Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Force of offence is the principle of the state, while force of defence is the principle of liberty."

—BENJAMIN TUCKER

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Governments have a vested interest in maintaining crisis

THE SUMMIT: WHO WANTED IT LEAST?

WHEN we first heard the revelations about the spy-plane shot down over Russia, we asked ourselves "Which side—America or Russia—wants the Summit Conference the *least*?"

It was very obvious from the way the whole stinking affair was muddled from both sides, that it was being played for all it was worth as an opportunity to foul the conference before it began.

Consider the circumstances. Everybody knows that East and West are spying like mad upon each other. Enough spy rings have been uncovered in the West to indicate that most Russian Embassies are centres for espionage activity (remember Petrov's revelations in Australia?). Only last week two Russian 'diplomats' (officials of their Embassy in Berne) were kicked out of Switzerland after being caught trying to get Swiss and W. German military secrets from one of their agents, while the more spectacular cases of atomic scientists Fuchs and Nunn May are easily recalled.

Part of the Game

Similarly we recall the fantastic story of the life and death of Commander Crabb. He was the frogman who went spying under the hull of the Russian cruiser *Ordzhonikidse* when comrades Khrushchev and Bulganin came to take tea with the Queen. He never came up again and through some indiscretion the story hit the headlines. But it didn't affect East-West relations. It was accepted as all part of the game.

Now we have no doubt that Mr. K. has known all about the American spy-flights over Soviet territory for a long time. Probably U-2s have been shot down before, but have been destroyed and the pilot has committed suicide according to plan. In spite of their long-range gliding abilities, surely the U-2 planes have not been able to pierce the Soviet defences undetected all the time this has been going on?

No, the shooting-down of the U-2 on May 1st (a good date for international co-operation) and the capture of much of its equipment intact and the pilot alive provided a wonderful opportunity for Khrushchev to make his personal propaganda. Incidentally, although the official view must be that Captain Powers has rather let the side down by not committing suicide, nobody, to our knowledge, has suggested that he deliberately went over to the other side. But isn't this a possibility? Wouldn't it explain why the booby traps on all the instruments failed to explode? Might he not have landed properly, had the plane first stripped of its 'secrets' and *then* damaged to look like a crash for the sake of the photographs and the folks at home? If a man can be a spy, he can be a double-spy. There were plenty in the last war!

Failure Wanted

However, it was not our intention to discuss the patriotism or price of Captain Powers. Our point is simply that spying goes on all the time; everybody knows it goes on all the time and says little—why all the fuss *now*?

We come back to our Question: 'Who wanted the Summit *least*?' In our opinion neither America nor Russia wanted the Conference to solve any problems. They each wanted it to fail—and the failure to be the other chap's fault.

From this point of view the shennanigans in Paris have been spectacularly successful. For the millions of ordinary people throughout the world who looked starry-eyed up to the dizzy heights of the Summit and hoped for peace on earth and goodwill to all men to flow down from it, the antics of the great men is a slap in the face.

But when political leaders get to the power of the men who gathered in Paris, the hopes and fears of millions of ordinary people are not factors which have to be considered or treated with other than contempt; they are simply factors which have to be *used*.

And both sides have played their parts brilliantly with the proper degree of intransigence and yet readiness to go on—if the others accepted certain 'unacceptable' conditions.

Mr. Khrushchev must have known that Mr. Eisenhower could never agree to the stern demands he made for an apology for the spy-flights, for a guarantee they would never occur again and for punishment of those responsible. For their part, the Americans provoked Mr. K. by having Eisenhower first deny any knowledge of the U-2 activities, then accept responsibility for them, *then* have Mr. Herter stoutly maintain that they would go on until America had photos of 'every inch of Russian territory'.

A Beautiful Deadlock

In fact, Eisenhower is reported to have arrived in Paris with the news that the U.S. had 'suspended' the spy-flights, though of course he could not apologise for them, or punish the departments directly responsible.

A beautiful deadlock with both sides righteously indignant and hoping the other side will be reasonable while making it impossible for them to be so.

Now comes the 64,000 dollar (or rouble) question: Why did the leaders not want the Summit to go on?

As we see it, they do not want an easing of international tension because their interests are bound up with the maintenance of fear.

In the West, the national economies are so bound up with re-armament that any degree of disarmament would bring economic and chaos. In the East the maintenance of totalitarian systems depends on the governments' abilities to keep their people in a state of fear of the war-mongering capitalists.

'Internal Politics'

There has been much speculation of the pressures behind Khrushchev that have made him behave so rigidly in Paris. Indeed, he has himself hinted that 'internal politics' are 'deeply involved' in his treatment of the spy-plane incident.

Undoubtedly Mr. K. has the equivalent in the Kremlin of the bone-headed professionals in the Pentagon, and their attitudes are identical.

Correspondents have been reminding their readers that there may well be much resentment in the Red Army against any attempts at disarmament. There are vast numbers of disgruntled army officers demobbed on half pay under Khrushchev's manpower cuts—resentful of conventional arms being replaced by nuclear weapons and realising that you can't use atom bombs against your own civilian population.

Similarly, China, still in the early stages of political and industrial development, is not yet ready to soft-pedal on Communism or talk 'co-existence' as Khrushchev has been doing. Fear is Mao Tse Tung's most potent internal weapon—as indeed it is for every government.

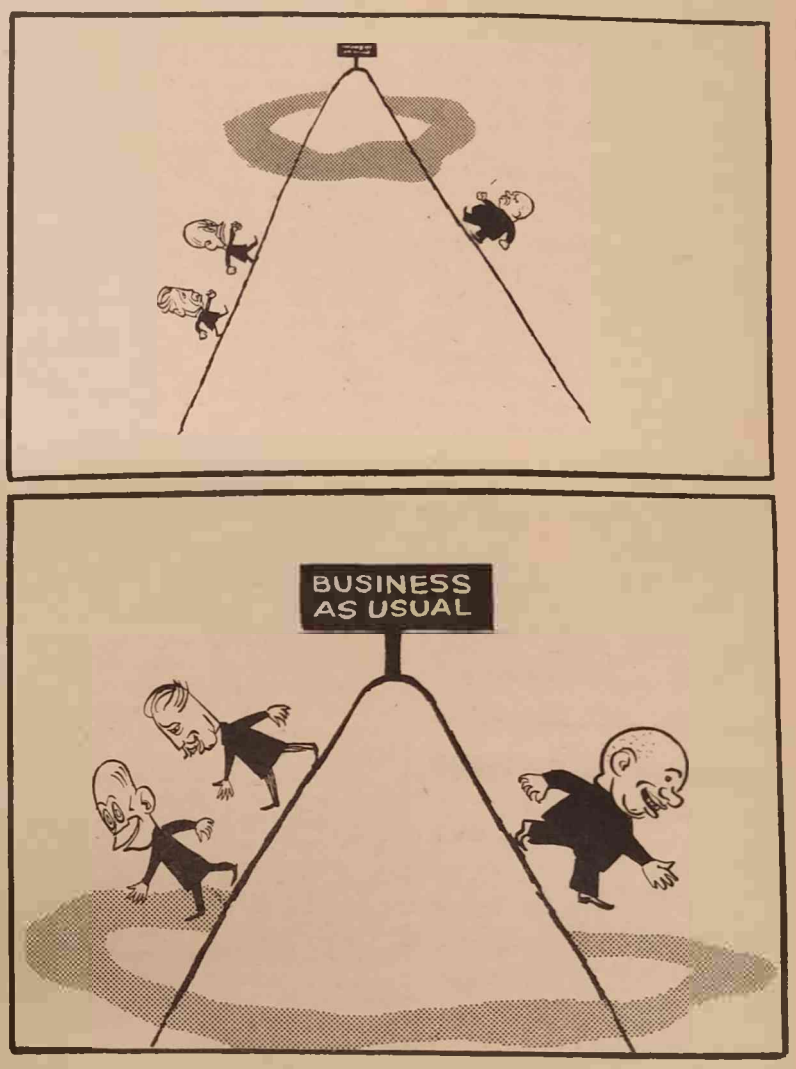
All governments operate on the principle of 'the latent external crisis'—the enemy at the gate. Under the threat of the enemy—real of imagined—populations are made to toe the line. And this after all is the primary interest and function of government. If war is the health of the State, the cold war is even healthier. It provides all the psychological and economic advantages without the dangers.

It is only by realising this that we can understand the reasons behind this week's fantastic farce in Paris. These demonstrations are lunatic and ludicrous. They become tragic—as some newsmen have described them—only because of the pathetic faith pinned by the world's people on to the non-existent goodwill of a handful of leaders who are themselves in the grip of forces they cannot control.

The Summit - Conference - that - wasn't is the political equivalent of the H-Bomb. It is the supreme example of the contempt for the world's peoples felt by those who *really* control our destinies—the professional diplomats, the military, the financiers. They never come up for election and never seek the spotlight. But they govern us nevertheless.

This is why we are always cynical about Summits—before and after. They are strictly puppet-shows for the suckers. The road to peace does not lead to the Summit. On the contrary, the very existence of a Summit is a threat to peace.

The way to end war remains: dismantle the State! Pull down the political and economic institutions that thrive on war and fear and build a society to satisfy human needs. All else is illusion.



How 'flexible' can the Labour Party get?

MR. HAROLD WILSON claimed in a speech in London recently that the Labour Party, in working out a new defence policy, "is in a position of flexibility in a rapidly changing situation."

This is a polite way of saying that now that the Labour Party has a breating space of five years it can think again about the voting power of the anti-bomb'ers, to say nothing of how it must find some way of containing the growing 'revolt' in the trade unions on the H-Bomb issue.

Thinking and working fast, Labour Party leaders have already taken another step towards getting a new defence policy drawn up before the unilaterialist avalanche overtakes them.

The party executive's international sub-committee has accepted an outline draft already endorsed by the Shadow Cabinet.

Drawn up by Mr. George Brown and Mr. Harold Wilson this:

1.—Accepts that Britain can no longer have an independent nuclear deterrent, and should rely on America to provide the West's means of delivering the H-bomb;

2.—Stresses support of Nato, whose troops should be armed with tactical nuclear artillery;

3.—Calls for real political control over Nato to prevent the spread of atomic weapons in the alliance;

4.—Urges that the deployment of American Nato bases should be reviewed.

The plan was accepted in almost every detail after it had been explained by Mr. George Brown, the shadow Defence Minister.

In view of the response, the next meeting may be a joint one with the TUC international committee, whose support will follow next week's meeting of the party's national executive committee.

Blue Streak Workers want more work

LABOUR MPs intend questioning the Government about the 850 Blue Streak workers who expect to be thrown out of work by the Government's decision to abandon the missile.

Mr. James Griffiths, a Labour ex-Minister, gave this promise yesterday to a 40-man deputation from the Sperry gyroscope works at Bracknell, Berkshire.

Mr. Glyn Jones, 40-year-old instrument maker, told Mr. Griffiths: "We were given a Government promise that work would last five to seven years. We all moved down here on that assumption.

"Unless the factory gets more work quickly we shall have to uproot ourselves again and move."

A protest march along Whitehall is planned for Saturday.

News Chronicle 18/5/60.

Foolish the workers who believe a Government's promise—but anyway, after our leaders' Paris holiday there should be plenty of jobs going in armaments now!

C.D. NUMBERS DWINDLING

New recruits to the Civil Defence Corps in England and Wales during the quarter ended March 31 totalled 8,495, but there was a net loss of 5,103 on the quarter. The total strength was 323,892.

Sixth Interim Report—continued

Readership Survey

IN our issue for May 7th, we began the publication of general comments, criticisms and suggestions from the 467 answers to our readership survey. These are continued below.

Questions Of Editorial Policy

"I do not know why the editors, mainstays and props of anarchism, are so concerned to make more converts, disciples and followers. It's a big *idea*: no club, paper, badges, uniforms, etc. are necessary at all. Pamphlets, paper, are so useful to help us keep real values before us though. I find there is a good deal of repetition—inevitable of course, but it helps to fix the principles in one's mind. The idea of anarchism is too big to swallow in a gulp—can only proceed by degrees. For most of us it takes 7 days a week to live, let alone go on marches, stand in the wet handing out soggy pamphlets . . . "

"Delighted by the live attitude and keenness—don't know how you find the time."

"Concentrate propaganda in certain areas of the country for a week or two by adverts. in local papers, etc. (*i.e.* I would pay for adverts in my area)."

"If you are doing something which you believe in, it is of little consequence who or how many your readers are."

"Have the editors a belief in a definite end toward which they are working? Is 'conversion' the ideal?"

"Decide to whom you are appealing. To be a newspaper or an outlet for creative work. I think the latter is of more interest today."

"It appears to me that FREEDOM is not quite sure whether it is writing for anarchists or is attempting to convert non-anarchists, and this is why I have ticked 'lacking in any clear policy'. I consider that proselytising, which amounts to the claim that others should do as the proselytiser tells them, is authoritarian, though a statement of one's position, which others can take or leave, is not."

"The editors are not God. They should emphasise that many anarchists are egotistical, neurotic, and social cripples."

"I like your paper as it makes me feel that there are some sane people left."

"The paper loses sight of anarchism in pursuit of every crank doctrine—vegetarianism, flat-earthism, etc., irrelevant to anarchism. The paper is too obsessed with homosexualism—are all the editorial board queers?"

"We should get down to anarchist applications in our world as it is. I believe the only way to do anything is to begin in however small a way in the situation in which one finds oneself. I am *not* impressed by Platonic ideas—it is just mere escapism—a refusal to do anything because you cannot do everything at once. I would like to see some anarchist action on a specific issue. Those who do that kind of thing in, for example, CND do not seem to have the blessing of FREEDOM. Why? Is it possible to do something about the injustice homosexuals suffer? If I saw any interest in practical anarchism of this kind, I'd be more enthusiastic."

"Within limits of space, would like reprints from other anarchist journals and contributions from say, Direct Action Committee, Abortion Law Reform Society, Euthanesia movement, Homosexual Law Reform Society, etc."

"More emphasis on what could be practical applications of Direct Action as protest."

"I would like to see FREEDOM brought more up to date like the last copy (Jan. 9th) dealing with the DAC. How about a review on surrealism some time?"

"Give support to DAC for instance. Also give news of Democratic Industry. Don't fight so shy of religion. Try to get out in front of progressive movements and give a lead to peace-seeking types."

"The paper suffers occasionally from amateurish and ill-informed articles. There should be greater attempts to write up progressive activity and opportunities for constructive activity should be put before readers (*i.e.* work camps, CND, DAC)."

"There should be much more space and attention given to tax-refusal, non-violent resistance to arrest, non-violent obstruction, staying out of war work, including basic research, other revolutionary pacifist activity."

"Encouragement of action toward individual fulfilment throughout the world *is* lacking."

Too Highbrow?

"Half of FREEDOM is too highbrow for the average worker. Would sell better with more industrial/political commentaries."

"Write the articles simpler with less multi-syllable words so less-educated working people can easily and firmly grasp the meaning of the articles. I hope your great work goes on. We need much more of this kind of education to reach the masses."

"I believe that some articles should be written in a more simplified form for non-politically minded workers to follow."

"FREEDOM must propagate ideas, not necessarily give readers what they want."

"Making FREEDOM lowbrow might increase circulation but would not necessarily increase its effectiveness."

"More industrial headlines appealing to producers. A larger paper with anarchist views on 'do-it-yourself', sport, women's fashions, sport, holidays, cars, wine, living."

"FREEDOM is a good weekly but should try to clarify (simplify) the articles so that ignorant yobs like me could understand a bit easier."

"I consider that FREEDOM as it is at the moment is only attractive to people who care to read the type of material that you publish. The only way in which you will increase the circulation in my opinion is to include features which are altogether divorced from politics. This might have to be done to such an extent that you would jeopardise the original intention of the paper."

"The paper has no contact with the working class. Should be made open if possible for more written contributions from ordinary readers."

"Not syndicalist enough (after all this is an industrial country). Carry on."

"I think on the whole that the paper is quite well-balanced as it is, and should satisfy the highbrow as well as the others. I'm still of the opinion that directing any kind of anarchist propaganda to the average prole is about as useless a waste of time as can be."

"Not too highbrow for me but I'm afraid it is for most of my workmates, but there as I see it lies your difficulty, *i.e.* either you write a paper for the faithful few or you write one to please the masses and bore the faithful few."

(*To be concluded*)

BOOK REVIEW

When the Saints Go Marching In

***THE HOLY BARBARIANS*, by Lawrence Lipton, W. H. Allen, 30s.**

I FOUND this study of the American "beats" extremely interesting. The blurb describes it as an "unbiased" survey, but it is hardly that. Lawrence Lipton is a whole-hearted believer. None the less the book does not deserve the scathing review that it received in a certain Sunday paper. Certainly the author is a convert. He is against the "squares", the conformists, and certainly the "beats" do tend to form a clique, with its own rules of conformity. This is likely to happen in the case of any *minority*, even the anarchists. However they do not force their ways upon others, and treat as equals the other "disaffiliates", the pacifists and bohemians, on the American scene.

Their philosophy of life stems from several sources. One of these sources is anarchism. Some of the beatniks actually apply this word to themselves, with justice, although they are anarchists in a highly individualist sense. Zen Buddhism also plays a great part. Jazz even more so. They study anthropology with the same ardour that an earlier generation devoted to Freud. Contracting out of society, as far as it is physically possible to do so, they create their own world, their own art, their own religion.

This book is full of anarchistic sentiments. The position though is completely apolitical. Kenneth Rexroth speaks for the "beats" when he writes: "Since all society is organised in the interest of exploiting classes and since if men knew this they would cease to work and society would fall apart, it has always been necessary, at least since the urban revolutions, for societies to be governed ideologically by a system of fraud."

This is the social lie.

The book is full of quotable bits. But the "beats" are not just social rebels, still less revolutionaries in the old sense. They seek, by means of drugs, jazz or Zen, to transcend everyday reality and discover other realms of understanding. Drugs rouse a horror in the Western World that is disproportionate to their actual harm, so it is easy to see how the "beat generation" have come to be confused with the teenage "werewolves" and other phenomena of our enlightened age. Actually violence is rare among the "beats". They are all pacifists, or at least anti-militarists. Their world, since they live in slums and poor quarters, is bound to fringe that of the criminals, the teenage gangs, the homosexuals and the political revolutionaries, but in fact they have little in common with them.

Mr. Lipton traces the development of the "beats" from the young people of the twenties, thirties and forties. Of course there is a connecting thread running through, but it is not true to say. "Ah, it's just the Gay Twenties all over again, and anyway the young have always been rebels since Babylonian times." There are now "beat" families growing up, the children naked and unashamed. The author himself is no longer a young man. He writes of the Twenties from personal experience of what it felt like to be a young rebel then.

The young people of the earlier epochs differed from the "beats" in that, however rebellious and bohemian they became, they never contracted clean out of the ideals of their society. Of course there always have been these total outsiders, tramps, gypsies perhaps, though they have always had a society of their own, hermits, idealistic pirates and bandits. But the bohemian young man or woman has usually wanted, either to throw money about when they could get it, or to reform society in some way, whether by joining some political party or in some other manner. In other words, they have never before turned their back on society altogether.

This is the basic distinction between the "beats" and the other non-conformist elements. Not that the "beat" is an escapist. A conversation is tape-recorded between a sort of semi-beat woman, with Communist tendencies, and a certain Itchy Gelden:

"But what are your values, your *positive* values?" Sherry kept asking all of them.

"Like I want to love everybody," Itchy Gelden told her quietly. "Even the haters and the war-makers—or both sides of the iron curtain. And maybe if I can love enough, and put it into my poems and into my paintings, maybe it'll spread out like. And if enough of us make it that way and it helps to transform a few people here and a few people there, then somebody on this side is going to refuse to make their fuckin' bombs for them, and somebody on the other side is going to refuse to fire their missiles for them—"

"And if they don't—?"

"Then we'll be the last ones who did anything positive about it and be easier to die when the bomb d Like me, I'd rather die loving hating, that's all, and I'm not any pier hating one side than the other Like *let 'em* put everybody in the and let 'em occupy each other's coun like they did after the last war in many and Japan, and in a few years won't be able to aim a gun in *any* d tion without hitting their own bastards on the street. Let 'em their . . . . . wars backwards, star with the occupations, man, and th never *get* to the shooting . . . "

Some "beats" take to the woods, the majority of them try to survi an urban environment. They are opposed to the machine but to the to which it is put. They have ado "voluntary poverty" in a society that come to regard affluent living as a of righteousness.

"Holy barbarism" stems back t old orgiastic religious cults. In photographs at the end of the book is a comparison between a "beat" "beats out his own rhythms on the drums" and a representation of Greek god Dionysus, in exactly the position, head thrown back, strum a lyre, dancing to his own music could take this still further back to paleolithic Masked Dancer of the dogne, who also dances while he s his primitive stringed instrument.

Since the development of settled civilisation these old religions have continually persecuted, but stamped in one manifestation they come bac another. They are deathless.

The "beats" do not vote. They re that it is useless. The really horri thing, to one accustomed, like the pr writer, to thinking in political t even anarchist politics, is that there way at all in which the individual really influence the course of event the world. In the pre-industrial or industrial society the individual poss more chance. The state and conventi society were strong, but they did possess the powers for conditio people which are now at their disp They did not have wireless, televis airplanes that can protograph footpr from several miles up, fast travel ships, cars, submarines and rockets. did not have the mass circulation ne papers, the microphones hidden in wall, the quickfiring gun, the bra washing expert. In spite of this t political revolutions failed to impro matters much. The fiasco of 1848, mor than a century ago, should have show already the uselessness of this form action.

But in one's own life one can make changes. If one cannot change society one can still contract out of it, or out of its values. And in a roundabout way this may come to influence the course of events by subtle Taoistic means. It is indirect action. So the attitude of the "beats" may in the long run prove to be the most practical after all.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Constructive Anarchism

THE issues raised by C.W. in his article, *Constructive Anarchism* (FREEDOM, May 14th), are of great interest to this negative propagandist.

The article, including the quotation from Gaston Leval's *A Constructive Libertarian Movement*, caused me to think again about my destructive critical method, but I am still unconvinced that "our fellow citizens" will be persuaded of Anarchism's validity even if propagandists are armed to the teeth with all the facts:—

> "concerning agriculture and industrial production . . . questions of energy and raw materials, transport, economic geography and distribution" (Leval).

Although I personally have little knowledge of local administration and none at all of the Boundries Commission in this country (I will now try to acquire this—C.W. note!) one obviously attempts to equip oneself with as much information as possible about social relatoinships and institutions in our society. This I feel will be selected according to interest and the importance individual propagandists put on the many aspects of anarchist activity recognised by C.W. when he says that:—

> "We might object to (Leval's) assumption that the different aspects of anarchist activity are necessarily mutually exclusive."

The question is should we abandon our "little criticisms" and embark on a programme of activity suggested by Leval and in so doing convince people of our seriousness and the value of a free society?

It seems to me that we must apply *Big* criticisms to existing society before proposing a "new organisation of society".

Those of us who have regular contact with our "fellow citizens" from our public platform find that at best the response to our free society "blue print" is one of gentle derision. But most people find it hard to argue with us when we are criticising this society.

I read C.W.'s article after spending Sunday afternoon on a public platform with comrades at Hyde Park where all of us got bogged down on the subject of organisation in the free society.

The opposition was tedious but strenuous, the usual reaction to what is in a sense a theoretical situation—how people are likely to behave when there is no authority to guide them or police to restrain them—"human nature being what it is"! We could spend a frustrating lifetime defending our belief that men and women are capable of acting responsibly given the chance and the encouragement.

I am not suggesting that we should never put forward constructive proposals or that we should ignore the scientific work being carried out which could be related to Anarchism, nor am I suggesting that a Hyde Park audience is representative of the whole of society. But when discussing with anarchists the reactions of their fellow workers in a variety of occupations including educational and sociological, I find their experience is similar to my own.

In supporting the destructive or critical approach and saying that people find it "hard to argue" when we criticise the failure of existing society I am not attempting to silence our opponents (only sometimes!), but I am interested here with *response* to one form of anarchist activity at any rate, which is usually more favourable after we have pounded politicians and priests, poverty and war, states and governments.

It may be that in so doing we are appealing to latent destructive instincts (why not if useless institutions are the targets for aggression?), but the important reason is, I think, that people can relate our criticism of government, etc., to their everyday experience, they know what we are saying is true. As yet they cannot think beyond the governmental society or conceive of a new one without the shortcomings of the old. Perhaps they never will, but I am convinced that attempting to build without first destroying is a futile kind of activity.

In recent years I have been impressed by the group described as the "angry young men", particularly among writers. They have been accused of negativism, but I share the view that merely standing against a stream moving towards destruction is a positive kind of negativism and is among the few things we can do today to express our disgust and anger.

We should not be afraid of the title, "simple agitators".

R.M.

Freedom
THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Vol. 21, No. 21. May 21, 1960

And a Reply from the Editors

HAD we been in T.S.'s confidence we would have advised him not to submit his letter for publication, on the grounds that anyone not knowing the writer—and, incidentally, we haven't had the pleasure—might conclude that he was a little *naïve*, and since one of his strongest arguments against David Pratt was that he is "a pistol-packing lunatic" he would surely have argued his case more convincingly had he calmly, factually and pacifically demolished our arguments. Not only does he not do this, but he even invents "facts" such as, for example, that "he [Pratt] was thrown out of Holland for pulling a gun on his wife". The only story we have read which remotely resembles this one is that David Pratt was *refused admission* to Holland because when asked the routine question put to all foreigners entering Holland, "what was his business in coming to Holland" he replied that he was coming to shoot his wife. T.S. to strengthen his argument, presumably, needs to add a few damaging embellishments. Obviously the original story, if true, is hardly convincing. What man set on killing his wife would be so foolish as to tell an Immigration Officer, of all people? It will not have escaped T.S.'s eagle eye that when David Pratt attempted to kill Verwoerd he neither called at the local police station or advised Verwoerd of his intention before the event.

T.S. also tells us that David Pratt "caught religion lately and studies yoga, a bad sign". Of what? *Peace News* which published an enlarged edition last week as "part of our contribution to a new drive for Christian action in the cause of world peace" should be informed at once!

The accusation of "hero-treatment", "frenzied worship" in the way we have dealt with the David Pratt case does not stand up to examination. As we pointed out to Arlo Tatum last week when he referred to "hero-worship", we have always combatted the cult of personalities and leaders, which is more than can be said either of *Peace News* or the minority "Left" Press. We dealt with the attentat, in the first place, because no revolutionary paper, nor any paper concerned with the S. African struggle could surely *ignore* it. And as we stated in our first article we approved of the act and only regretted that it had not been successful. A point of view which many people, including some anarchists, do not share with us. Our columns have been open to receive the disagreements with our defence of David Pratt. The second article—of this—according to T.S.—"marathon squeal" was to our minds fully justified, *irrespective of whether one agreed or not with* FREEDOM's *"line"*, in view of the cowardly—yes, cowardly!—conspiracy of silence among the minority journals

It was justified firstly because we could not accept that the significance of David Pratt's action should be passed over, a mere news item among the daily crop, which is forgotten before it has been understood. Since we approved of his act this was the least it should have inspired us to do.* When we also found that we were in fact alone, in this country at least, in trying to explain his action, then there was even more reason to raise our voices in his defence and to provoke those who condemned him by their silence, to speak up.

★

THE second letter we print on this page comes from Hugh Brock, editor of *Peace News*. It is true that we have not provoked Mr. Brock to discuss the David Pratt case in *Peace News;* nor have we succeeded in persuading him to have second thoughts about this example of direct action in South Africa. Or should it be *first* thoughts? For if we are to believe what he writes—and he assures us that "that is all there is to it"—then it would seem that Mr. Brock has given the matter very little thought indeed.

He admits that *P.N.*'s Johannesburg correspondent had "filed a story" which "unfortunately" reached the paper too late for the 15th April issue "and we did not consider it sufficiently topical to run the following week when new dispatches were arriving from Johannesburg". This all sounds very important until one refers to the issue for April 22. What happened to the "new dispatches from Johannesburg? We reproduce them in full, headlines included:

'FAMILIES STARVING IN S. AFRICA'
FROM BASIL DELAINE,
JOHANNESBURG

Reports smuggled from Cato Manor, Durban, allege that many families are starving.

Reports likewise from Langa location. Cape Town, allege that there is typhoid in the location.

Is or has the water been cut off?

IN LONDON a spokesman at South Africa House dismissed these reports as "quite absurd".

(And what was "the other African material" in this "already crowded issue"? A whole-page plus half a column for a speech by Dr. Nkrumah to a "Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa" delivered in Accra on April 7 which was illustrated by a smiling portrait of the Leader (hero-worship indeed!) and headlined: "We are devoted to non-violent action—Prime Minister Nkrumah". Columns of political platitudes with an occasionaly appeal to "positive non-violent action". But in vain did we search for any statement by the Premier that he had taken the first step by abolishing his police force, his army and his navy, modest though they may be compared with those of the Big Powers. In vain did we search the editorial columns of *P.N.* for a sobering comment to the smooth words of this wiliest of African politicians!).

In the third paragraph of his letter, Hugh Brock informs FREEDOM readers that *Peace News* has two influential correspondents in South Africa and we can only rejoice at his good fortune, but regret that he should have so little space for their dispatches. Would he be agreeable to letting FREEDOM have Basil Delaine's story on David Pratt which we would undertake to print whether it is favourable or unfavourable to our particular point of view?

★

IN the fourth paragraph of his letter Mr. Brock gives us the jail records of *P.N.* staff during the past 18 months as proof, we presume, that *P.N.* was neither cowardly nor dishonest in not dealing with the David Pratt attentat. For in the fifth paragraph he writes: "Surely our failure to *denounce* the activities of one *neurotic gunman* does not warrant such sweeping charges" (our italics).

So David Pratt is a "neurotic gunman". The three part question we would first put to Hugh Brock is: Would your opinion of his act be modified if you were convinced that he was not "neurotic"? If so, why? If not why gratuitously refer to him as a *neurotic* gunman?

The second question is: Why the use of the pejorative term "gunman" to describe David Pratt? The Oxford Concise Dictionary confirms our description of the word as pejorative when it defines gunman as "(esp., U.-S. sl) armed robber". Is this a fair description of David Pratt?

The pacifists pride themselves on their tolerance and understanding of human weaknesses and failings, which they seek to overcome by example. Mr. Brock and his friends it would appear have all the time in the world to encourage people to learn how to be arrested, and in South Africa, to be shot down in cold blood if need be, in order to seek to teach the Verwoerds of this world to mend their ways. But when an individual (and no one has said that David Pratt had been involved in S. African politics) tries to strike down the tyrant, they haven't a word to spare not even more in sorrow than in anger! When provoked to say something, well . . . there it is for all to see elsewhere on this page. A "neurotic gunman" who, if they had written anything about him in their paper, would have been "denounced".

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THE integral pacifist is to our minds as unfree as the individual who knows no alternative to violence in regulating his relations with his fellow beings.

Because we supported the view that "violence breeds violence", our critic T.S. jumped to the conclusion that we shared his view that "non-violent resistance is the only course open to the Africans" and then (if readers will refer to the last paragraph of his letter), he equates self-defence of the African with the self-defence referred to by Khrushchev, Eisenhower and the lesser power politicians.

We do not accept that self-defence by a people against its government or a section of the community which maintains its power and privileges by a naked display of force, has any affinity with the "self-defence" to which the political leaders are always referring in justification of massive armaments programmes.

And we do not accept our correspondent's assumption that the only course open to the Africans in S. Africa is non-violent resistance. Nor, on the other hand, do we believe that violence is the only course open to them. Verwoerd and his Apartheiders can only be overthrown when the power of the Africans is greater than his power. It is obviously not a question of numbers, for if it were, black Africa would never have been enslaved by the white man in the first place. It is not a question of superior armaments, or Algeria should long ago succumbed to rule by the French settlers and Kenya would not be in sight of independence (from white rule, not from politicians!) in spite of the military defeat of Mau Mau. Similarly in the cases of Palestine and now Cyprus.

★

"VIOLENCE breeds violence" is a "truism" declares T.S. But in fact it is not, for violence as well as breeding violence has also resulted in the growth and development of non-violent movements. And it has done so because there are those who have convincingly expounded the view that non-violence is a more effective reply to violence. We believe that the social revolution, as we understand it, will be achieved non-violently, because the success of such a revolution depends on a majority of the people wanting it above all else—which means knowing what they want. The success of non-violent resistance depends on numbers and knowledge and this is *power* which not even the machine guns of the privileged minority can evercome. When the people are so strong, they have no need to *initiate* violence. When they do, it is a clear indication of their weakness.

But when on the one hand they have not the informed support to overthrow the tyrant yet nevertheless seek to curb his excesses, as say in S. Africa, is counter-violence such an ineffective weapon? And to those who say it is, we ask what more effective alternative is at hand?

*The pacifists surely will understand this attitude. We see from *P.N.* (May 13) that a Committee has been started for those arrested at Foulness and now serving prison sentences, for the purposes of helping prisoners and dependents and *"to publicise the reasons for the former's non-violent action at Foulness."*

Letters to the Editors on the David Pratt case

T.S. on Freedom's Hero-Worship

COMRADES,

When FREEDOM takes five columns, or one page, in two weeks to deal with a recent, universally reported incident, we can safely assume that the editors are gunning for someone or something. This week the National Press (honourable exception, the *Observer*), the minority weeklies and poor old *Peace News* are treated collectively to a pop-gun bombardment. So too are the cowardly (?) left wing and those muddled pacifists, patted on the head one minute and kicked on the arse the next. The gunmen must now be gloating over the intended carnage, so universally administered that non-violent fellow anarchists were expected to perish with the rest.

Too bad you missed. Take off your dark glasses, you cannot see a thing with them on; shave round your ears, things have been happening lately; stop buying weapons from Woolworth's toy counters, this is a nuclear age.

What was this marathon squeal all about? Can it be in the midst of these dead sea scrolls we can find a practical policy or some moral principle at stake? No. In constructive thinking they are as barren as Trafalgar Square on May Day. Instead it seems that some (I hope not many) comrades have found a Messiah, a new patron saint (was the old one Jack the Ripper?), a symbol for the freedom of the future. I fully expect next week to be asked for a contribution towards the David Pratt Memorial Fund and next time I venture, I might say with caution, into the Bookshop his bust will leer across at me from the counter.

In a fine display of conjectural gymnastics we are assured that this paragon of anarchist virtue has a conscience which prevents him from rationalising his privileged status'. Yes comrades, he is a member of the upper crust who came over to our side, a reformed character destined to save the movement from apathy and the P.P.U.

Some of us might protest however that this 170lbs. of angelic benevolence is a pistol-packing lunatic and that his motives for any particular action are known only to himself and his psychoanalyst. What do we know about him in addition to the information grudgingly offered last week? He caught religion lately and studies yoga, a bad sign. He was thrown out of Holland for pulling a gun on his wife, a minor offence, and 'has been under treatment at various mental institutions for short periods', probably doing it for kicks. We know more than this, for instance he was brilliant at school, but I have merely selected one or two of the more reassuring aspects of his noble character.

However all this is beside the point. Normal or insane, why in heavens name must we be treated to one whole page of the hero treatment? It is fortunate that *Peace News* left the affair out, although I cannot imagine it was for policy reasons, for this at least could help me to get it into perspective again. Has FREEDOM ever been so corny? 'We refuse to let the self-named "direct actionists" pass by David Pratt.' 'Sharpeville needed a David Pratt to save the dignity of mankind.' The last sentence is almost reminiscent of Calvary.

I pointed out in my last letter that one could have sympathy for him whilst deploring his act, I never anticipated that by the next edition my sympathy and FREEDOM's admiration would have been translated into frenzied worship. Forgive me therefore if I appear to be somewhat less than charitable to Mr. Pratt this time.

His admirer, the marksman, not only missed, the shots went so wide that I cannot imagine what the target had originally been. A few practical words on the tangible results of the assassination attempt or even an objective discussion on the practice of assassination no matter how out-of-date it might have been, would have reassured us that FREEDOM could remain constructive even during an intellectual blackout.

The last section on non-violence was I think more important and I will try and deal with it briefly. Non-violent resistance is a tactic or method the underlying principle of which is a respect for human life as being sacroscanct. It is true that in general terms one's own life is equally as sacroscanct as the next person's but it is equally true that if it comes to a choice between the life of one committed to non-violence and one who is not, the commitment could and should still prevent the use of violence on the part of the defender. This does not take into account such factors as avoiding the homicidal type, a useful defence mechanism which most of us practice, also by a non-violent attitude and reasoned argument dissuading the attacker or if this fails beating it at top speed. The case of David Pratt was however not one of self defence, he was not protecting himself from Verwoerd, rather it was he he was doing the attacking. Therefore this has nothing to do with the individual's right to defend himself. The question for South Africa is what is the most effective method of overcoming oppression. The truism was admitted that violence breeds violence and therefore presumably the editors share my view that non-violent resistance is the only course open to the Africans. If they are going to make exceptions for imaginary cases of self-defence, they are merely using the same arguments which we are accustomed to hear from our power politicians. No country has an attacking force, only a system of defence. This does not prevent other nations from being attacked.

Fraternally,

London, May 2. T.S.

Peace News' Editor Writes:

DEAR COMRADE EDITOR,

Re your charge that *Peace News* was guilty of being cowardly and dishonest in not writing about Verwoerd's assailant. Our Johannesburg correspondent Basil Delaine—reputed to be one of the few white professional journalists the Africans trust—did file a story on David Pratt. It unfortunately reached us after our Aldermaston March issue had gone to press, and we did not consider it sufficiently topical to run the following week when new dispatches were arriving from Johannesburg.

That is all there is to it. An error of judgment on our part not to have run the despatch the following week in an eight page issue already crowded with news of Aldermaston and other African material? Perhaps yes, but surely not an occasion for the use of the words cowardly and dishonest.

Of our two South African correspondents, one, Basil Delaine, was writing his dispatch in a building which angry Nationalists had threatened to dynamite; the other, Patrick Duncan, was out in the streets endeavouring to use his influence and authority as the son of a former Governor-General to stop police brutalities.

At home in the past eighteen months some eight or nine of our staff and voluntary workers have gone to jail because of their opposition to all violence.

Surely our failure to denounce the activities of one neurotic gunman does not warrant such sweeping charges.

Yours sincerely,
HUGH BROCK,
Editor *Peace News*.

London, May 12.

COUNTING OF HEADS

If there is to be a counting of heads in the dispute between David Pratt and FREEDOM *versus* the pacifists and others, I should like to be reckoned as a supporter of anyone who has the guts to shoot a tyrant, whatever his motives and whatever the possible consequences.

London, May 13. N.W.

[There is no question, so far as we are concerned, of counting heads, though we appreciate our friend's communication. FREEDOM *exists, and we "argue" in its columns, because we want people to* use *their heads.*—EDITORS].

The Paperback Boom

Tarting it Up

A RECENT issue of D. H. Lawrence titles in paperbacks has focussed attention on a trend which has been growing obvious to the student and seller of paperback books. The Lawrence series of eight titles (published by Ace Books, a subsidiary of the one-time Hulton Press) show on the covers a man and woman in a series of eight different positions of courtship, only an obvious sex-act is missing. This is the reduction to formula of the process of 'tarting it up' that has been growing in paperbacks for some years.

The assistance of 'cheesecake', lots of gow, cleavage (the portrayal of mammiferous females) have been called in for years to assist the sales of good and not-so-good literature. It has been alleged by Ethel Mannin that an American edition of her book "At Sundown the Tiger" was issued with a near-naked Hindu woman on the cover, about to be attacked by a tiger, this incident Miss Mannin claims, was not in the book. An American cartoonist had portrayed the (imaginary) 'tarting-up' of six famous books including "eminent Victorians" with Florence Nightingale rather seductively leaning over a man in bed with the caption 'Five Men—and one Woman'. It has even been suggested by a cynic that *Freedom Press* titles would increase their allure by such a device—Voline's "Nineteen-Seventeen" was quoted as a possibility with two teen-agers on the cover!

When the highly successful series in the Best-Seller library was issued by Elek (Balzac, Defoe, Zola, etc.) complaints were made of the sexual crudity of some of the covers—titles were then issued, and re-issued with art-masterpieces on the cover, producing the same effect.

This brings up the old question: When is pornography not pornography? Placing to one side the viewpoint whether such a thing exists, there seem to be two saving clauses to what would otherwise be termend 'pornography' (*a*) the age of the book, (*b*) the price. There is a chronological morality coming into play about 'pornography'. The classics are, as such, exempt from these accusations and a highly-priced book is automatically exempt from corrupting the morals of the lower-paid classes. Both "Ulysses" and Godwin's "Political Justice" have saved themselves from censorship by such a device. However, the paperback book is a frequent target for such accusation of pornography not only by reason of its glamorous get-up but by its low price and wide circulation. Cases have been brought (and won) against the publisher of Hank Jansen novels and the recent action of Hazell, Watson & Viney in declining to print the unexpurgated Penguin edition of "Lady Chatterley's Lover", presumably because of the risk of a prosecution.

It is highly probable that a wider circulation of "L.C.L." would lead to a prosecution, and it will be recalled that the U.S. Postmaster General recently lost his action against the American paperback publishers of "L.C.L." for forwarding obscene matter through the mails. The usual moral escalator of time bringing respectability to books once deemed 'pornographic' will doubtless elevate Lady Constance's romps in the coverts among the classics with "Droll Stories", "The Well of Loneliness", "Sleeveless Errand" and "Ulysses".

However, it is more likely that a charge of false pretences could more justifiably be laid at the door of paperback publishers with their unfulfilled 'promises of pneumatic bliss' than the rather doubtful one of 'tending to deprave and corrupt anyone into whose hands the publication may fall'. The promises of sexual titillation are rarely fulfilled and in the evidence of Kinsey a book is no substitute for the real thing. Zola is, as someone pointed out about Henry James, no place to go for kicks. The chief criticism of this sensational presentation of literary masterpieces is that it is playing both sides of the street. It is an attempt to get in the low-brows and the high-brows. What happens frequently is that the low-brow feels himself cheated and the high-brow is put off by the lurid presentation, thus both groups are alienated.

There has been an outcry in the book trade that vast quantities of imported pornographic trash from America have been dumped on the market to corrupt English morals, and what is worse, to steal English trade. This seems to be the usual protectionist cry raised after the lifting of the ban on dollar imports. A similar howl has been raised against the import of Russian- and Czech-printed cheap books.

BIBLIOS.

(To be continued)

Letter from South America

Workers' Struggle in Uruguay

URUGUAY, long regarded and rightly in many ways as the most liberal of all the South American Republics with a functioning democracy, free elections, no conscription, etc., etc., nevertheless does not remain free from the attacks launched by that extreme right wing that speaks for reaction in all parts of the world. At the present moment the workers and students mostly concentrated in and around Montevideo are engaged in a struggle against newly-proposed legislation, "Reglamentacion Sindical".

This new law follows the classic pattern of most legal sanctions of its type. Full of words that speak of safeguarding the rights of the individual, the health and security of the nation, the stability of the economy, it is in effect the usual attempt on the part of the State toi impose a full and complete authority over the people, the workers and students and other autonomous organisations.

The political scene in Uruguay for the foreign observer, like in practically all the Latin American countries, appears confused and difficult to analyze, influences are frequently not the result of conditions and facts but of traditional attitudes that at first appear not to make a great deal of sense, but in this issue of the "Reglamentacion Sindical" all the forces of the left, all the liberal elements in the community appear to be united.

Associated with this attack on the Unions in Uruguay is also an attack on the autonomy and independence of the National University.

In this epoch the students play an important and active role in the social and economic struggles, the left elements among the Uruguayan student movements have an awareness and a conscientious responsibility towards the problems of the people that is rarely if ever encountered amongst the student movements in English-speaking countries, furthermore, this is not an intellectual academic interest, it is an activity in full co-operation with the mass movements of workers.

In demonstrations, strikes, lock-outs, general activities against the employing class and the more repressive activities of the State, the students are there in no uncertain fashion, ready to give battle physically if necessary alongside the workers. To an observer from an Anglo-Saxon country where traditions of University exclusiveness still prevail, it is, to say the least, an unusual if not inspiring experience. It is hard to imagine a situation for example in Sydney (the former home of the writer) where if the Waterside Workers or Transport Workers were on strike the students would organise meetings and demonstrations in favour of the strikers. One result of this is a difference in the attitude of the Uruguayan worker to the student. Again in Australia the student is regarded and mistrusted by the average Unionist as either an irresponsible ratbag or an academic recluse with scarcely enough time to lift his head from the books to have a glance at the real world around him, in general the students in Anglo-Saxon countries have earned this mistrust. It is encouraging to know that this need not be and that here indeed in Montevideo is certainly not so.

To return to the issue of the proposed anti-Union legislation, I give a brief outline. It does in effect give the State almost complete control of the Labour Unions. The right to strike is reduced to an absolute minimum, the right to strike of public officials (public and civil servants, etc.) is forbidden completely. Prohibited also are stop-work meetings or strikes of solidarity with other Unions, or strikers. Go-slow tactics and stay-in strikes are punishable under the act. The sudden strike provoked for example by an on-the-spot injustice (a "wild-cat") is prohibited. Stop-work meetings or strikes about problems of a general character, *i.e.* war, atom bombs, etc., that is strikes not intimately associated with the conditions and work of the particular industry, sometimes called the "political" strike, are also illegal.

The penalties for infractions of the law are not fixed, but are decided by a judge in the same manner as in a criminal proceeding. It can clearly be seen without further details that this most vicious piece of legislation is a weapon in the hands of the State and the politicos that could destroy completely the heart of the Uruguyan Labour Movement. I mentioned earlier in this article that the left elements are united against the proposed law, this remains essentially true, what is not so clear is the exact line of action that will be eventually taken to combat this law. At the moment the struggle is confined to mass demonstrations and most impressive they are too, and an intensive propaganda campaign by leaflets, and the various radical nwspapers Socialist, Communist, Anarchist, Trotskyist and by a determined effort to paint or cover with a poster every vacant wall space in Montevideo declaiming "La Reglamentacion Sindical No Pasaran"! or "Lucha contra la Reglamentacion Sindical!" In the Union movement itself there is no clear common line of action at this stage.

The CUT (Confederacion Unica de Trabajodores) is a centre to which is affiliated a majority of the unions, it is dominated at the top by the Communist Party although there are many non-Communist unions affiliated to it the policy in general of this centre is for resistance by propaganda and manifestations more or less along the lines that exists already. There are within the CUT unions who stand for a much stronger policy of direct action.The other centre is CSU (Confederacion Sindical Uruguaya), this centre, much less in total numbers, is affiliated to the Free Confederation of Trade Unions (known here as the Yankee International). This group also proposes and supports a campaign against the proposed law, but also in general manner of "Unity" with progressive forces in the community, with no specific line of decisive action. We come finally to possibly the most powerful and important section of the Labour forces. The "Federation de la Carne", the Meat Workers Union, here the Anarcho-Syndicalist influence is very strong and significant.

With a tradition of direct action this Union plays always a most decisive role in Labour struggles here. Uruguay depends to a great extent on her meat export trade, so these workers occupy a strategic position. The Meat Workers' Union calls clearly and loudly for Direct Action for a general strike against a government who would even consider such legislation. This call finds response in some of the more militant unions within the CUT (it should be explained that the Meat Workers are an Autonomous Union independent of both Union centres but always ready to act in solidarity with them).

Two unions within the CUT but who are influenced to a very great extent by anarchist members are the Rubber Workers and the Hotel and Restaurant Workers "(Federacion Gastronomica") these two Unions also stand very clearly for general strike action against the legislation.

Lastly but by no means unimportant is the Union Obrera Estadiantil, the Student Workers' Union. This organisation, born out of the Federacion Estudiantil Uruguaya has the task [illegible] observing and co-ordinating student militant activity with the struggles of the worker, it is an affiliate of CUT on a full and equal basis with a full voice in the affairs of that centre heavily influenced by anarchist ideas it has a third position orientation (here called tercerista) that is typical of the parent body, the Uruguayan Student Federation. The situation of a Student Union in active participation with the Labour Union is I feel unique in the world. The attitude of the student organisation is also for the general strike, direct action. The eventual form of the struggle remains to be seen and in any case is the subject of a further report which I hope to forward to FREEDOM at the appropriate time.

A few more words on this student organisation, the third force position is clear to most readers of FREEDOM I am sure, the attitude followed by the Student Federation here is simply neither Russian nor Yankee, neither Bolshevik nor capitalist, it has an independent semi-libertarian attitude and one I think that most anarchists would find a great deal of agreement with. It is neither affiliated to the Communist Student International or the "Democratic" Student International but maintains officially accepted observers and relations with both.

One more important point in the situation between the workers and students is a position of mutual assistance, in as much as students are willing to co-operate with the Workers' Unions, in defence of them, so the workers do as have done in the past, co-operate actively with the students in their continual fight for the defence of University Autonomy and the struggle for better and wider educational opportunities for all. It is in fact not a one-way agreement but truly reciprocal, the students demands and gets a voice in the affairs of the Syndicates and in return receive help and solidarity from the organised workers.

918 *Calle Saltro,*
"Communidal del Sur",
Montevideo, Uruguay. FRANK WEBB.

The Anarchist Personality

More Volunteers Wanted

OCCASIONALLY I get letters asking "Are you still carrying on that investigation into the anarchist personality? If so, I'd like to join in." Yes, I am, and the number of interviews has now built up to 39; but I want at least 50 volunteers before I can consider the sample adequate. The point is that the larger the sample the less is one liable to be led away by chance combinations of circumstances.

For example, if one were to generalize from small numbers one might get such odd associations as ex-membership of the SPGB and comparatively low IQ, or a penchant for speaking at meetings and the incredible factor XX (if one used such funny things, that is). But with reasonably large numbers, however, problems of statistical probability are much easier, and the likelihood of being led astray by the strength of one's own expectations is less.

Although some of my earlier hypotheses have taken a beating, certain firm trends do seem to be emerging from the research, and I am very glad that I planned it as I did. As has been mentioned in FREEDOM before this is complementary to the readership survey which has been carried out this year. The volunteers for the personality research have been a reasonably good sample of the sort of people who have responded to the readership survey, except that, as might have been expected, the more active types of anarchist have come to the fore.

What about you others? If you are interested you must be prepared to come for an interview of perhaps 3 hours in London, but it is quite interesting. I will not pry into your secrets nor give you electric shocks, but I do want you to take the test battery that the others have done in order to have a reasonably good body of evidence as to what sort of people anarchists are. The only proviso I make is that you regard the term "anarchist" as reasonably descriptive of yourself.

I can arrange an interview in the daytime or evening at a time to suit you, and this will be at the place where I work as a research psychologist, not in the dungeons of the L.A.G. I shall be glad to answer enquiries addressed to me at FREEDOM PRESS.

TONY GIBSON.

and more money for FREEDOM

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Total	20 16 10
Previously acknowledged	295 17 5
1960 TOTAL TO DATE	£316 14 3

GIFT OF BOOKS: London: S.F.

*Indicates regular contributor.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

IMPORTANT

MEETINGS are now held at CAMBRIDGE CIRCUS

"The Marquis of Granby" Public House, London, W.C.2.
(*corner Charing Cross Road and Shaftesbury Avenue*)
at 7.30 p.m.
ALL WELCOME

MAY 23.—Frances Sokolyov *on* BREAD, ANARCHISM & PICCADILLY CIRCUS

MAY 29.—Jack Robinson *on* STRIKES, BOYCOTTS AND DIRECT ACTION

JUNE 12.—Bonar Thompson (*Benefit Lecture*) REMEMBRANCE OF THINGS PAST

L.A.G. SUMMER SCHOOL REMINDER

Don't forget when arranging your holidays, that the Summer School will take place during August Bank Holiday weekend. It will be held at Alan Albon's Farm at Hailsham, Sussex (under canvas), and those who wish to will be able to stay for a week. Further details of cost, lectures, etc. will appear later.