

'Where the men and women think lightly of the laws; where the populace rise at once against the never-ending audacity of elected persons; where the citizen is always the head and ideal; where children are taught to be laws to themselves there the great city stands.'
WALT WHITMAN

In this Issue:
'WE DON'T WANT TO DIE'
PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS
OF CUBA
SCAPEGOATS IN SPACE
GUIDANCE IS GOOD FOR YOU

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A TEXT FOR THE CHANCELLOR

Unto him that hath . . . MORE SHALL BE GIVEN

It is a measure of the government's confidence, and of the public's apathy, that the Chancellor was able to hand out more than £80 millions in tax concessions to that section of the public which needs "relief" least of all. For whatever other argument may be used for justifying that the 446,642 who earn £2,000 a year or more should be left with a larger slice of their earnings than hitherto, it cannot by any stretch of the imagination be argued that the £5,000 a year man when he was left with £3,000 after taxation, that is £60 a week was a candidate for public assistance or some other form of public relief.

The main argument has been that the level at which surtax starts is the same as it was 40 years ago when the purchasing power of the pound was far greater than today. That is quite true, but who says that the differential between the rich man and the poor man should be as great today as in the bad old days of forty years ago? Hasn't the country undergone a democratic revolution in the meantime? Don't the Conservatives love the British worker as the Labour Party "loves London"? Or was it all a big confidence trick, and that what they both love is a privileged society?

The government's reasons for making these concessions are a mere rationalisation. They argue that top-people will now have greater incentive to work harder and spend less time fiddling the expenses accounts. All that they will do, to our minds, is pocket the extra salary and think up new ways of getting round the proposed tightening up of regulations about tax-free expenses. It seems much more likely that the government has been subjected to strong pressure from influential political and financial groups and could not resist their demands any longer. That they recover the concessions by adding to the Profits Tax does

not mean that they are taking away with one hand what they have given with the other. It simply means that the former surtax payers will have £80m. more in their pockets to spend on themselves, and the consumer, the public, will undoubtedly have to pay £80m. in higher prices to meet the amount that the Chancellor will be collecting in extra Profits Tax to meet the concession. For we cannot imagine that Industry will pay extra Profits Tax out of its existing profits.



Irrelevant Questions

THE most irrelevant questions asked last week by many solemn newspapers and by radio and T.V. commentators were: (a) the soundness of Israel's legal position in seizing and trying Eichmann and (b) would Israel not fare better "in the eyes of the world" if she handed her prisoner over to a German court for trial.

These legal and expedient manoeuvres seem to be totally ridiculous when we read again of the admitted crimes carried out by Eichmann, and while the Israeli Government may have its internal reasons for staging this trial—which outweigh any possible ill effects on her relations with other countries—to the surviving victims of Nazi tyranny the legalities of the matter and the opinions of the rest of the world must be of little consequence.

The principle of reprisal which is universally practised by warring groups is generally not supported by this writer (although it is accepted by many people who are today questioning Israel's rights to try Eichmann), but in the light of re-

cent history, Jewish reaction in Israel to a perpetrator of mass murder is understandable and justifiable.

It is argued that the horrors of the past are best forgotten, a view with which most anarchists with their long memories of political tyranny will not agree. It is another matter if by forgetting the past, a relationship of brotherhood may grow between men in all countries. This calls for a change in thinking about man's place in society and a negation of the "national man", replaced by the concept of humanity—views which nowhere today have any sizable support.

We cannot, therefore, expect the inhabitants of Israel (a state which grew out of the world's indifference to the fate of European Jews) to forgive and forget the monstrous crimes of Eichmann, while the "civilised" world supports the production of weapons capable of annihilating the entire world population.

Forgetting the "mistakes" of the past has not led humanity in the direction of universal brotherhood, all it has done has been to change the line-up of allies and contestants in preparation for the next slaughter.

Digging into the past in order to remind us of the crimes of men such as Eichmann can do no harm. But exposure of the irrational thinking and the brutalities which followed from it may lead some people to think more deeply about the crimes which result from their apathy.

The question will arise as to the eventual fate of Eichmann himself. He is not the only guilty party in his specific crimes against Jews or in crimes against humanity, but since he was directly responsible for the inhuman treatment of millions of people he relinquished his claim to be regarded as human himself.
R.M.

Direct Action, New Left, Anarchism

IN an article in the *New Left Review* (March-April 1961), Alan Lovell writes about Direct Action from an anarchical point of view. Two (related) points discussed in his article, which takes the form of an interview, are the importance of emotional involvement in social and political activities, and the connection between the political left, the general feeling of discontent with orthodox political movements which exists today, and what Lovell describes as the "formal" anarchist movement.

It might be generally agreed that all political opinions and attitudes derive from emotional responses, and that rational arguments are brought in afterwards to justify them. They can only bring any

satisfaction if the rationalisations involved are not too far-fetched, and if the activities themselves are seen to produce results. This applies to normal people. Others carry on plugging away at useless and stupid forms of activity for years without apparently noticing any conflict. Now Direct Action can very clearly produce results if it is carried out on a sufficiently large scale, if enough workers refuse to work on war installations and enough people take part in non-violent obstruction. The problems start arising, as has been pointed out in *FREEDOM's* articles *Sit Down Without Illusions* (Feb. 18), and *The Committee of 100* (April 1) when the flush of emotional involvement has passed over and it becomes obvious that direct action is not going to bring quick, sensational results any more than conventional politics. Direct Action needs to be seen therefore, as one form of activity among many, in the setting of a comprehensive approach to social affairs. Alan Lovell recognises this when he points out that there is no set dividing line between the Aldermaston March and the "illegal" demonstrations and sit-downs. He is much less convincing when he tries to work out the relations between the direct action approach and the Labour movement, in which he sees the C.N.D. as a direct action wing of the movement, just as the Trades Unions are in the industrial field.

It is worth pointing out again, as is done in the interview, and in the recent series by J.R. in *FREEDOM* and Hugh Brock in *Peace News*, that direct action is not a modern invention, but has a history as long as that of the struggle for freedom and social emancipation itself. We should then, be able to discuss, not

in terms of choice between direct action and conventional propaganda activities, but to investigate what is good direct action and what is futile; what is worth speaking and writing about and what is not.

Continued on page 4

Invasion of Cuba

by whom?

AS we go to Press all kinds of rumours about an invasion of Cuba by "rebel" forces are being published in the Press. How much truth there is in these reports, and who are the "rebels", it is still impossible to ascertain. If Castro's régime is a dictatorship he must not be surprised if rebel groups seek to overthrow him, and we would be the last to suggest that Castro should be specially protected from his political enemies. But if the "enemy" is the United States government, operating through its fifth column then we feel all radicals must join in protesting and agitating to see to it that the American or other governments keep their hands off Cuba!

Children

ADVENTURE PLAYGROUND

An eight-acre coppice is being set aside in the middle of the new town of Crawley, Sussex, just for children to play in. It will be divided into four sections, each of which will be open to the children for two years. "We intend to let the children destroy the coppice instead of cutting it down and selling it, then let the trees recuperate for some time," said Mr. John Gruffyd, the development corporation's landscape architect. Conditions for playing in the coppice: No nails on boots or in the trees.

PROBLEM CHILD—OR PROBLEM TEACHER

A boy aged 12, accused of truancy, told the magistrates at Stockport juvenile court recently of his 10-week absence from school.

"It all happened because I don't like woodwork", he said. "I can't plane the wood straight and the master shouts at me. So I started having Mondays off, the day we have woodwork. They found out, so I took Tuesdays off instead. They found out about that, too. Then I got scared of going altogether. Sometimes when I went to school I would get near the gates but then I would get frightened and not go."

Earlier the magistrates had been told that the boy had barricaded himself in his room by piling furniture behind the locked door, and had defied attempts to bring him before the court. He went there quietly, however, after a probation officer had gone to the house, and when asked why he had barricaded himself in the bedroom, he said he was frightened to go to the court.

Mr. Tom Stratton, acting chief welfare officer, said:

"This boy is absolutely beyond his mother's control. I know she tries to get him to school but he has been most obstinate with everybody, even throwing books, chairs, and other things at the officer who visited the house."

The boy was put on probation for three years. He promised to go to school regularly.

ANARCHY 3

out next week includes

Moving with the times . . . but not in step

Maurice Goldman's South African notebook

Jeremy Westall on Africa & the future

Nicolas Walter on "The Long Revolution"

Anthony Weaver on Exceptional Children

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'We don't want to die'

MR. GAITSKELL says he will fight, fight, and fight again for sanity. Someone ought to tell the poor man he can't get sanity by fighting for it. The best way to achieve sanity, if that's what he really wants, is to retire from politics and go into a mental hospital.

But some of his followers seem to be even further from sanity than he is. In the *Sunday Telegraph* for April 2, 1961, for instance, there is a letter from Mr. George Thomson, Labour MP for Dundee East, in which he actually says this:

It is . . . a fundamental premise of both religious and political faith that in order to save your life you must be prepared to lose it.

This letter, however, is worth something more than a giggle. It is very weird in parts, but it does include one bit of real discernment, one sentence which is very useful to us, the anti-bomb movement. Sometimes an opponent of a movement is better able to sum up its basic urge, its essential spirit, than any protagonist; and that is what Mr. Thomson, in the middle of this zany letter, does for the anti-bomb crowd. He sees through all the conflicting opinions and factions of the

marchers, the Methodists, the Anarchists, the Pacifists, the YCL, the Quakers, the Trotskyites, the United Nations mob, and he sums up the essential idea that brings most of these conflicting crusaders, and all the "uncommitted" marchers, together.

He is on with something about Easter being an inappropriate time for the march, because for the Christian, Easter symbolizes the beauty of agony and the insignificance of death, then he goes on:

Aldermaston, on the other hand, is a piece of mass emotion crying out: "We don't want to die."

Precisely. That sums us up exactly mate. We don't want to die.

We are painfully aware that our strength is piddling compared with the enormous force of the hydrogen bomb. We are painfully aware that our activities are a bit futile; as a poster at Finchingfield put it: "Marching equals walking. Civil Disobedience equals sitting down. Direct Action equals lying down. Individual Action equals swim-

WHAT WE'RE UP AGAINST

There has been quite a bit in the press lately about the half-dozen young men, camped on the shores of Holy Loch, who keep going out to fight battleships and nuclear submarines in unarmed canoes. At least four of them are anarchists, and one of them, Ken Morse, wrote in *FREEDOM* for April 1, 1961, giving some figures of the tremendous forces they, and we, are up against.

Can you imagine all the bombs that were ever dropped in World War 2, all the incendiary bombs, the high explosive bombs, the land-mines, and Molotov cocktails, that were dropped on London, Coventry, Hull, Hamburg, Essen, Cologne, Pearl Harbour, Tokio, Odessa and all the other places, and the atom bombs that were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Can you imagine the destructive force of all those bombs, parcelled up into one big bomb and dropped in one place at one time? One Polaris missile, just one, has *six times* the power of all the bombs dropped in the last war.

The most devastating explosion in

history, so far, has been the eruption of Krakatoa, where a whole big island was blown to smithereens, the bang was heard a thousand miles away, and the dust in the atmosphere caused peculiar sunsets, all over the world, for three years. Krakatoa was a mighty explosion, but if one Polaris missile goes off, just one, Krakatoa will be nothing special.

The *John Henry* has sixteen Polaris missiles on board. When the Holy Loch base is fully equipped, it will have ten submarines like the *John Henry*, with sixteen Polaris missiles each. About one thousand times the total power of all the bombs dropped in the last war, primed ready for action in just one base.

There are nuclear bases and nuclear stockpiles all over the Free World, and all over the Workers' Paradise too. And I was almost forgetting the main point of the Aldermaston march: Britain too—we have our own nuclear deterrent. The explosive force piled up and ready, waiting until the time comes to use it

must already be at least twenty thousand times the explosive force of the last two world wars, and it is growing all the time. And of course nuclear bombs have something besides explosive force, something possessed by only two of the

NO THREAT TO THEIR POWER

Let's face it. The rulers of this country, and the statesmen of the world, don't give a hoot for the Aldermaston march, the Wethersfield march, the sit-down at the Ministry of Defence or any other piece of mass emotion. They have their own emotions to think of.

It has cost them a great deal to become what they are, the rulers of this country and the statesmen of the world, in the face of all the competition. They have worked twenty-four hours a day for most of their adult lives. They have risked and sometimes suffered bitter disappointment, financial ruin, ill-health, even in some cases death not once, but again and again. They have sacrificed themselves, and devoted their lives, to the ideal of acquiring power.

Is it reasonable, is it in keeping with human nature, is it just, even, to expect that people who have sacrificed so much for power, will give some of it up in response to a crowd of people marching about with banners, a piece of mass emotion crying out: "We don't want to die"?

Mr. Gaitskell is going to fight, fight and fight again for sanity. But most of the people actually in power are quite content to remain as they are: psychopathic, mentally unbalanced, power-fanatics.

And they have no good reason to regard the marches and so on as any sort of threat to their power.

Before the 1914 war, this country was practically on the brink of civil war, threatened by the Trades Unions, the Labour Party, the militant suffragettes, the Irish Nationalists, and many other dissidents and opponents of the establishment. But when the government declared war the country was suddenly united, and the overwhelming majority of the dissidents hurried to do their bit in the Great War to End Wars.

Before the 1939 war, three million people signed the Peace Pledge: "I will renounce war, and will never support or sanction another." But when the government declared war, the country was suddenly united, and the overwhelming majority of signatories to the peace

bombs dropped in the last two wars: fall-out potential.

And what is there to oppose all this horror? Nothing. Nothing but a piece of mass emotion crying out: "We don't want to die."

pledge rallied to the country in its hour of need.

Now, thousands of people are prepared to spend Easter marching against the bomb, and hundreds of thousands are prepared to cram themselves into Trafalgar Square on Easter Monday. But the government knows what happened with the last two wars, and they can be reasonably sure of what will happen to the ban-the-bomb movement if they declare war for the third time.

Most of the responsible adults on the marches, probably a bigger proportion than of the jobs and slobbers outside the anti-bomb movement, are responsible citizens. They will make sure they turn up and vote whenever there is an election. They will inform the police in advance whenever they stage a demonstration. They will tell the truth about their activities, whatever the cost to themselves personally, if ever they are brought before a court of law.

They are firmly convinced, most of them, that making decisions is a job for Parliament, preserving order is a job for the police, dealing with wrongdoers is a job for the courts. Some few of them were even marching behind banners which said "Britain Must Give A Lead. Write To Your MP Today." (My MP is Henry Brooke). The marchers disagree with the government on a point of policy, of course; but the government has no cause to doubt the fundamental patriotism and essential loyalty of the overwhelming majority.

Besides, it is now possible to fight a war, as it was in the middle ages, without the unanimous or almost unanimous agreement of your subjects. World War I and II had to be fought with enormous conscript armies, but the day of enormous conscript armies is past. It is no longer as true as it was that "There can be no more war when men refuse to fight."

A force of, say, ten thousand highly trained professional fighting men on each side (or rather men trained to deal out death by sitting in a chair and pushing buttons), would be ample between them to depopulate the world.

DONALD ROOMM.
(To be concluded)

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CUBA

PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS

stepped off a boat that had been converted from candy, white bread, and pork sausage to fresh fruits, pumpernickel, and Shrimp Newburgh, cleared my bank account (now a respectable bourgeois ex-sailor) threw my jacket in my sleeping bag and caught my first cloud-laden glimpse of Cuba on hour later.

TERRITORIO LIBRE DE AMERICA. PATRIA O MUERTE—VENCEREMOS. Photographers, strolling musicians, *Barbudos* (most of them reduced to moustaches—some government austerity measure, perhaps), a quick run through customs, "What's that? Why it's a sleeping bag; 'Mmm . . . ? *Un sacco de dormir, no?* (No G-2? this is Cuba, isn't it?). Change 20 precious dollars to that counterfeity-looking Cuban stuff and 16 hair-raising kilometers to Havana (I don't know why we concern ourselves about arms shipments, surely the automobile is the deadliest weapon in the Cuban's arsenal).

Miles of American-named firms, banks and distributorships, all bearing fresh signs about the such-and-such workers 'supporting the nationalization of this imperialist enterprise,' etc.

Dancing that night at the *Feria de la Vaca*, to a hand-cranked organ (typical, I learned from a student one night in a sugar cane field, of Oriente province). Admission: \$1.25, covering you, your girl and three bottles of beer. *Tienras del pueblo*, small-scale gambling, proceeds-to-the-people (we won three cans of condensed milk), my friend counting my change for me every time (nice American lout—but dumb), sweet little plaited-haired girls in *miliciana* outfits: black beret, shoes, socks and skirt, green blouse and U.S. Army carbine, 15-shot clips and 30-shot clips. I've never seen so many guns—Colt, Thompson, Smith & Wesson, Luger, Mauser, Beretta, old

Springfields, new Garands, little Czech jobs on the order of the "Grease Gun" the paratroops used to be issued.

The People: Strangers stopped their cars at the sight of my puzzled face and not only told me how to get where I was going but drove me there, or if pedestrians, walked me there, admiring me for coming and telling me not to believe the lies I'd heard.

But then too, sometimes when I'd walk down the street strangers would start chanting, "Cuba si, Yanki no", and one midnight when I asked a man where the *Prado* was, he wanted to know where I was from and I told him. We talked and I tried to explain in my S-accented Spanish that I wasn't an American and I wasn't Cuban; I was a human being. Well, he began shouting, brought over another Cuban and together they began propelling me toward one of the police stations that seem ever-at-hand in some parts of Havana. I turned in time to see him pull out his *yanki-equalizer* and assumed what I thought to be an expression of goodwill and we heel-and-toed it to the police station. There the young cops (none over 20) took away his gun, gave me some coffee and asked what had happened. It seems reports had to be filled out in sextuplicate and I had to wait to see the *comandante*. This went on for two hours while the cops went back to goosing one another with their pistols and snapping their triggers at each other. I was seen, released, and guided by a young coloured cop to the bus line.

Despite the good treatment by the Revolutionary Police (I liked the slogan over the desk: "The Revolution exists to solve the problems of Cuba and not your personal problem"), I got the impression that unless I wanted to spend all my time looking at co-operatives or keeping early hours, I was better off as a Russian. And if I had been welcome as an American, it was as *nothing* compared to how welcome I was as a Russian.

I could say I found two broad classes of people in Cuba: (1) Those who had had something in the past and didn't have it now and were angry, and (2) Those who'd had nothing before, had something now and were pleased. The

latter group was by far the larger, especially in the rural areas, like out in Pinar del Rio.

I saw concrete, plumbing-equipped homes going up to replace driftwood-and-orange crate *bohios*. I saw rural schools and listened to students at Havana U. tell me how they were being loaned money to go to school whereas under Batista it was the province of the rich. Even the enemies of the government admitted it was strictly honest—in fact, that was a common complaint.

I think it's an infinitely more just government than Batista's or Eisenhower's or Kennedy's. Yet, I did not like it. I didn't feel I left Cuba, I felt nearer to having escaped it. Why?

Because I don't like glassy-eyed enthusiasm nor do I like football cheers nor do the sounds of marching feet or children chanting in unison or loud-speakered harrangues on street corners please me any more than they would here. "La Fuerza Esta En El Sacrificio"—Jose Marti sums it up for me "The Force Is In The Sacrifice." But I, personally, don't want to sacrifice myself to anything, nor to lose myself in any cause, be it Nationalism or Polaris Action, though I may like to associate myself as an individual with them. I'm frightened when people see themselves as Puerto Ricans or Republicans or Catholics or anarchists or anything other than as individual humans.

I'm put in mind of the Jacobin slogan, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." I don't think they go together. When you have enforced Equality and Fraternity, you have lost Liberty somewhere in the process.

I think they're doing good things over there and I'm glad they are, but I'm glad they're over there and I'm over here in this corrupt, cynical, tired old system where there are enough apathy and loopholes so that I can get bounced from our Army (with honourable discharge, "in testimonial of honest and faithful service"), refuse to pay the filthy missile taxes, and find media open to me that will print dissenting material. In short, live autonomously, not with the government, but in spite of it. Try that in Cuba. (No, I'm not going to re-enlist). L.M.

Scapegoats in Space

TO seek to prevent man from exploring the heavens as well as the depths of the oceans because these activities may not lead to human happiness, or that they may even open the doors to the extinction of the human race, does not seem to us the kind of argument which anarchists should use in connection with the recent successful launching of a man into outer space. Governments nowadays obviously exploit thinking Man's insatiable curiosity, but whether governments encourage, ignore or torture those who seek after knowledge, that curiosity remains, an integral part of civilised mankind.

When Arthur Uloth in his thought-provoking article on "The Great Achievement?" published elsewhere in this issue, asks whether all the inventions and discoveries and knowledge have "added to the sum of human happiness", he uses concepts which but for Man's emergence from millions of dark, unthinking years, would be inconceivable. That Man has reached the point where he can extinguish all life on this planet, is indeed, a terrible thought, we know, but parallel with it have grown philosophies of life which bring dignity to the human person.

When Man survived by instinct alone there was no fear of annihilation by H-bombs or starvation by man-made famines. This freedom from anxiety (the state of unawareness, rather than freedom from the causes of anxiety) does not seem to have "liberated" human beings to the point which would make us wish to change places with our forefathers of millions of years ago! For some the "undoing" of Man must coincide with his first thought processes, for this, eventually, led him to question his very existence as well as the existence of his surroundings. This curiosity, to know, has led Man to explore the dark unknown first with the telescope and now in person.

By Arthur Uloth's yardstick neither the telescope nor Galileo's existence have added anything to the sum of human happiness. Yet how many generations of individual human beings have touched the heights of personal exaltation as they have peered through their telescopes and seen for the first time something they had been hoping to see "one day", or discovered something they had not expected to find? How many people throughout the ages—civilised that is—have been inspired by the story of Galileo. Perhaps we should not go so far back, and ask instead how many have been inspired by the story of Sacco and Vanzetti? It is not out of place to quote that much quoted statement of Vanzetti after receiving sentence in 1927:

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

A much quoted statement but a never too-often quoted statement. For if in 1961 some politicians and the aficionados of outer-space travel are crowing over Man's technical

and scientific contortions, more than thirty years earlier, in 1927, a "poor fish-peddler" had reached the sublime heights of human imagination which defy the physical concepts of time and space. When the Moon will be but a Clapham Junction in space travel, that statement of Vanzetti will still inspire the young in spirit. Happiness! What is happiness? Vanzetti, in the shadow of the electric chair (even assuming that a tooth for a tooth can be defended by "civilised" people) tormented as he was by the inevitability of extinction by a "system" that was determined to eliminate "anarchistic bastards" by hook or by crook, could rise above human pettiness and see in his own elimination the realisation of himself as a human being, this, to our minds, is not the martyrdom to which too many of Jehovah's witnesses and pacifists aspire (perhaps to make sense, in an unconscious or in an exhibitionistic way, of lives which as a result of the conventional education they have received, have no meaning), but an affirmation that he had succeeded in expressing the "faith" of the really free, civilised man, for whom LIFE was a means to an unpredictable end and not the instinctive, inexpressible, end in itself. The so-called "martyrdom" of a Vanzetti cannot for one moment be compared with the warped desire of that unhappy youth who is at this moment waiting in one of H.M. Prisons to be "topped" for a crime which he committed as part of a game of make-believe; a game in which he invited the "law" to direct the spotlight of a pathological yellow press on his otherwise unimportant, uninteresting person. What a commentary on a warped society that individuals should invite death as a means of directing attention on themselves! Compare this with Vanzetti's desire to live but at the same time his awareness that his uninvited notoriety should spotlight the ideas for which he struggled. "This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as we do by accident". We say that Vanzetti, in the shadow of the electric chair, that is without the security of full-employment, free from the drug of mass entertainment—and what have you in the way of excuses and justification for the inactivity of youth in this cold-war-ridden post-war period, found the happiness in death which millions in the affluent society cannot find in full-employment, Health Services and Free Enterprise!

We agree with Arthur Uloth that happiness has nothing or little to do with the "wheel, the steam engine, the aeroplane". But neither do we wish to make these the scapegoats for mankind's unhappiness, and frustration. They are, after all, Man's creation, and as such, assuming Man is free, his servants. If not, then it is not the wheel, the steam engine and the aeroplane and the outer space missiles that should be examined but the way Man uses these fascinating products of his imagination!

CORRECTION

Last week's issue of FREEDOM was incorrectly numbered. Instead of Vol 22 No 15, it should have been Vol 22 No 13. This issue, it will be noted, is Vol 22 No 14.

(Continued from previous issue)

THE analogy of MRA as a gigantic selling campaign is the final impression which remains. Its ranks are peopled with a higher proportion of advertising men than seems possible by reason of the four absolutes. The impression is conveyed of a fast-moving, self-perpetuating mechanism to sell this intangible product to a sales-resistant world. The testimonials, the lavish purchase of advertising space in national newspapers, the hidden sponsoring, the letters to the editors of local and provincial newspapers, the constant pressures on 'names' who may come over to them, the concentration on selected sections of the population—dockers, coloured students, ex-communists for example, all these routines are the stock-in-trade of the advertising world.

The production of MRA literature goes on apace. Peter Howard's books are said to have sold 850,000 copies. There is always a large market for religious books—partly explained by the fact that religious books are bought as presents for other people. The high proportion of religious books on any second-hand bookstall will testify to their fate. There is one publishing firm which specialises in MRA books and at the same time, for bread and butter, publishes books on salesmanship, shop-window display and typography.

One of MRA's slick brochures is called "Freedom" which gave one or two people a nasty shock. This is a 'blurb' for the film "Freedom" designed to show the effects of MRA on the African peoples. A firm called Freedom Press in America published a book called "The Pentagon Case", which appears to have received MRA sponsorship over here. It is an account of Communist fifth-columnists penetrating the Pentagon, the moral being, of course, that only MRA principles can save us from Communism—democracy alone is not enough.

The film "The Crowning Experience" is only one of a number of films made by MRA. The play "The Vanishing Island" is one of the dramatic productions which have been staged to invited audiences. In London the Westminster Theatre is leased to MRA for showings of their productions. To meet the overheads MRA sub-lets to other theatrical companies. Recently the theatre was leased to a West-Indian dance company which ran into financial difficulties. One of the members of the cast conducted, according to the newspapers, voodoo rites in the forecourt of the theatre to change the hearts of the lessees of the theatre. However, Frank Buchman's

Guidance is good for you

ju-ju was impervious to the onslaughts of obeah and the company had to leave.

The product has received a 'new look' and is well put over by the best methods in market research. Even the 'hard sell' is not ignored. Not only has MRA moved out of its original Protestant Evangelical Christianity to save the non-Christian world from Communism, but its overtures to the Catholic Church have not been rebuffed. The wise old Catholic Church has assimilated the motto: "If we can't beat 'em, join 'em" and has added its pinch of incense on Buchman's altar.

The moral blackmail of MRA's offering itself as the only alternative to Communism seems to have worked in some quarters. Indeed, the flow of ex-communists (now becoming unfashionable), have testified to this in the most pathetic terms.

A Mr. Ravines, who founded the Communist Party of Peru and (according to "Ideology and Co-existence") directed the second stage of the Civil War in Spain—writes:

"When I broke with Communism I became a bitter anti-communist and Moscow paid little attention to me because I was an ineffective man. But since Moral Re-Armament filled the ideological vacuum in my life I became an effective force. Since then I have been the object of ruthless repeated Communist attacks. There are millions like me who would leave the Communist Party if they knew there was something big enough to fill the vacuum."

Mr. Ravines finds that MRA like many other things 'fills the gap'. The phenomena of conversion from Communism to Catholicism or MRA is frequent enough to be explained by the similarities rather than by their differences. The type of character that has the need to fill his vacuum with some institution whether it be the Communist Party, the Catholic Church or MRA is unfortunately common in this world.

But how long does conversion last? When the excitement of confession and knowledge of 'belonging' die down how

many backslide? When the light of publicity ceases to beat on ex-Communists and the murmur of approbation at the exploits of an ex-Teddy boy die down how many publicity-seekers pass on to new gap fillers, new faiths? Statistics of de-conversion are not so lovingly compiled as the log of trips to the penitent-form but it is recorded that of the converts of an Oxford Group campaign in Louisville in 1933 only 11 converts remained.

The circus religions do produce the hysterical conversions but when it is over, the personality relapses into its old channels. Brain-washing can temporarily work but human nature reasserts itself.

Side by side with the genuine religious seekers we can see the activities of the professional ex-communists and what the Americans call "freeloaders". These are the groups of journalists, publicists, etc., who live on the bounty of free lunches, week-end house-parties, press-shows, review copies, etc., which are the pickings from a world of public relation experts.

The 'uncommitted' nations are particularly adept at 'playing both sides of the street'. The publishers of newspapers in colonial and ex-colonial countries are frequent recipients of the bounty of advertising from the Communist bloc and such anti-Communist organizations as MRA. This parasitical growth of support for MRA looks impressive in print and is in truth, a self-perpetuating mechanism.

The publicity mechanism moves on, selling its intangible product with its unimpeachable testimonials, the copy is written in high style knocking the other fellow's product and boosting one's own.

A nation scared of halitosis and fully aware of flavour-blur is a fit market for this complex product MRA, styled to this age of mass-media, combining rebellion and conformity which puts over religion as a deodorant and religio-politics as a deterrent. Who isn't using MRA? The best people use MRA!

JACK ROBINSON.

The Great Achievement?

WELL, it was an act requiring considerable courage to fly into outer space, and soon, no doubt, man will plant his footsteps on the moon. But it does not seem to get us anywhere. The real adventure of mankind will begin when humanity starts to dismantle the machinery of repression under which he lives. Space travel is a gigantic piece of humbug, a monstrous irrelevance in an age when so many are starving.

It is interesting to notice the enthusiasm with which the newspapers greet this exploit, and their almost complete silence on the question of world poverty and malnutrition, not to mention the refugee problem.

The first flight of man into space is compared with other "epoch-making" inventions, such as the wheel, the steam engine, the aeroplane. Have these added to the sum of human happiness? It is very dubious. Huge and oppressive civilisations have existed both with and without these three inventions. Happy human societies have been known which did not have them. On the other hand there is no reason to suppose that their existence in itself brings oppression into being. If the history of mankind teaches us anything, it is that technical progress, though it may bring here some advantages, there some disadvantages, makes in the main no appreciable difference to the structure of human society.

Man seems to lack any sort of conscious ability to apply his mechanical skill to the betterment of life. His inventions are mostly neutral, neither good nor bad in themselves. Sometimes they are used wisely, more often they are abused. Luck or accident seems to play a large part in it. Electricity can be used to light homes, and to put people to death in a particularly barbarous manner. (Largely because we have inherited from our Neolithic ancestors the custom of ritually murdering certain selected members of the community at

periodic intervals). Every thing is done in bits and pieces, in a complete muddle.

Here enters the profit motive. There it is a matter of national prestige. Elsewhere religious taboos decide. No one seems to have any overall conception of how life should be lived or what it is all about. People just accept things as they find them, and develop their inventions regardless of possible consequences. The Wright brothers never seem to have thought that their invention might be used to attack cities, though the bombardment of towns by ordinary artillery had been practised for centuries already.

Major Gagarin regards his exploit as a triumph for "his country". How ridiculous it is to speak in terms of national

Assisted Escapes more frequent

THE story of Major Yuri Gagarin's assisted escape from Earth's gravity on April 11 so filled the following day's newspapers, that there was little space left for reporting Parliamentary speeches about the Criminal Justice Bill, and this little space was mostly taken up by the split within the Tory Party about corporal punishment. So a most intriguing bit of information about assisted escapes was largely ignored.

Mr. Renton, Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Home Office, introduced a new clause providing for increased penalties for persons convicted of assisting other persons to escape from H.M. Prison Commissioners' establishments, which was agreed to without a division, or even a whimper. In future helping someone to escape from a prison or Borstal institution will be worth five years (formerly two years) and from a remand home or approved school £100 or six months or both (formerly £20 or two months).

There has been, Mr. Renton revealed,

rivalry when confronting the immensity of outer space!

Doubtless this achievement will be hailed by all and sundry. Yet the discovery of the Americas did not improve the lot of the peoples of Europe, and there is no reason to suppose that the colonisation of the moon will do any better. The Europeans merely brought the horrors of medieval society to America, and we shall doubtless carry our totalitarian institutions all over space.

If a village, city or country were to begin to change its way of life in the direction of eliminating authoritarianism, crime, cruelty, social distinctions and taboos on sex, and began to construct a free, rational, humane, warm and kindly society, and if this movement were to spread, it would be an infinitely greater achievement than the exploration of space.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

a tremendous increase in the incidence of such escapes during the past three years. The total figures since 1957 are: 57 in 1957, 57 (again) in 1958, 87 in 1959, 126 in 1960, and 31 escapes up to April 7 this year.

Anarchism is not to be equated with crime, but it is interesting to learn that solidarity among villains appears to be growing, when working-class solidarity seems to me more and more dead from the neck up.

Starry-Eyed Patriot

Incidentally, Major Gagarin is reported to have said this:

"I had no feeling of loneliness, I know that my friends, the whole Soviet Union, was following my space flight. I was sure that the party and Government was always ready to help me if I found myself in difficulties."

What he expected the party and Government to do is not clear. One is driven to the conclusion that either the Major or the man who writes his press statements is a right twit. D.R.

ANSWER! Whence Capital?

DEAR COMRADES,

I visited the LAG meeting this evening and during the question time asked: "In a society where industries are governed by workers' control where does the capital for these industries come from?"

During the general laughter (genial though), someone called out, "Read a book," or something similar to that. Would he mind telling me which book, as during my previous study of Economics, for GCE "A" level, all the text-books, etc., which I read, led me to the conclusion that no Anarchist has yet successfully answered this question in any better way than that given by the normal text-books.

Please understand, I don't mean nobody has answered the question, but nobody has really given anything more than a Utopian answer, which would not, I think, work in a modern society. Further, people keep forgetting about the

intermediate stage. As we see from Soviet Russia the intermediate stage, unless as carefully planned for as the final stage may not only delay the Anarchist society but prevent it from even coming, as the present Russian government illustrates. Even Soviet Russia has accepted the need for capital, does the Anarchist society intend to have a Gos plan with a central fund and central planning committee? If not, what happens when ideas and customs change, through normal social evolution, and one industry runs down to be replaced by another? What about new technical changes, will these industries which have "workers' control" fight for change and development, and possible redundancy or clamp down on new ideas and become conservative? These are important points—your comments please!

Yours,
PETER NEVILLE.

Keele, Staffs. April 9.

ANSWER: Will it work?

DEAR SIR,

On the Aldermaston march I bought a copy of FREEDOM, and became interested in anarchism as compared with other ideologies. I wonder whether you, or some other members of your organization would care to personally reply to some points which occurred in later discussion. Perhaps if I expound the ideas of Anarchism as I have picked them up, you could criticize.

The final state of anarchy is one in which all power and responsibility rests with the individual. There is complete freedom of thought and action for the individual. As regards the means of attaining this end, most Anarchists would favour constitutional means at present rather than assassinations and violent methods, for two reasons. Firstly, as a direct way to anarchy, the violent overthrow of a government will lead to what is popularly called anarchy, that is, a state of chaos and irresponsibility which history suggests would result in dictatorship; or else to severe reprisals. Secondly, as a means of spreading propaganda, such methods are inconsistent with the pacifism and humanitarianism, which I would gather from FREEDOM to be at the basis of Anarchism.

How do you support the belief that anarchy is possible for the whole of humanity? Anarchism rests on an essential premiss that men will exercise sufficient self-restraint and care for each other to make anarchy possible. Even a sincere and dedicated body like the early Roman Christians could not keep a commune (which I suppose is an anarchist society as far as there ever has been one) working for long, and gradually the hierarchy of bishop and priest evolved. Perhaps the church is not a fair example to take, since it acknowledges the leadership of Christ. Yet anarchy must depend on men acknowledging their common humanity and acting accordingly. In other words, rule from within, not rule from without. The most anarchist body I know is the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), of

ANSWER

[The two letters we publish above are contributed by students. Peter Neville is a University student and R.H. is still at school—albeit a "VI former". We enjoyed receiving these letters—particularly R.H.'s—and we feel they deserve thoughtful answers. What about the anarchists among our readers pondering the questions raised in these letters and sending us the answers for publication in "Freedom's" columns. And would the Off-Centre Discussion groups perhaps consider discussing and answering one of the questions posed in these letters. Here we have some "Objections to Anarchism" by the young generation of the 1960's which we must answer convincingly if we are to hold and encourage their interest in our ideas.—Editors].

Better still!

WEEK 15
Deficit on "Freedom" £300
Contributions received £314
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Tanganika: C.S. 5/8; S. Francisco: E.S.D. 5/3; Parma, Ohio: H.P. £2; Tun. Wells: W.E.C. 4/5; London, N.W.6: C.F. 1/-;
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Vol 1 1951: Mankind is One
Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial
Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair
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Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A tribute cloth 5/-
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FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

Letters to the Editors

which I am a birthright member. Yet they are not a vigorous proselytising body, and admit that most people will prefer an authoritarian religion (which is contrary to Anarchist theory). Hence a second question: how do you even support a belief that humanity would prefer anarchy to some sort of authoritarianism?

I suppose to a certain extent the last two questions are asked out of ignorance than as fair criticism. I wonder if you could enlighten me on the theory of the ideal anarchy.

What policy do you follow under present conditions for the furthering of anarchy (apart from attempting to disenchant people with present forms of government)? What are the implications of anarchy, if any, on present day problems? You must have something definite to go on, because your aim is a very long-term one.

Anarchism seems very similar to Communism in its working out. Communism seeks to set up a government, the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will, according to Marxist theory, wither away with the need for such government. Anarchism has the same ultimate aim of a propertyless society, and presumably the institution first of an anarchist government which will destroy itself, since it seems that a direct policy of removing the present government is impractical. Communism has found a necessary principle to form a party to act for the proletariat and to gradually absorb or suppress opposition elements until the whole population is prepared for the withering away of the State—until the whole population in fact are Communist and workers. How can Anarchists be sanguine about the prospects of achieving anarchy when firstly, they cannot use force to suppress opposition, or any means of suppression, and secondly, they cannot institute a government to which people can become accustomed and into which they can be absorbed, because of the same principle of freedom. What other differences are there between Communism and anarchism, apart from the use of force to achieve a temporary stage of government, and as a means of suppressing freedom of speech and action? Lastly, are there any Christian anarchists, or is this a contradiction in terms, and is it theoretically possible for a 'final stage' anarchist to co-exist with states governed under present day ideologies and methods?

Yours sincerely,
Meopham, Kent, April 5. R.H.

Common Ownership Utopianism and Permanent Protest

DEAR EDITORS,

"Can a free life be lived by people who are not free?" asks Mr. Parker. Obviously not, but this question should have been put to J.G. who, if I understand him correctly, thinks it possible to live "as an anarchist" here and now, and as an extreme individualist, regards Society with hostility and seeks to live in "permanent protest". I do not see the necessity to "rebel against Society", which J.G. apparently considers always authoritarian and, I think, confuses with Statism. There is no inherent antagonism between Society and the individual. Had mankind failed to develop the social instinct, the species could not have survived.

To return to Mr. Parker. If people must be free to live a free life, our activities as anarchists should be directed towards establishing the conditions which will make a free Society possible. Personally, I believe the indispensable condition to be common ownership of wealth where the interests of all will be identical. Mr. Parker says that I do not prove that economic development will result in freedom, and as I am not in the office of Old Moore, this is doubtless true. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to expect certain results from given conditions, in accordance with the rules of cause and effect. I think it is safe to say that we are rapidly moving towards a period when the advance of technology and—whether we like it or not—widespread use of automation, will lead to production of wealth in abundance. Part of the time destruction of surplus and other measures will probably be taken in the effort to maintain existing conditions, but as a result of the changed material conditions, social conditions must also inevitably change, and I do not consider it utopian to anticipate that this will lead to increased leisure and that the people will then develop that initiative and capacity for individual decision which Mr. Parker maintains—and with which I agree—is necessary for the creation of a free life. This to me appears to be perfectly logical and free from any mystique—marxian or otherwise—whereas the hope that people, consciously from existing conditions, will evince any desire for individual freedom,

FREEDOM
I think, highly utopian, and typical of the religious approach of "reformation from within" to which Mr. Parker refers.

But to accept the material factor as being dominant, says Mr. Parker, is to create an entity and another form of authoritarianism with the people its puppets. Could not the same be said with equal truth of the forces of nature—gravity, mortality and other influences at present beyond our control. Probably some form of authoritarianism will always be with us, but not the personal authority between individuals which I think is the direct result of conflicting interests in Society and which will have no part in a Society where all are free and equal because private property does not exist.

To anticipate possible criticism, I would like to say that I am entirely opposed to authoritarian Socialism and any theories of the "capture of the State and political power."

Yours sincerely,
F.B.

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP CENTRAL MEETINGS

Every Sunday at 7.30 pm at The Swan, Cosmo Place, Southampton Row WC1 (Holborn, Russell Sq Stns)

APR 23 Jack Robinson: Capital Punishment: An Anarchist View
APR 30 Bob Green: Kropotkin Revisited

All Welcome.
Liquid refreshment available.

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middx.

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Dorothy Barasi's, 45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green, N.2.

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

3rd Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

JAZZ CLUB

Friday April 21 at 8 p.m.
JAZZ & GOSPEL MUSIC
by John Pilgrim
at 37 Old Compton Street W1

Direct Action, New Left, Anarchism

Continued from page 1

Both anarchists and the New Left movement have stressed the importance of people being able to contribute individually to making the decisions that affect them, and contributing to the culture of the community in which they live. However, whereas the New Left find that quite compatible with qualified support for the political wing of the

socialist movement, anarchists assert that as individuals gain in freedom and responsibility they will reduce the power of the government, and therefore there is an inevitable conflict between the two ideas.

The heyday of the theory that a libertarian social attitude was compatible with support for the political socialist parties was the 1890's, when it was too early to foresee what would happen when Labour came to power. Now, when Labour government is nearly ten years away in the past, and possibly another ten in the future, it is becoming conceivable again. However, one D.A. activity that is not mentioned in the N.L.R. interview, the abortive Voters' Veto, shows that the conflict is still there.

Direct Action is important because it can help people to realise way in which they can personally be effective, in opposition to the government. It can make it clear to participants and general public where the real struggle lies, not in the voting booths, but in the rows of obedient policemen, the uncaring labourers building the rocket sites, and the passive millions incapable of realising that nuclear war poses any problems at all. It would be a serious loss if the movement felt that it had to restrict itself whenever its activities clashed with political aims, or if it came to regard itself

purely as a movement of protest against right wing rule. The real spirit of life and self assertion that lies behind the anti-nuclear movement is capable of positive action, and of building a society more to its own liking. Although anarchism is conventionally dismissed as a destructive philosophy it is in fact the only one which has a constructive approach based on personal responsibility, which makes it able to look beyond the immediate protest.

Because we feel that a satisfactory emotional and rational approach to social matters must involve personal responsibility in constructive living, and not simply be based on protest, and because we are convinced that government can only operate by manipulating people and depriving them of freedom, we would suggest that the students, intellectuals and uncommitted people mentioned by Alan Lovell should take a closer look at anarchist ideas (and get their facts straight about "anarchist" knighthoods). Although there is no "formal" anarchist movement to our knowledge, there is a conscious one, and the more widely that anarchist ideas are consciously accepted, the better chance there will be for Direct Action to really find its feet, and not be dissolved in confusion the day that the chance of Labour electoral success draws in sight.
P.H.

Freedom The Anarchist Weekly

FREEDOM appears on the first three Saturdays of each month. On the last Saturday, we publish ANARCHY, a 32-page journal of anarchist ideas (1/8 or 25c. post free).

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