seniority, are eliminated in all employments; the wealthy and select Public schools are ingeniously brought to heel and integrated with the Grammar

schools. The waste of superior intellect is reduced from roughly 40% in 1924, to 5.2% in 2020. Correspondingly, the annual productivity increment rises to around 61%. Parliament and partisan politics retain familiar appearances, while real power passes to the Civil Service and to a revived, merit-based House of Lords. The detail of all these changes is plausibly and amusingly given, from the viewpoint of a product and defender of the system.

The second part of the book deals with the formation of a new helot class of test-rejects, the decline of the traditional manual classes, and closes with the suggestion that the accumulated resentments of certain minorities—wives and daughters of higher technicians, relics of militant Labour, the unwillingly declassed, might seriously threaten the equilibrium of the new system. This is the only touch of piety in the account. The Populists, as the opposition calls itself, present a menu of mild reforms—increased in the school-leaving age, establishment of common secondary high schools, and so on. The plain inutility of the proposed reforms reinforces Dr. Young's estimate of the programmatic weakness of the egalitarians in the British Left. The book ends in uncertainty. In this section the level of invention is more uneven, but the treatment of automation is imaginative and convincing.

The immediate polemical application of the book, of course, is to the educational policies of the Labour Party, which favour a comprehensive system of

secondary education on the American model, a postponement of the tests given to all children at 11 by which they are radically sorted out according to IQ. Dr. Young suggests that these proposals are condemned because they conflict with the economic necessity of recognizing and giving early cultivation to exceptional children, and more importantly because they conflict with social assimilation, the tedious acquisition of the right accent and manner, which must also begin early. The result of the last general election in Britain is not conclusive on the popularity of these particular proposals, but they did not help Labour much in one class where they might have been expected to—in the 18-30 age group. Dr. Young's pessimism extends further: he predicts the failure of experimental comprehensive schools, as at Leicester, established in Labour enclaves, due to an inescapable internal adaptation to Grammar standards.

THE American edition of this book is advertised also as a warning to the United States, but it's difficult to make sense of this. Our popular hostility to intellect, our racial, religious and ethnic barriers, our habits of patronage and publicity, together with an acknowledged margin for waste, make ample obstacles to what is at best a mild impulse. It is true that many scientific and technological occupations have been opened up, and there is perhaps some ground for fearing the coalescence of a Scientific Estate, but this is clearly a different danger.

There is one persistent question which affects the general plausibility of Dr. Young's forecast. Could a true élite of the intelligent successfully constitute a ruling class? In practice could it be anything but a coalition of proximate intelligence-strata, restive in all its middle and lower ranks, full of destructive antagonism? Dr. Young dwells on the psychological condition of the subject classes, and postulates the need for a compensatory Mythos of Muscularity for them. But the question of morale ought to be even more acute in a finely-divided ruling class. In institutions as they are presently ordered, it is possible to sustain an irrational sense of personal worth despite low or middling rank, and to keep alive dreams of ascent; but in meritocracy all props to self-esteem are pulled, relations with superiors are reduced to hopeless envy, with inferiors to contempt. Probably some conviction of the inequality of placement is necessary to the functioning of all hierarchical organizations. This consideration implies that there might be a natural check to the consolidation of meritocracy anywhere.

America still lacks a solid and arguable anticipation of its own future. The radical redistribution of intelligence between social classes—which, as noted

ANARCHISTS WELCOME IKE IN ROME

President Eisenhower had a damp welcome when he arrived in Rome last week on the first leg of his 22,300 mile "peace" tour of 11 nations. Few Romans braved the downpour to line the streets.

According to the *News Chronicle's* Rome Correspondent the only "minor excitements" came when leaflets were tossed into the road by neo-Fascists, warning Eisenhower against sell-out to the Russians. But, he adds:

"There were anarchist leaflets, too, wishing a plague on both houses. 'Down with Marxism and pluto-democracy' they said."

Sinking Fast!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 49

Deficit on Freedom £980
Contributions received £844
DEFICIT £136

November 27 to December 3

Woldingham: F.B.* 5/-; Westhoughton: E.M. 1/-; London: Anon. 1/3; London: J.S.* 3/-; Hitchin: L.A. 15/-; Slough: E.C.* 9/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.* 2/6; Chingford: A.M. 11/-; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Colindale: H.R.D. 10/-; London: Anon. 5/-; Kidderminster: J.W.H. 1/-; Chichester: J.B.A. 6/-; Stony Point: V. & P.W. £7/14/0; Preston: Anon. 10/-.

Total 11 19 3
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GIFTS OF BOOKS: Glasgow: M.W.K. Hailsham: A.U.

*Indicates regular contributor.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

FRANCISCO FERRER

DEAR COMRADES,

In his article on Francisco Ferrer, P.H. writes that before Ferrer went to live in Paris he "had been active organising anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist periodicals" in Spain. I would like to know what evidence P.H. has for this state-

NARCOTICS

To the Editors of FREEDOM.

DEAR COMRADES,

Nicholas Teape asks for evidence concerning the relative effects of different drugs in substantiation of what I have stated in a talk on the social implications of narcotics, which was later printed in FREEDOM. I can give him a list of references if he has a mind for research, but I'm afraid he would not be able to look them up in a public library. He would have to have access to specialist libraries attached to relevant research institutions.

However, he can find more superficial information elsewhere. For instance, C. H. Rolphe writes on the topic of narcotics in the United States in the current *New Statesman*, though from a sociological point of view, and seems somewhat pharmacologically naive about the difference between marihuana and heroin. A better recent study is that of William Sparks in *The New Leader*, July 6th, 1959. But best of all, let him get hold of de Ropp's *Drugs and the Mind*, published by Gollancz.

I have not overstated the case in any respect, as anyone who has the patience to find out for himself will see. Myths about drugs and their social use die hard, and are often repeated by many people in positions of authority who are quite certain that every right-thinking person knows all the facts.

Yours,

London, Nov. 29.

TONY GIBSON.

above, should be a minor tendency with us—can in any case have little consequence where there is only fitful class feeling at the bottom and middle of society, and where there are no acknowledged class-organs. The slow subtraction of talent from manual occupations and commerce might produce a falling-off in the rate of small business incorporations, but could not conceivably change the tangible quality of life. Civil, productive, and private routines are conducted increasingly by easy-to-follow Instructions. And, on inspection, the occupation of the bottom and middle of society, as they are presently circumstanced, seem like nothing more than a collective machinery for trivializing the force of free intelligence.

The American corporate order, its ruling seats filled by selection-through-cunning, subsidizes and absorbs as much compliant intelligence as it needs, ensures the safety of its candidates through tests of political and psychological security, and acts continually to dissolve the last connections between trained intelligence and the desire for willed social change. Only fully disciplined or sated intellects rise from consultation into participation. We may wish this were a fiction, but it is not.

IN the class-society of Britain, Dr. Michael Young's egalitarians meet a circuitous defeat because their reforms fail to encompass a system which exercises an irrational demand for professional intelligence, because they fail to encompass the institutions of what C. Wright Mills calls the "overdeveloped society": this is a defeat due to an incomplete vision of change. In America the material obstacles to deliberate radical change are almost complete, and we are damned by the absence of any disinterested vision of change at all, and by the subsequent association of reasonable men with the rationalizations of Power, which, taken together, promise waste, mindless increase, and the threat of universal death.

Under what conditions does natural excellence serve the species, and not rise into a hostile and dangerous agency? A humane answer can only be elaborated out of libertarian devices—the division of labour in time, the mixture of species of work, territorial contraction of authority and rotation in office, new engines of democratic initiative and appeal, competition in excellence and benefit. Is there any course open to egalitarians other than beginning at once, outside politics, with serious demonstrations in work, education, and leisure of the possibilities of a free and reasonable life?

New York. NORMAN RUSH.

ment. Voltairine de Cleyre, in her obituary on Ferrer, says that he was a republican when he went to Paris. William Arnold in his biography confirms that and adds "There is no doubt that during the ten years of his life in Paris... Ferrer was closely connected with Spanish revolutionary republican party, and was active in its councils." Both agree that it was after his arrival in Paris that Ferrer came to question the validity of political revolution.

P.H. also gives the impression that Ferrer was executed for alleged complicity in the assassination of Alfonso XIII. I think that it should be made clear that Ferrer was acquitted of this charge and released from Prison in 1907. He was arrested again in 1909 and accused of instigating the July rebellion in Barcelona. Tried before a military court on trumped-up evidence he was found 'guilty' and then legally murdered.

Yours fraternally.

London, Dec. 6.

S. E. PARKER

The Hungarian Secret Police

In his review of *A Study in Inflation* by George Mikes, Fulvius suggests that the author isn't sure of the right initials for the Hungarian secret police—AVO or AVO. In fact, as is explained on p. 21, the Allam-Védelmi Osztály (= State Security Department) or AVO became the Allam-Védelmi Hatóság (= State Security Authority) or AVH in September, 1948, as a mark of its increasing importance in the régime. Confusion of the names after then was due only to the fact that 'AVO' had become the accepted expression; compare our use of the word 'WAAF' after the WAAF had become the WRAF. N.W.

Is Anarchism Authoritarian?

Continued from p. 2

his own; how can he rebel against himself? It is clear that the behaviour of this internationalization of the external social demand, perceived as the super-ego is authoritarian, and even the personal proletarian conscience will behave in an authoritarian way. To affirm myself against my conscience is to become a sinner. To be a sinner is to act against all kinds of authority—be it anarchist, socialist, or libertarian. In this sense, sin is the first act of freedom. As an anarcho-individualist then, I defy conscience.

Related to conscience, but an even more controversial question is "duty". For the anarchists, every action seems to be perceived in terms of duty: duty to produce offspring is the purpose and destiny of the individual; duty to fight for the positive aspects of life, which for the anarchist is abstract goodness, or social goodness: duty to wife, sons, daughters, grandparents, the past generation and the future generation, duty to spread his ideals, etc. All this enslaves a man, and his freedom is only an assumption. Duty, whether the anarchist likes it or not, has never been and never will be anything else but authoritarian. To make it clearer I will quote John Badcock: "Obedience, self-sacrifice, unqualified and absolute is the essence of duty... The most effective appeal for submission to authority is the appeal to duty, whether it be political, social, maternal, filial or other species of duty for the whole of religious and moral society has agreed that those who do their duty are sanctified and elevated above all others. But the attraction of the religious and moral sanction, whether the sanctions come by way of the priest or public opinion or the conscience, proves that the dutiful people are as fundamentally egoistic as the brute creation, and shows their altruistic contention to be lies—not wilful lies necessarily, but necessarily lies for all that."

The vague way in which the appeal to duty is made, and the unquestioning saintly way in which the dutiful actions are performed in response, smack of superstition, and show where the weak spot in human nature is to be found. A traveller on the lookout for signs of native superstitions in a far country would be guided by those actions which the natives carried out as a duty. A believer in duty, or one who is deeply susceptible to the feeling of obligation is easily enslaved with his own consent.

The believer in duty is prey for power. He will either be enslaved by the crafty or by what he calls his conscience. His freedom is a very limited freedom at best. Circumstances change, but he dare not take advantage of the tide, which taken at the flood would have carried him on to fortune and pleasures new. When at a propitious time taboed pleasures offer themselves to him, he is afraid. His duty to Mrs. Grundy or Mrs. Jones, to the dead hand, to his religion, or to some principle, binds him. He lives within walls which he dare not scale.

In place of duty, I put nothing. Superstition does not need to be replaced, or we shall never advance to freedom. So long as the superstition, that there is a duty or an obligation by which conduct should be regulated has a hold over the minds of men and women, those people will be incapable of appreciating the full value of living, and their powers will go to waste while they grovel in the altruistic mire of self-denial. Only when that superstition has been abandoned is the mind really emancipated. Only then is the individual free to rise to the highest bliss of which his or her nature is capable.

All I have said and quoted induces me to think that society, community, duty, conscience, principles have no meaning to a person who does not care about posterity, that is, to a person who does not silence the call of life by giving it some substitute, or postpone its realization to some distant, unknown future.

As an anarcho-individualist I emphasize that life and freedom have their value here and now: not tomorrow, not in the future, but in the present; I emphasize that the fullest extent to which a person lives his life the nearer he is to the normal, or what some anarchists call sanity; that moralization is a fear to confront the demands of life, its satisfactions and pleasures. It is a covering face, an escapist attitude. I emphasize that organisations are built on sacrifice and hope for the future, and therefore a denial of the present; that Utopia represents the opposite of our frustrations and repressions and mental defects, and compensates us for our self-denial; that the world of shadows is silence, and there is no need or place there for justice, freedom, emancipation, or a classless society.

For anarchism to be anti-authoritarian it has to be against any kind of organisation or Utopian manifestation. Power corrupts, say the anarchists; and because organisation is power, it also corrupts.

Organisation does not promote individuality or personal integrity—on the contrary unity, efficiency, patterns of behaviour, conventional morality. May be from an anarchist point of view it does not command, but it does impose, because cohesion is not an individual ego, but an organisational ego, and the former has to be modified according to the latter.

It is not an accident that anarchists stress organisation instead of individuality. It is also true that many famous anarchists have carried the organisational emphasis to its logical conclusion, and have become openly authoritarian. One may mention a few of them: Fr. Mortenson, G. Oliver, Peter & Sophia Kropotkin, etc.

In conclusion I will say that anarchism is authoritarian if its followers preach or follow the line of organisation. It is anti-authoritarian if its followers are individualistic. In other words the only solution to the authoritarian trend in anarchism is anarcho-individualism.

J.G.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

Meetings now held at The White Bear (Lounge Bar) Lisle Street, W.C.2. (Leicester Square) Every Sunday, 7.30 p.m.

DEC. 13. Arthur Uloth on INCEST.

DEC. 20.—Debate on motion: "That B.B.C. English is corrupting the English Language".

DEC. 27—No Meeting

EAST LONDON DEBATING COMPETITION (Round One)

Dec. 20th, 7.15 p.m. at "White Bear", Lisle Street, W.C.2.

London Anarchist Group will propose the motion "That B.B.C. English is corrupting the English Language".

'COMING OUT' PARTY for David Bell

Saturday, December 19th at 7.30 p.m. at 5 Caledonian Road, N.1. (basement) Entertainment. Refreshments Admission 2/-

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