

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The liberty of the individual is a necessary postulate of human progress."

—ERNEST RENAN.

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Threepence

## Sport Promotes Misunderstandings Between Nations

# NO OLYMPIC SPIRIT

Nowhere are loyalties more fiercely felt than in the field of national sport. Within a country they may be given to a regional football team or to an individual athlete, but in international competition national sporting fans are united in a zealous patriotism, all regional differences temporarily forgotten.

The athletes themselves are at war; the methods of elimination are skill, toughness and determination, but here the individual "will to win" is the spur, regardless of the competitor's nationality.

Last week-end the 1960 Olympics came to an end in Rome. Commentators frequently reminded us that the spirit of the Olympic Games was a display of individual skill, not national ability, but the "uncommitted" observer may have got a different impression.

The hoisting of national flags and the playing of anthems when the medals were awarded, were surely symbols of "national greatness" rather than universal acknowledgement of individual dexterity.

The opening parade of athletes from the two big nations, Russia and America, preceded by their national flags seemed to signify an extension of the outer space race into the athletic arena, and as in the space race, the Soviet competitors were ahead at the end of the Olympics.

The United States scored a political victory by having a Negro carry its flag for the first time in their Olympic history which, politics apart, seems only just since the negroes taking part in the Olympics were amongst the best athletes—a fact which will not increase their popularity with the rabid racialisists "back home".

One hears it argued that international sport promotes "understanding" between nations, but we are inclined to believe that if all the disputes behind the scenes at Rome were made public, as well as the true feelings of the competitors and their supporters, the opposite might be the case.

Occasionally one had a glimpse of the antagonisms not always successfully saved for back room debate, and even within nations the Olympic spirit was not always to the fore. British competitors (and no doubt this applies to other nations) and their managers sometimes sought to place the blame for failure on each other. England, well represented by Scotland, came only a poor twelfth in the medal stakes, but we doubt if she will bow magnanimously to the superiority of athletes from other contending nations.

However, it is not the purpose of this paper to take sides in athletic competitions. As individuals we can appreciate the skill of athletes and take an interest in their psychology, but we doubt if the organisation of large scale international athletic competition would, as it is sometimes suggested, serve as an outlet "for aggressive impulses" which might otherwise be expended in warlike activities.

The assumption is that aggression is dissipated on both sides, by the

act of competition (and of course the supporters are "right there with them", suffering the defeat or glorying in the success). In fact, the chances are that the loser at any rate will be even more frustrated than before.

As an example of the bloody aftermath of a day's "good clean sport", not quite on the Olympic level but relating to competitive sport, we were told in Glasgow recently by a sad football lover, that supporters of both the defeated and victorious sides were roaming the streets in hordes equipped with bottles and knives, carrying on the afternoon's match well into the night. Even casual strollers, uninterested in football disputes, were challenged as to their allegiance.

This, in less extreme forms, is common enough after a football match in Glasgow (regarded as a religious war between Catholics and Protestants), and it may not happen everywhere in Britain, but it suggests that "aggressive impulses" are not necessarily left behind in the stadium (on the Continent we are told that battles frequently follow big matches).

It seems to us that if "natural aggressive instincts" which find an outlet in war are to be effectively canalized into harmless competitive sport, education towards the "Olympic spirit" will have to start long before competitors meet in the arena; the symbols of division so much in evidence in Rome—the national flags and anthems—will certainly have to be dispensed with.

Our point is that today it is nonsense to talk about the Olympic spirit exemplified by individual athletes when clearly sport on the level of the Olympic games is a matter of national prestige.

The fierce economic and political competition between nations (especially the powerful ones) has extended into the world of sport. Russia and America give immense support to their athletes competing in international events, and in fact expect them to run for the country's sake rather than as individuals.

Ambitious, privileged athletes are not likely to be the bearers of a new internationalism; they have to pay for government support and the easiest way to do so is to be a patriot.

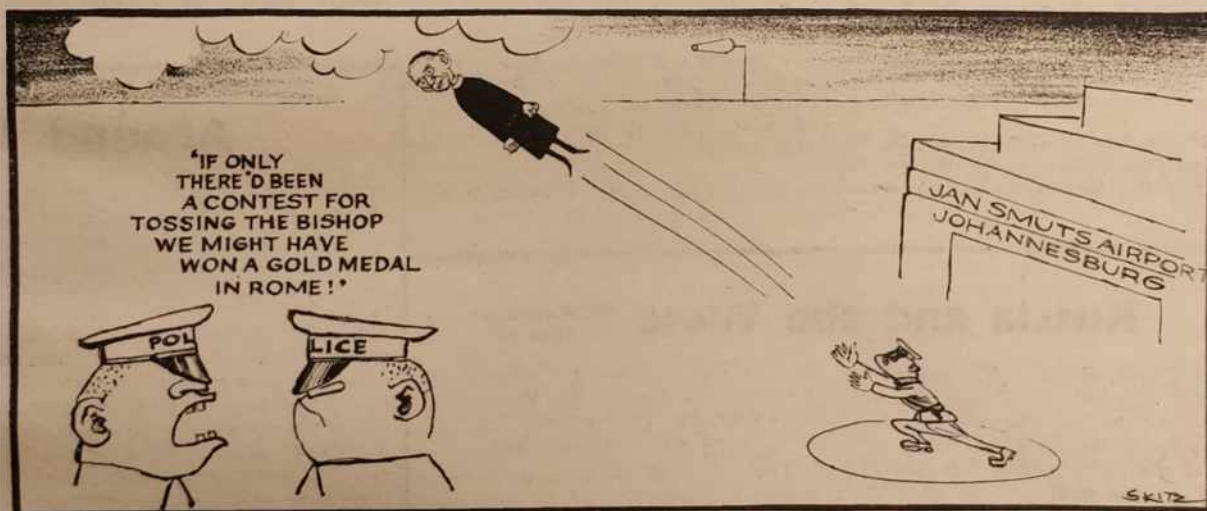
## Mr. K the Political Cad

ONE of the reasons why Khrushchev is so hated by politicians is that he cannot be relied on to play the political game according to the rules. These unwritten rules are designed to maintain the prestige of the leaders in the eyes of the public. "Hard bargaining" at the conference table is the bread and butter of political life, and even there a politician who respects his profession will agree not to try to get the better of the bargaining every time. Whatever these poor people may have to put up with, "Live and let Live" is a time honoured motto among the political fraternity. And one thing you never do is to publicly expose your opponent with his pants down. You may agree among yourselves that having caught him in such a situation deserves a concession from him the next time a burning issue is discussed. But you never humiliate him in public; not because you wouldn't like to but because by so doing you would be letting down the profession as well as humiliating your political rival. And the profession is one in which you can only breathe the intoxicating air of Power and Status so long as you succeed in maintaining in the eyes of the public this image of the politi-

cian as a superior being, a man of giant stature compared with other men. Such a superman cannot be subjected to the kinds of indignities which we have to suffer in our daily lives.

In this respect Mr. K. is an unorthodox politician as well as a cad. He demonstrated what could be expected from him in the way of unprofessional conduct over the incident of the American spy planes. He just led on poor Eisenhower to make a fool of himself in public, simply by putting questions to him to which he already knew the answers but without telling Ike that he knew the answers. This was unpardonable, and the so-called tension between East and West, after a longish period of *detente* (which was the result of a period in which Mr. K. said all the right things about America's peaceful intentions, and Mr. Macmillan's Moscow mission, etc.), dates from then.

Now, after tripping up Ike over spy planes, cancelling his official visit to Russia, calling off the Summit after dragging Mr. Ike all the way to Paris (when he could have been enjoying a golfing holiday) and shooting down another American plane . . . as if all this was not enough to bar him from the society of self-respecting politicians, Mr. K. has gone and done it again! In announcing that he will lead the Russian delegation at the General Assembly of the United Nations he has put the Western politicians on the spot. And in particular the Americans, even if they have decided that Ike will not attend the Council meeting, were faced with having Mr. K. in their country without even being invited! But the real disservice Mr. K. has done to the political profession is that he has finally destroyed the *mystique* of the Summit, a device for solving the problems of the world much favoured by the Leftists à la *Tribune* and *New Statesman*. Top level politics will never be quite top level again!



## Behind the T.U.C. Blocks Votes

FOR the second successive year the annual Trade Union Congress was told of a slight drop in membership figures, which was explained by the actual decrease in the proportion of people in England engaged in manual work, combined with a failure on the part of the movement to recruit the increasing numbers of office workers. Now in the case of a social movement with a definite cause or policy, the membership figures are a rough guide to how successful it is, but can anyone discern a cause behind the masses of the TUC? On the contrary, the majority of union members are even more passive in their membership of their unions than members of the big political parties. A tiny proportion of the members are active in their branches, many of whom have definite political allegiances. It is this minority that put forward resolutions and vote on them at annual conferences. Side by side with them, particularly in the larger unions, exists a bureaucracy of permanent officials, who because of their knowledge and position, tend to be the people delegated with the union's vote at TUC meetings.

It is essential to bear in mind the structure of unions and their leadership when the decisions of the TUC are put forward as representing the British working class. It is even tempting to scorn

the term "industrial parliament", which is used of the annual congress, but in fact this description is a good one, for the congress "represents" the unionists in just the same way as the House of Commons represents the common people of England. The vital difference is that TUC decisions do not become law, and so the millions whose sole connection with their union consists of their weekly sub, and a cypher going towards somebody's block vote card, can continue in complete ignorance of their leaders' affairs.

The prime purpose for which the Trade Unions developed was to secure higher wages and better working conditions. Any more revolutionary aspirations, which are still fossilised in some of their constitutions, were forgotten in the measure that the unions became successful in the reformist business, and in this sense the unions truly came to represent the attitudes of their members. Today, the real wage of an individual depends just as much on the latest regulation issued by the Treasury or Bank of England as on the figure decided on as his weekly wage, and there is no longer the clear-cut image of a struggle between workers wanting to raise wages and bosses wanting to keep them down.

Some delegates representing non-manual workers' unions protested on

the last day of the recent conference that it has become too preoccupied with political rather than industrial affairs, and this point of view was supported widely in the press. By this they probably meant that the unions were discussing subjects which lay outside their supposed concern, and which should properly be left to the government. This is an attitude to be expected from the capitalist press. To whatever extent, however slight it may be, that the appearance of national policy and armaments expense on the agenda implies that workers consider it their right to decide how the fruit of their labour is to be used, and are becoming interested and conscious of the issues facing people today, it is thoroughly praiseworthy that they should be discussed.

On the other hand, the ways in which the political tendencies of the Trade Union movement do lead it astray are firstly, in its organisation and procedure being a slavish imitation of the corresponding aspects of parliamentary government, and secondly, in its assumption that apart from the clear cut fight over wages, which has now been happily settled, everything else can only be considered in the light of political solutions. The TUC conference for instance, passed resolutions "instructing the general council to press the government" to

spend more money on medical research; to "pursue actively with the government" the question of safety from radiation; and on the most publicized and most important resolution, declared that "the policies of a future Labour Government should be based on" the rejection of nuclear deterrents.

Those are political approaches. An industrial approach might have involved (no blueprints) making a grant for independent medical research, setting up a committee to look into safety matters and asking workers to boycott places where safety precautions were inadequate, and withdrawing all labour from atom bomb factories, research stations, rocket bases, warning systems, etc. These would have the advantages of immediacy, but would spoil the situation of domestic bliss in which the movement is at the moment.

If workers are to participate in deciding how the land is to be run, it can only be on the basis of individual awareness which just cannot be conceived in reformist terms. Who can honestly get enthusiastic at a meeting to send a delegate to a conference to appoint a delegate to a congress—to vote how he pleases? Either one is awake and revolutionary, or apathetic and conservative. Most of society prefers the latter.



# AFRICAN PRESENCE

AFTER the 1939-45 War, a young Senegalese, Alioune Diop, brought together the leading contemporary French and Negro thinkers residing in France. Richard Wright from America, Leopold Senghor from Africa and Andre Gide, Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus were among them. They all decided that "the authentic African genius should at long last find expression". Thus, in November 1947, the first issue of *Présence Africaine* appeared containing articles "affirming the need for an African presence", a presence as Sartre said "which would be among us, not like that of a child in the family circle, but like the presence of a remorse and a hope". There followed contributions from African poets, novelists and essayists, and soon the whole Negro world was assisting in this great venture.

In the 1950's a political note was added to the purely cultural review and *Présence Africaine* began assisting young writers in producing books such as "Negro Nations and Cultures" by Chiek Anta Diop, of much importance in the discovery of African history.

In 1955 the terms *Présence Africaine* was adopted by the editorial board of the magazine and it organised the first International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in September 1956, which was held in Paris with some sixty delegates from Africa, America and Europe attending. The movement fast became one of the centres of Negro Culture and a Society of African Culture was created, *Présence Africaine* again organised the 2nd International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in 1959, held at Rome.

As a group, *Présence Africaine* is not set in any one ideological niche, though

Communism has an influence it is not overwhelming. The editorial board is entirely Negro and though Aimé Césaire is a Communist, Richard Wright is certainly not and neither is Leopold Senghor (all of whom are among the editorial board).

Now, at last, *Présence Africaine* is coming out in an English edition, appearing bi-monthly. The first volume is dedicated to the Independence of Guinea and provides some absorbing articles, mostly written by Guineans or by visitors to the country.

What emerges is that Guinea enjoys being independent, or has done up to the writing of these articles. M. Sékou Touré strikes one as being a man of sincerity and the Guineans seem to be enthusiastic and excited about being an independent country. The influence of Communism is undoubted, but as Aimé Césaire puts it: "his (Touré's) endeavour is not so much to make Africa Marxian as to make Marxism African". In theory Touré believes in what he calls "communocracy", one party rule with the people of Guinea "as the brain responsible for conceiving every action which merits undertaking in the name of the Republic of Guinea. It is by giving the people of Guinea the power to orient the State" that all will be well. Just how the people will do this is left to one's imagination.

The most interesting article in this volume is by J. Suret-Canale, Director of the National Institute of Research and Documentation, Republic of Guinea on "Guinea under the Colonial System". The twenty or more years of resistance to the French imperialists, the deportation of Chiefs and the plain murder and subjection of the Guinean people is told with a just pride and bitter anger. As late as 1903, over twenty years after the French arrival, their annual report could admit: "The natives have a very great spirit of independence. They live in villages which are independent of each other. The authority of the village chiefs is very slight and that of the Canton chiefs which it has been thought fit to install in the military Circles is absolutely nil." Slowly however the superior military strength of the French prevailed; forced labour, direct administration and the destruction of whole villages of resistance led to the unwilling subjection of these independent folk.

At the end of World War II, the author asks "Where are they (the people) to find this famous 'civilisation' whose

benefits should compensate them for their additional burden of labour, and taxation, to say nothing of the drain of blood in two world wars?

"The equipment—railway, posts, telegraph, roads, ports, etc., merely serves to deliver a little more to the users of big business. It merely serves to intensify the exploitation of the population. Schools and hospitals are only available to the privileged few. He, the peasant, continues to eat and labour in the same way as his ancestors, except that he labours more and eats less."

And so they sang these satirical and ironic songs as the French left on the eve of independence:

Sékou Touré, so this is the way the French have left  
Without saying farewell  
What shame  
So this is the way the French leave us  
Without even saying good-bye  
What shame, by Allah  
The French have gone without saying farewell.

To show the French that Guineans could say farewell, this song was sung:  
Good-bye Europeans  
And without a grudge  
I, myself am not offended  
Good-bye, everyone to his own home  
Without any fuss  
Good-bye provided you disturb us no more  
Let him follow you  
Who believes you indispensable.

Independence, freedom, the imperialists have gone. One party rule and the will of the people prevails. And yet we read in the *Guardian* (May 18, 1960): "Plots, people's courts, secret trials and death sentences . . . this news from the Republic of Guinea. Nineteen people have been sentenced to death and several others to long sentences of forced labour."

"The atmosphere of Guinea has certainly changed since the first days of mass enthusiasm for M. Sékou Touré's independence régime. The change has come about slowly but is undeniable—the popular momentum has slowed down: people are growing suspicious of each other, the one-party system is killing traditional African methods of consultation and mass participation, and the Government's doctrinaire approach to agricultural reform has created many enemies among the peasants. The *joie de vivre* seems to have gone out of Guinea's life."

The old, old story. Freedom is no-

## Russia and the West

Continued from p. 3

antly curving avenues. The citizens are kindly, cultured, sleek and humane. Many London suburbs are almost on the verge of this Utopia already. To a world of grinding poverty, insecurity and war it seems ideal. At the same time it does not give me the sense of "freedom", even though there may be more civil liberty than there is today. I prefer William Morris' ideal society really.

In any case I do not believe that this utopian suburb civilisation will be the threshold of a world of peace. As long as people retain their faith in the state, in the justification of means by ends, in the concept of some form of private property over and above the things a man uses in his daily life, in authoritarianism in short, society will continue to be rent by painful and useless conflicts.

There ought to be some sort of alternative to, on the one hand, the religious view that man will never know happiness on this earth, or at least that he cannot achieve it by his own efforts, and on the other, the scientific technocratic attitude.

Of course, what makes Isaac Deutscher's prophecies striking is the role he assigns to the Soviet Union. When this book was first presented to the world, it was a series of lectures delivered in various important cities in Canada. The blurb tells us "they aroused tremendous interest, and drew front-page reports and leading articles from Canada's national newspapers." I take it that this was because of his way of looking at the Soviet society, usually still represented as basically evil. His view is infinitely refreshing. It must however have disturbed quite a lot of people who see everything in very simple terms, Russia black, West white or at least, Russia very dark grey, West off-white.

However, he is careful to point out that, when all has been said, not only

where found where the State remains.

The second volume of the English edition of *Présence Africaine*, which has recently appeared, has widened its scope by including an English contributor, Michael Scott, who has written a short concise article on "The essential Duplicity of Apartheid" in which he asserts that "The essential duplicity and hypocrisy of apartheid consists in the fact that while it claims to allow Africans to develop along their own lines and to preserve their social systems and tribal customs, its legislation is designed to strengthen an industrial and agricultural system which is economically dependent on cheap migrant labour."

Another article "Portugal and the Colonies of Angola and Guinea" by C. Mahala from Mozambique adds some grim news to the little that has leaked out of these two fascist colonies. What does seem certain now is that opposition in Angola is growing and that Portugal is becoming frightened at the prospect. One harsh aspect of the situation is the arrival of the Portuguese Air Force in Angola; in one demonstration of strength an exercise including bombing, machine gun fire and precision raids with napalm bombs was executed. In the words of the Belgian weekly *La Gauche* (a report from a correspondent in the Congo): "The operations were carried out as though on a battlefield, the authorities having made it quite clear that this was a question of the form of combat they would apply in the event of their having to crush an anti-colonialist rebellion, or better still, the day when they decided to quell "by anticipating them" attempts at popular rebellion.

"Agile, athletic, goose-stepping, the soldiers astonished the European population. And several observers, we are told, apparently only wished one thing: that it had not been a mere exercise."

In Portuguese Guinea, on the border of independent Guinea, a report of a peaceful workers' demonstration being fired upon resulting in the death of 51 Africans was reported by survivors who managed to escape to Conakry in the Republic of Guinea. One thing seems quite certain, and that is that the Portuguese possessions of Fascist Dictator Salazar are not remaining outside the African struggle for independence.

## Around the Galleries

THE Arcade Gallery in the Royal Arcade off Bond Street is one of the few London galleries that manage to achieve a non-commercial air. Its canvas-cluttered and often deserted rooms at the top of the dark and winding stairs look and at times act more like a painter's studio than a dealer's den and it is with genuine pleasure that one is one of the exhibiting artists works on an unfinished canvas. Four artists are showing twenty-three works and while they have little in common regarding style and subject matter, each one is a competent painter, proficient in their craft and modest in their claims. Pegrum and Reid offer a group of pleasant abstractions carefully conceived and diligently executed while John Eyles continues to explore with magpie eye the style of top U hacks. This is unfortunate for Eyles is a gifted young painter even if in a minor key and while his flickering brush creates the illusion of a blurred press photograph one does unfortunately have to murmur Francis Bacon when viewing his "Street incident". Tom Mallin is a pleasant un-aesthetic looking type whose still lifes have gone beyond being influenced by Tayler and have undoubtedly become pastiches.

The same off-whites and grubby yellows, the same lozenges of paint, the same flattening out of subject matter and while Tayler is too slick and sure of himself for my taste I felt that even when imitating Tayler Mallin manages to inject a warmth and humanity into his canvases that is missing from the master's work. These four men are still young enough to play with other men's styles but they must in the next year or two find their own path to a personal interpretation of what their eye sees and not reflect another man's canvas. The Piccadilly Gallery at 16a, Cork Street, London, W.1., is showing twenty-two of Jack Simcock's recent paintings.

This Pottery-born painter is without a doubt one of the finest artists the Bond Street boys have managed to haul in these last few years. Using the mountain village of Mow-Cop as his base

## FREEDOM

An article by Mudeira Keita, Interior Minister of the Sudan (part of the crumbling Mali Federation) on "The Single Party in Africa" is unconvincing. I failed to understand the difference between his ideas and the ideology of National Socialism. M. Keita claimed the difference was that the Single Party in Africa was controlled by the will of the people.

A far worthier mongophony is to be found in Father Mongameli Mabona's absorbing essay, "Towards an African Philosophy". He attempts to demonstrate how African philosophy differs from the philosophies of the rest of the world, summing up he argues: "The European faces the world with faith, the Indian with resignation and calm, the Mongol with hope and optimism, the African faces the world with stark reality." He explains that the African mind "expresses itself in symbols, so also African emotions express themselves in rhythm". He claims that for the African "Individual actions are viewed in relation to the whole of life and not just in themselves alone. The African dance is the classic example of complete individual freedom and full co-operation, because in it anyone can follow his own inspiration as to rhythm." Perhaps it is too much to point to the similarity of Negro jazz and of anarchist ideas, but I hardly think so.

Lastly, Pierre Martinou presents a short study of the works of the West Indian poet Aimé Césaire. One or two lines I cannot resist reproducing here:—

but they abandon themselves seized by the essence of things ignorant of surfaces but seized by the movement of all things heedless of taming, but playing the game of the world.

Or the simplicity of this: The memory of a road that climbs steeply in the shade of bamboos.

And to finish, what more apt than these two lines written in the light of Basil Davidson's book "Old Africa Rediscovered":

My face of very worn coin suddenly rediscovered in the excavations . . .

R.J.W.

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Total 21 9 5  
Previously acknowledged 591 13 10

1960 TOTAL TO DATE £613 3 3

\*Indicates regular contributors.

he has chosen to record the stark and silent world around him. These paintings of dark and sullen houses crouching like animals against a leaden sky are social documents that can damn a society as surely as a Goya etching. Stone graves upon the silent earth enfolding their living dead they cry of a community at one with the cabbage, for here at last is Cold Comfort Farm on canvas. While Lowry would record the passing scene Simcock condemns, as from a palette of black and dirty white he builds up, smear by smear of his palette knife, his bleak and empty world. Canaletto was much given to cutting into his paint with a sharp-edged tool as an easy way of achieving shadows for his jutting ledges and a knife and a straight-edge was an indispensable part of the Venetian's equipment; so too with Simcock.

For his slated roofs he drags the reverse tip of his brush across the black and tacky paint and the light glancing against the ridges of paint make the effect he seeks. While Canaletto's use of the knife spoils his paintings for some Simcock succeeds for he relies upon the light to aid him. Unlike Canaletto however, Simcock cannot people his landscape and the dark and badly drawn, badly painted people that peer on rare occasions from his canvases are as alien and as irritating as the passing rubber-necks that gape into the TV camera. Simcock has one fault in common with the Venetian and that is his laziness.

Canaletto was too prone to write in his waves in a sort of casual calligraphy as across the flat Mediterranean pond he would scrawl a thousand lines of connected w's with a break at inchy intervals. Simcock who has built up his slates and his trees by manipulating his paint to catch the light spoils the effect by writing in the brown joints between the black stones of the foremost houses. For Simcock is a remarkably fine painter who can only be spoiled by his own laziness, for here at least is a poet of the night who has added the village of Mow-Cop to the topography of the silent world of the imagination.

ARTHUR MOYSE.



## United Nations Poisoning the Congo

MORE than a month ago we were suggesting in these columns that the United Nations far from being a force for peace, was in fact "a threat to peace" (FREEDOM, August 14) since the tendency was to involve the Power blocs in disputes which, for the intervention of the United Nations, would have remained localised and easier to resolve. After nine weeks the Congo crisis has both deepened-internally as well as having become yet one more bone of contention between the Big Powers and a further source of disunity within the nations of the "United" Nations!

Nine weeks ago the crisis in the Congo was a clear cut struggle between the emergent Congolese Republic and Belgium on the one hand and between aspiring political leaders within the Congo on the other. The chances of the former being quickly resolved seemed possible in that the majority of the white settlers had already decamped or were in the process of doing so, and it is doubtful whether the Belgians would have considered it expedient to maintain an armed foothold in the Katanga province for long. For in the long term their economic interests in this rich mining area would have been better safeguarded by civilians (financial, technical and commercial delegations) than by paratroopers and political puppets.

And the political struggle among the Congolese leaders may well have been bloody but short if the United Nations had kept out. Instead, from what one can piece together from the confused despatches, the internal situation is more serious than at any time in the past nine weeks, with the United Nations forces actively supporting those who seek to depose M. Lumumba. As we write, reports from the Congo state that the Premier has now been arrested. We hold no brief for him, though we do not suppose that he is any worse than any of the other budding politicians manoeuvring for power in the Congo.

But what has happened is that the struggle for power among the Congolese leaders has become an issue of world importance because on the one hand Russia has plumped for Lumumba while Mr. Hammarskjöld and the Western powers are obviously supporting Mr. Kasavubu and his nominees. Russia has supplied a few trucks and transport planes to Lumumba while the United Nations forces turn a blind eye to the small quantities of military supplies from Belgium that are finding their way into the hands of Mr. Tshombe and other anti-Lumumba forces. Furthermore the United Nations forces struck a crippling blow when they paid the Congolese army which hadn't received any wages for the past two months. And having lost the loyalty of the army, such as it is, Mr. Lumumba now finds himself without power—unless of course he enjoys popular support in the country, and this the reports are too scanty or too biased for some kind of assessment to be made from here.

But in spite of the aggravation of the crisis in the Congo, it would still be a minor issue of no international consequence, but for the headline treatment it is receiving in the world press. And it is receiving such treatment because it has come under the political magnifying glass of the United Nations, which means that far from seeking solutions in the

YOU might think that, with the abundance of surveys, polls and censuses, every aspect of our social life must have been analysed statistically and docketed and filed away in some government office or professional institution. But one of the things which the new school of social investigators has shown us is the absence of facts, and indeed, the absence of curiosity in post-war Britain. In a striking article, "Social Facts and Social Conscience" (*Twentieth Century*, May 1960), O. R. McGregor, writing of "the present paradox of better means to social knowledge and less inclination to use it," declares that:

"British society today exhibits a greater unwillingness to discover, to collect and to face up to the social facts of life than at any time during the last hundred years."

This is evident in Mr. McGregor's own field of study (he is the author of *Divorce in England*). The Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce studied its subject for 4½ years, and then moralised about broken homes and parental irresponsibility, without the slightest factual evidence, giving their cue to all the moralists and preachers who tell us about the breakdown of family life, and ensuring the continuance of the divorce laws in their present form. Meanwhile, as Mr. McGregor points out, a bit of arithmetic and an acquaintance with social history "shows the family to be a more stable and effective institution than at any time since the industrial expansion of the eighteenth century."

It is evident too, in the field of criminology and the study of delinquency, where, as Barbara Wootten has shown in her *Social Science and Social Pathology*, the officially published Criminal Statistics are so arbitrarily compiled that any inference at all drawn from them is suspect. "Why are the British so bored by criminology?" as *The Observer* a few weeks ago. The answer must be that

we prefer the pleasures of being titillated by the literature of crime or of moralising about delinquency to finding out the how and why of anti-social behaviour.

The absence of facts is notorious in the educational world. John Vaizey complained recently in a letter to *The Times* that the Ministry of Education's "statistical services are a public scandal". His own attempt to unravel the costs of education in his book of that title, revealed some surprising things—for example that in recent years we have been spending a lower proportion of the national income on current education than we did during the slump of the early thirties. The recent miscalculations over the supply of teachers are an example of the Ministry's statistical muddle. The principal of a teachers' training college told me last year that, on the same day as she received through the post a policy circular from the Ministry based on the assumption that there was a possibility that too many teachers were being trained, she was visited by Ministry inspectors to see how rapidly the College could be extended to meet the urgent shortage of teachers which its Advisory Council had just discovered.

BUT it is in the assessment of the extent of poverty in a society where it is assumed that poverty has been abolished, that this lack of factual information is most glaring of all. Peter Townsend has reminded us that

"In the decade before the war there were more than a dozen published surveys of poverty—in London, Birmingham, York, Southampton and elsewhere. Poverty, or the threat of poverty, overshadowed the lives of a large proportion of the population—a vocal and very active proportion. In the 13 years or so since the end of the war, there has been only one survey of poverty—and that a rather mismanaged one."

## PEOPLE AND IDEAS The New Social Investigators—2 AN ABSENCE OF FACTS

And he goes on to make the challenging statement that no-one has the factual knowledge to deny:

"It is clear of course, that poverty no longer threatens the majority of the most active and vocal section of the population. The poor are a voiceless minority. Yet they comprise a large number of people. There are millions depending almost solely on inadequate social insurance and national assistance benefits—the old, the sick, the unemployed, the widows with young children; there are many hundreds of thousands of chronic sick, infirm and socially handicapped persons living in institutions and at home; and there are millions of people, especially those with large families,

living on low wages. Although the figures are difficult to interpret, the fraction of the population covered by these categories seems to be closer to one-fifth than one-tenth—ranging from five to ten millions."

Elsewhere he estimates that between seven and eight million people are living on the verge of actual poverty. Is this a gross exaggeration? As Timmins says in his *Irresponsible Society*:

"... we simply do not know. No effort has been made by Government to discover the real incidence of poverty and levels of living among the old and other dependent groups. This to me is one of the more striking signs of the irresponsibility of the 1950s."

"... Secretiveness in administration, and appalling lack of facts, the decline in quality of Royal Commissions and committees of enquiry, have all combined to maintain much of the mythology of 'The Welfare State'."

(To be continued)

## BOOK REVIEW

### Russia and the West

THE GREAT CONQUEST, by Isaac Deutscher, Oxford 10/6.

ISAAC DEUTSCHER believes that in the course of the next decades Russia will liberalise herself, little by little, and her people will become more and more prosperous, so that in the end the standard of life will be higher in the Soviet Union than in the West, and there may even be greater freedom. With what, he asks, will the West answer this challenge?

He has an optimistic view of the future. As he rightly says, it is a matter of Utopia or death now, the situation confronting mankind is so grave. Yet he seems to have something vital lacking in his Utopia, which has echoes of Wells.

"The time of universal academic education may not be so very far off—it may perhaps come even before the end of this century. Again, we should not

shrug this off as a pipe dream; did not the idea of universal secondary education seem 'impossible' even at the beginning of this century?

"With the work, for his livelihood occupying only a small part of his active life, man will be able to spend the rest of his life pursuing intellectual and aesthetic interests, studying, enjoying art, exploring the universe, engaging in sport, and so on. The division of society into the toilers and the leisured classes would then vanish; and with it could disappear the divorce and gulf between intellectual work and manual labour. The former would cease to be the privilege of a minority, the latter—a dire necessity and a curse for the mass of mankind."

"Of course, this is not a new ideal. But hitherto ideal and reality have been poles apart; and no path could be seen leading to Utopia. Now at last, the Russians think, technological progress and social and educational developments do begin to throw a solid bridge between the realities of today and the vision of the future."

The anarchists have also been saying much the same sort of thing for generations. Much of what Isaac Deutscher says, about reducing the working day to a few hours, had already been put forward by Kropotkin as a possibility more than fifty years ago, even with the technology of his day. In Deutscher's vision though there is something lacking. He talks of "freedom". The Russian rulers are already finding that the Stalinist tyranny was a handicap to progress. The modern Russians, thanks to better education, are no longer willing to be treated as they were in the old days. All well and good. But this is to limit the question to the matter of civil liberties and legal safeguards, and so forth. This is not real freedom, the anarchist would say. It is merely an atmosphere of greater permissiveness.

The Russian people want a permissive régime; but they still believe firmly, not only in Marxism but in the Russian state. In other words, their attitude is essentially the same as it is in the West. The same desire for a set of carefully circumscribed rights, but no real objection to the existing system as such.

Again, underlying his optimism is the appalling belief, shared by Marxists and many liberal progressives, that past crimes were necessary to the construction of Utopia. That, in effect, thanks to the development of science and the ability to mass-produce goods, brought about only as the result of massacres and virtual slavery in the early days of industrialisation, the period of "primitive accumulation" in Marxist terminology, we shall now see mankind able to enter a utopian society. There would be something wrong, I feel, even in the best hospital, the freest of free schools, the gayest of dance halls, if they were built upon a foundation of human skulls.

The only way that mankind can hope to escape this terrible past is by adopting an entirely new attitude to life. We may benefit from the sufferings of earlier generations, but we must change our attitude so that these sufferings will never be repeated. Man learns by suffering, but there are pleasanter ways. Now, there does not seem to me, from what Isaac Deutscher says, any sign at all that the Russian people have abandoned authoritarianism as such, or even that they are moving in that direction. No doubt there are little groups here and there, but without influence, just as there are in the West.

It may be perhaps that this also explains the curious dryness of the socialist-scientific utopias. They are all the same. The whole world becomes a vast garden city, with trim lawns and pleas-

Continued on p. 2

## The David Pratt Trial

BY the time this issue of FREEDOM is published, the trial of David Pratt the wealthy farmer who attempted the life of the South African Premier, Dr. Verwoerd, may have taken place and his fate sealed. According to reports from Johannesburg efforts are being made by his family to persuade the Pretoria Supreme Court that he is suffering from mental disorder and that he should be sent for observation. In support of the plea was David Pratt's account of the shooting which he gave to Professor L. A. Hurst, Professor of Psychological Medicine of Witwatersrand University. The following is the report of it published in last Sunday's *Observer*.

The day before the shooting—according to the professor's account of what Pratt told him—the farmer saw a van into which about 100 prisoners were being put. He thought: "What the hell will be happening next? This cannot go on. Where can we see any light?"

Pratt then first experienced what he described as "a feeling". The next morning "the feeling became very strong that someone in this country must do something about it, and it better bloody well be me, feeling as I do about it."

He did not, however, know what to do. Pratt was going to the Rand Show to see about his trout exhibits and before leaving his farm he slipped a 0.22 revolver into his pocket. But he had no definite intention of using it.

At the show he went to the members' stand, spoke briefly to some cattle breeders and then went for a "spot of lunch". Pratt then returned to the stand and

listened to the Prime Minister's speech. He was "not impressed".

The "feeling" got stronger. He thought: "What is the country going to do?" There was no applause, no enthusiasm. Nobody was prepared either to cheer or to boo. They were completely negative. "If there had been strong booing it would have been sufficient."

He walked to the cattle ring to see three friends, but could not rouse any enthusiasm for conversation. The thought occurred to him: "What is all this leading to?" Next he thought: "I shall not kill the man, but lay him up for a month or more to give him time to think things over."

Then thinking that when a plunge had to be taken it should be taken quickly, Pratt walked up to the stand, pulled out the gun, pointed it and fired it when close to the Prime Minister. (Pratt indicated a distance of 1 ft.)

The farmer is uncertain as to the interval that elapsed before the firing of the second shot. He remembers his hand being bumped and heard the gun going off a second time. "It all became rather confused after the second shot."

Pratt added: "I was grabbed by a number of policemen, pushed around, handcuffed and brought here." By "here" he was referring to the South African medico-legal laboratories where he was examined by Professor Hurst.

In addition he told Professor Hurst of the fits from which he had suffered since the age of eight:

These were of a severe type, in which he lost consciousness, fell to the ground and sometimes bit his tongue, and also a milder type.

During the less severe attacks he had twisted an ankle or broken the stem of a wine glass that he happened to be holding. Attacks occurred about once a month, but from 1954 to 1959 they became less frequent. This phase coincided with a general mental change, which Pratt described as euphoria, "in which the grass looked greener and the birds sang more sweetly."

After this came a phase of depression which responded to one electro-shock treatment. Pratt identified yet another phase when he was given different treat-

ment. He described himself as "cured", but changed it to "much improved", because of a major seizure two or three weeks before the Verwoerd shooting.

Pratt was on horseback at his farm. He was quarrelling with his manager when, without warning, he must have had a minor fit because he found himself on the ground.

The farmer explained that one reason why he was silent and uncommunicative at the Rand Show (10 days after the declaration of a state of emergency) was because of a conviction that "someone must sacrifice himself."

When his euphoria came on in 1954 he felt like the prophets in the Bible. He wanted to give away all he possessed and speak intensely against nationalism.

Instead he decided to form a coalition Government. He intended to approach three political leaders, but approached only two, one of whom agreed in principle but the other turned him down. He regretted afterwards he had not consulted the third man, Mr. N. C. Havenga, late leader of the African party.

Professor Hurst's report said: "His current lack of judgment and insight into his limitations at that time, as well as his currently assumed role of political saviour and martyr, lead me to the conclusion that he is at present suffering from a grandiose delusion trend or megalomania."

In 1954, Pratt said, he heard "organ music playing in my head." The experience developed and he began to feel disembodied as if he were looking down on his body. He entered a hospital for nervous disorders, but became violent and smashed windows and had to be locked up.

Then he descended into what he describes as "a Miltonian hell, complete with fires, prongs and yells of anguish." He entered a state in which the whole world was a "play", and everyone was acting.

Whatever impression the account of his fits and state of mind may leave with the reader, that part of his account which deals with the motives behind his decision to shoot Dr. Verwoerd, seem to us perfectly sane and praiseworthy.

best interests of the country, the Congo has become yet another pawn in the game of power politics. In the end they will drop a battered and embittered Congo for some more juicy crisis or issue which will be proclaimed by somebody or other as "a threat to world peace". And so it goes on and will go on to the last politician's dying breath!



## Down with the Bigoted Editors

DEAR FRIENDS,

Martin Smith's letter in the Aug. 20th issue of FREEDOM was a good one, and I hope it found its mark. However, while I agree with all his criticisms, I don't think they add up to a case for stopping a subscription to the paper.

The whole paper seems to have been spoiled for Martin Smith by the views he quotes, but I perceive two trends of thought in FREEDOM. One of them I take to be the old school who find destructive criticism and cynical comment easy and whose ideas are purist and inflexible, and the other a new trend emphasising the need for constructive work in producing a non-coercive society.

I am optimistic about the new school prevailing, in spite of the fact that most of the bitter and bigoted articles are editorial and most of the tolerant and creative contributions are signed; and the quality of the occasional contributors is so high that almost every week there is at least one article so thoughtful and well reasoned that one is eager to show it to one's friends.

Of course the survival of FREEDOM as of everything else depends on the success of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in its present aims and its flexibility in tackling new situations. The campaign is more successful when it addresses itself to the public than the government and surely deserves the support and encouragement of anarchists. Similarly there are other things going on in the world not wholly inspired by consciously anarchist ideas but which embody libertarian elements, and it would be pleasant to read some encouraging comments on these in FREEDOM.

For instance, I have just read an account in a women's magazine of a communal enterprise spontaneously formed to help unmarried and other mothers in difficulty on account of their babies, which would have read well in FREEDOM.

Yours fraternally,  
BRIAN J. RICHARDSON.

Sevenoaks, Aug. 31.

## Up with the Refreshing Editors

DEAR EDITOR,

Congratulations on the issue of FREEDOM dated Sept. 3rd.

The articles "Poverty in the Midst of Plenty", "Music by Muzak", "An Independent Press", "The Indian Revival" and "Around the Galleries", I found most interesting and informative, and very refreshing, after so much unhealthy and morbid concentration on sex life and

psychology, which so often, alas, fills your columns.

Another subject which I feel gets too much space is "Non-Violence" and "Direct Action".

If the "Direct Action" of the "Non-Violencers" leads or tempts others into violence, then their "Direct Action" is indirectly violent, and in my opinion it is more evil to tempt others into violence, than to commit the violence oneself.

As both "Direct Action" and the CND are both directed against only one aspect of our civilization, do you not think that the subject is very overdone in FREEDOM, would it not be more beneficial, instructive and informative, to print more articles of enlightenment, on the structure of our society, how it works, why it is deliberately planned to work as it does, and the best means of changing it? Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

London, Sept. 7. (Mrs.) ELLEN A. REES.

## Down with Human Nature

We appreciate your weekly judgments although we are afraid that anarchism is unlikely to occur in our lifetime because of the inherent selfishness of the majority of human beings. As long as personal freedom is interpreted as personal licence then all responsibility for control in human affairs will be carried out by authority external to the individual. This is the difference between self-discipline and discipline imparted by society. Our present system is the result of much past wrongdoing between man and man.

A defence mechanism of "law and order" to protect the individuals in society from each other in their selfishness; therefore a degree of selfishness is always accepted.

Yours faithfully,

DEREK S. BOTTOMLEY.

Pudsey, Aug. 27.

## Up the Marchers

DEAR SIR,

There seem to me to be three possible reasons for marching—any one of which would be a sufficient reason for doing so.

1. To get other people to notice, think about, and possibly support one's cause.

2. To march to the disliked institution and simply sit in the way in sufficiently large numbers to disrupt its working and to overfill prisons, etc.

3. To go in smaller numbers and attempt to disrupt the working of the institution in any way, and thereafter with the aid of a few friends disrupt the working of the prison system—as Miss Robinson (FREEDOM Sept. 3rd, p. 3) did.

In the last two cases unless the aim is simply to rally public support the prison system must be disrupted in one way or the other.

In all three cases the ultimate aim is to show the government that one has sufficient power and support to take over the whole of the government if they do not make piecemeal changes. If it came to the point, at the moment the succeeding 'government' would not be anarchical since far too few people are willing to take responsibility for their own actions—which is why I say it is worth

while to get people to think for themselves and follow this by taking some kind of action—even if that action is in itself rather pointless—such as marching to the centre of political action and trying to persuade the politicians. Only when we have people individually thinking and acting for themselves can we have any hope of an anarchist state coming into being; it cannot be imposed from above. On the other hand I think that the sentence which puts the matter best—and incidentally implies a fact which many anarchists seem to overlook: that many people are not going to want to take responsibility for most of their actions—is that "Man needs freedom to decide on all matters in which he feels himself competent to decide and advice on all matters in which he feels insecure". This seems to me to be true and to imply that we will need some central body to draw up a set of "Advices" which the individual can disagree with if he can convince at least some other people that he has a real case to argue.

London, Sept. 7.

I.R.

## ZEN BUDDHISM AND PSYCHOANALYSIS, D. T. Suzuki, Erich Fromm and Richard de Martino, George Allen and Unwin, 16s.

"MOST men," said Thoreau, live lives of quiet desperation." This seems to be even truer today.

"At the beginning of this century," Erich Fromm tells us, "the people who came to the psychiatrist were mainly people who suffered from symptoms. They had a paralysed arm, or an obsessional symptom like a washing compulsion, or they suffered from obsessional thoughts which they could not get rid of. In other words, they were sick in the sense in which the word 'sickness' is used in medicine; something prevented them from functioning socially as a so-called normal person functions."

"These people still come to the psychoanalyst to seek help . . . but while they once formed the majority of a psychoanalyst's clientele, they are the minority today . . . because their number is relatively smaller in comparison with the many new "patients" who function socially, who are not sick in the conventional sense, but who do suffer from the *maladie du siècle*, the malaise, the inner deadness I have been discussing above. These new "patients" come to the psychoanalyst without knowing what they really suffer from. They complain about being depressed, having insomnia, being unhappy in their marriages, not enjoying their work, and any number of similar troubles. They usually believe that this or that particular symptom is their problem and that if they could get rid of this particular trouble they would be well. However, these patients usually do not see that their problem is not that of depression, of insomnia, of their marriages, or of their jobs. These various complaints are only the conscious form in which our culture permits them to express something which lies much deeper, and which is common to the various people who consciously believe that they suffer from this or that particular symptom. The common suffering is the alienation from oneself, from one's fellow man, and from nature; the awareness that life runs out of one's hand like sand, and that one will die without having lived; that one lives in the midst of plenty and yet is joyless."

And he adds,

T.U.C. Continued

In view of the atmosphere of acceptance and government and politics it is no wonder that the press can so easily submerge discussion of a principle or idea by presenting it in terms of the clash between two personalities, or that they should be concerned, not with the merits of any particular decision, but with the effect it might have on the movement. It is interesting to note that even Mr. Cousins had to offer the suggestion that if Labour had fought on an anti-deterrent policy it would have won the election, while the *Guardian*, which is supposed to support the Liberal Party as the progressive alternative, was worried stiff that Labour might spoil its chances by making the wrong decision.

The vote by which the conference rejected reliance on nuclear weapons may be a pale reflection of growing opposition to nuclear war policies. It is this opposition we should support and not the Congress decision. It has been developed in part by the activities of the C.N.D. and the various left wing papers, and also we trust by the activities of the anarchist movement. The anarchists will not share the pleasure of the others that the anti-nuclear movement has made an impression through a democratic vote: they will rather hope that it will lead to an ending of the set-up whereby as Sir Vincent Tewson so beautifully put it, "It so happens that by overwhelming majorities, your general council, the Labour Party executive, and the Parliamentary Party, democratically elected, have the responsibilities of safeguarding the conscience of this movement."

P.H.

## Where are those New Readers for FREEDOM?

P.H.

## Introduction to Zen

"For those who suffer from alienation, cure does not consist in the absence of illness, but in the presence of well-being."

This book, which originated from a conference on Zen Buddhism and Psychoanalysis held at Cuernavaca, in Mexico, in 1957, is divided into three sections. The first comprises *Five Lectures on Zen Buddhism* by D. T. Suzuki. The second deals with *Psychoanalysis and Zen Buddhism*, and is written by Erich Fromm. In the third, Richard de Martino tries to bring the two disciplines together in *The Human Situation and Zen Buddhism*.

Being familiar already with the writings of Fromm, I found his chapters the most interesting. At first sight there does not seem to be much connection between Zen and psychoanalysis. What Freud would have thought about the bringing of the two together I do not know. Yet both seek to bring man into contact with his unconscious, nor is it a coincidence that the two should be so much talked about at the present day. The world of ordered progress, of enlightenment and reason, has given place to a world of barbarism and irrationality. Furthermore, everything seems to some extent meaningless because of the H-Bomb. As long as this monstrosity hangs over mankind everything can be obliterated. Nor is it only the H-Bomb. The population explosion, the creation of dust-bowls, the spread of the cities, the destruction of all forms of animal and plant life (apart from that which man has successfully domesticated), none of these things exactly help to create a sense of security and *joie de vivre*.

At this time in human history it is no coincidence that so many of the more intelligent humans are in a state of bewilderment, and that they turn to psychoanalysis and Zen, for both seek an answer to the question of existence, a question that becomes increasingly pressing as the chance of humanity's continued existence grows less and less.

" . . . man is asked a question by the very fact of his existence, and . . . this is a question raised by the contradiction within himself—that of being in nature and at the same time of transcending nature by the fact that he is life aware of itself. Any man who listens to this question posed to him, and who makes it a matter of 'ultimate concern' to answer it as a whole man and not only by thoughts, is a 'religious' man; and all systems that try to give, teach, and transmit such answers are 'religious'. On the other hand, any man—and any culture—that tries to be deaf to the existential question is irreligious . . ."

Fromm studies Zen from the outside, relating it to his own theories of psychology. He believes that man, because of his self-awareness, has a sense of isolation which he seeks to overcome in various ways. In primitive times he did it by totemism, by assimilating himself to the world of animals, or by orgastic cults, when he himself becomes an animal again, without mental division, sense of inner conflict or conscience.

These methods however are forms of regression. After 2,000 B.C. a number of religious teachers made their appearance in different parts of the world, pointing a way forward to a new sense of unity with nature and one's fellow humans, but on a higher level, a conscious level.

I think that he tends to over-simplify a little. The "Great Religions" all have regressive features, and often tend to degenerate into ritual magic, sterile dogmatism and crusading zeal. The best one can say is that "the worst is the corruption of the best", and that, if the great religious teachers showed a way to the heights, they also, if unwittingly, provided a path to depths far deeper than those which totemism or shaman-

ism ever plumbod.

D. T. Suzuki studies Zen from within. He compares the different attitudes of East and West.

Basho, a Japanese poet of the seventeenth century, composed a seventeen-syllable poem known as a *haiku*. Translated into English, it runs,

"When I look carefully  
I see the *nazuna* blooming  
by the hedge!"

The *nazuna* is a small wild plant.

Suzuki compares this with Tennyson's

"Flower in the crannied wall,  
I pluck you out of the crannies—  
Hold you here, root and all, in my hand,

Little flower—but if I could understand

What you are, root and all, and

in all,  
I should know what God and man

is."

The Western attitude is so typical, says Suzuki. Tennyson has to pluck the flower, thus killing it. It is withering even while he gazes on it. And then he strives to know it, to understand it intellectually. Whereas Basho has need to do this. He can simply feel. Since all the world is Western nowadays, it is not surprising that an interest in growing in Zen. While it is quite true that Basho's attitude is not likely to lead us to the Moon, whereas Tennyson's it is more likely to lead to a fuller and more satisfying life. Man's scientific mastery has not led to a greater happiness, to a greater sense of life's delight. On the contrary, it has led to a nightmare of destruction, insecurity and fear. For this reason therefore many seek an alternative to the nightmare, a natural reaction to an over-organised, yet threatened, society.

This book is a good introduction to the subject of Zen, which appears to the Westerner, so used to thinking in terms of Aristotelian logic, to be confusing, contradictory and nonsensical. But the unconscious has never heard of Aristotle.

ARTHUR W. ULOTIC.

## Meetings and Announcements

## LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

## IMPORTANT

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in basement, 5, Caledonian Road, N.1.  
(near King's Cross Station)

at 7.30 p.m.

All Welcome.

SEP. 18.—Bob Steed  
(Catholic Worker: New York) on  
CATHOLIC ANARCHISM  
SEP. 25.—Philip Holgate on  
ANARCHISM: QUESTIONS AND  
ANSWERS

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,

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## Progress of the Challenge

Up to last Saturday FREEDOM had received £23. 7. 2. in contributions from readers in this country in response to the "Challenge" from the reader who has offered to contribute £50 to the Deficit Fund if readers in this country contribute a similar amount during September. We are nearly half way with two weeks to go. Have you sent a contribution yet?

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