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Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Leaders in prison are like shallots—ten will come up for every one that is put in."
 —ALEX COMFORT

Vol. 21, No. 2

January 9th, 1960

Threepence

READERSHIP SURVEY
 Have you posted it yet?

WITH your FREEDOM last week you were sent a form with 25 questions which we asked you to answer—as anonymously as you like—and return to us. (If by some mishap you didn't get one, please write to us at once). The response so far is good, but HAVE YOU POSTED YOURS YET? Surely you want us to be able to publish the exciting details about the kind of people who read FREEDOM? Do Latin-American readers live in un-marrried union? Do those in the outer suburbs plump for individualism? Do subscribers in Australia prefer Letters to the Editors to anarchist theory? Are all the Scottish comrades ex-presbyterians?

Well, even if these intriguing correlations do not interest you, what WE want to know is:—

What kind of people read our paper (age, sex, education, occupation).

How they came to be readers in the first place.

What the paper means to them. Are they even anarchists?

What effect does what they read in the paper have on them?

What sort of changes do they think should be made in the paper?

Through what channels can we best try to increase the circulation?

Where does FREEDOM stand in the ecology of "left" journals? Do you read it instead of *Tribune*, as an antidote to the *Statesman*, or as a softener-up for *Peace News*?

If you haven't already posted it back, would you please do it now, before the enthusiasm wears off? Hallo Paris; *Buon Giorno* Rome; are you receiving San Francisco? Borrow a stamp and let's hear from you. Readers arrested at Harrington missile base: fill it in the moment they let you out. Sydney libertarians, Stockholm syndicalists, South Croydon Stirnerites, Moscow archivists and old gentlemen in the New York Public Library: we want to know what you think. Beatniks, kibbutzniks, stilyagi, Bhoodan pioneers, adventure playground helpers, and strictly philosophical anarchists on Granada TV, tell us all the answers.

THE EDITORS.

P.S.—This also applies to those devoted critics and friendly enemies we meet every week and those whose Sherry/Chablis/Chianti/Whisky, we drank on Christmas/Boxing Day/New Year's Eve/New Year's day (strike out which does not apply) during the recent orgies.

WHAT ABOUT THAT NEW READER FOR "FREEDOM" please!

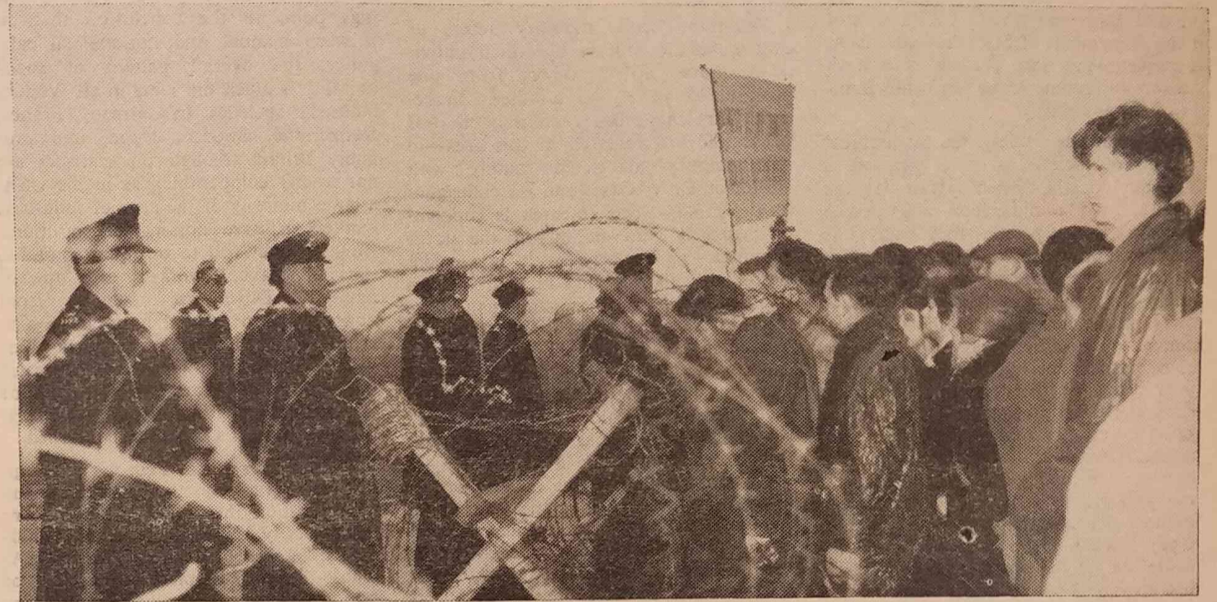
Direction Action Committee all in jail, but Wider Support for Rocket Base Protest

EIGHTY demonstrators were arrested at the R.A.F. Thor nuclear rocket base at Harrington, Northamptonshire on January 2nd. At a special court at Northampton that night, seventy-three of them, 51 men and 22 women, refused bail and were remanded in custody in prisons at Birmingham, Leicester and Bedford, charged with wilfully obstructing police officers in the execution of their duty.

The original members of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War were sent to prison for two months in December for refusing to be bound over to keep the peace, except for two members, Michael Randle and the Rev. Michael Scott who were members of the party attempting to reach the Sahara in protest against the proposed tests of the French atom bomb there. (The seven members of the Sahara Protest Team were arrested in the Upper Volta on January 3rd, after several attempts to cross the frontier from Ghana).

Most members of the *ad hoc* committee, set up after the original arrests, were among those arrested last Saturday. But plans are going ahead for further demonstrations. Committee members still at liberty are Tony Weaver and Terence Chivers, the Press Secretary. "If we are arrested there are others ready to take over," said a spokesman on Saturday night. Miss Elaine Rich will carry on the Committee's business from 344 Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4, until the release of the original Committee in February.

Meanwhile the coast-to-coast



march of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament ended with the arrival at Hull on Sunday night of the marchers after their nine-day journey from Liverpool, and on Sunday night in London the members of the Campaign who had supported the Direct Actionists joined in a demonstration at Hyde Park with the members of the Combined Universities Campaign who had been holding a conference to discuss the political, strategic and economic aspects of Nuclear Disarmament.

★
 WITHIN the disarmament movement, the events of the past month have been a triumph for the Direct Action Committee, who had

previously initiated the first Aldermaston march and the demonstration at Swaffham Missile base at the end of 1958. The Swaffham events and the 'Voter's Veto' proposals of the Direct Action Committee had led the Campaign to cold-shoulder the Committee and to disavow its methods publicly. But in last Sunday's demonstration, when in bitterly cold weather, the intending law-breakers of the Direct Action Committee marched from the village of Rothwell, with their 192 supporters, they were followed by 258 members of the Campaign, led by Canon Collins, who marched past the base in silence and with lowered banners. Mrs. Collins, speaking for

the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament said she saluted and respected those who were prepared to break the law. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament after an anti-political start was rapidly collared by those who wanted to make it the 'peace' wing of the Labour Party and to cash in on the widespread support that the Aldermaston marches had gained. Last Easter the Direct Action Committee stood in the gutter with their leaflets while the prominent people in the front row of marchers were all left-wing supporters of the Labour Party. Last week the Campaign saluted the Direct Actionists. Has the Cam-

Continued on p. 5

SOUTH AFRICA Opposition View of Boycott

IT is proposed by a number of groups in countries outside the Union of South Africa to start off a boycott of South African goods to draw attention to and put economic pressure on a country which officially conducts racial discrimination.

A number of people have argued that the boycott does as much harm to the African as to the people for whom it is intended. But our own view is that as conditions are in South Africa the proposed boycott of goods cannot deprive the African and, indeed, can only help by drawing attention to his plight by economic boycott which as a consequence will 'hurt' the South African Government more and the business men who support it.

Sir de Villiers Graaff, Leader of the Opposition party in South Africa, who claims that he has been in opposition to "Many of the policies of this government" since it came into power in 1948, nevertheless strenuously opposes the boycott and in a letter to the Cambridge University United Nations Association, which has appointed a commission of five to go into the question of boycott, gives some indication of the alarm felt by the use of arguments which are easily seen to be defensive and irrelevant where not obviously false. We quote from Reuter:—

"Such action would be regarded as interference with the internal policies of South Africa and would lead to great resentment on the part of members of the public, whether they support Opposition or Government, and the question would immediately be posed as to why South Africa should be selected for such treatment when the social systems and policies of many other countries must be equally if not more repugnant to British ideas.

"Secondly, organisation of the boycott, associated as it is with collective intimidation, must envisage the infliction of indiscriminate injury upon all citizens of whatever opinion and will set a dangerous precedent which will demand the application of similar sanctions against other states whose policies are deemed objectionable.

"Thirdly it would be difficult to persuade members of the South African public, well aware as they are of the unfamiliarity of the British public with South African conditions, that the public is competent to judge.

"Fourthly, a boycott will undoubtedly be entirely ineffective in influencing either Government or public opinion in South Africa... It must surely be clear that no South African worthy of the name would be prepared to tolerate political intervention of an official, let alone unofficial, nature."

Sir de Villiers added: "Fifthly, the futility of a boycott is emphasised by the complete lack of constructive approach to South African problems. "Finally, many South Africans will be deeply offended by the indifference shown by the would-be boycotters of their

national character and achievements, to their comradeship in arms in two world wars, to their close economic ties, to innumerable benefits conferred over the years on the African population, and to the gravity of the many difficulties with which South Africa has to contend."

We didn't make it!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

WEEK 52	
Deficit on 'Freedom'	£1,040
Contributions received	£925
DEFICIT	£115

December 24 to December 31

Dundee: A.S.L.R. £3/2/0; Glasgow: L.B. £1/2/0; Boston: R.D. £3/10/0; Eastport, Maine: J.P.G. £2/6/6; Woldingham: F.B.* 5/-; Glasgow: M.W.K.* 5/-; London: P.B.C. £1/0/0; Sheffield: H.W. 4/-; Manchester: A.R. 1/-; Bath: H.J.C. £1/1/0; Auckland: K.J.M.: 3/9; London: E.L.T. £1/0/0; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.* 17/6; Slough: E.F.C.* 10/-; Ilford: J. & M.S.* £1/0/0; London: J.S. 3/-; Chicago: E.G.B. 14/-; Petaluma: A.M. £3/10/0; Tonypandy: H.D. 1/-; Belfast: K.G. 5/-; Chiddingfold: C.R.W.S. 6/-; Exmouth: A.B.H. 4/9; London: B.J.F. 5/-; Mitcham: F.H. £1/0/0.

Total	22 16 6
Previously acknowledged	902 6 10
1959 TOTAL	£925 3 4

*Indicates regular contributor.

Spanish Guerillas Killed

GERONA, N.W. SPAIN, JANUARY 4.

A Spanish civil guard and four bandits were killed and another guard seriously wounded in a gun battle at dawn to-day, when the guards attacked the farmhouse where the bandits were hiding. It was reported that the gang was led by a well-known guerrilla fighter named Francisco Sabater, who escaped, though badly wounded.

Sabater is an Anarchist who fought on the Republican side during the civil war. Since the war ended he has carried on what the Opposition calls guerrilla activity and what the police call banditry, and has escaped police traps many times.

Guardian 5/1/60.

GERONA, Spain, Tuesday.

Thirteen years they have been hunting him—Francisco Sabater, 45, guerrilla leader and anarchist. Now he is dead—shot in a battle between his men and the Spanish civil guard.

Sabater—the name means shoemaker—was injured yesterday in a dawn battle. He was the only survivor of his gang. They had crossed into Spain from France.

Evening Standard 5/1/60.

A STUDY OF CLASS, STATUS AND POWER

A COMPLEX industrial society may be pictured as a pyramid divided horizontally in layers. The top layer comprises the relatively small number of people who hold the main leadership positions in the society, enjoy the greatest material rewards, and are accorded the highest prestige. Below this layer are one or more other layers, comprising the great bulk of the population. As one goes down the pyramid, the number in each stratum increases and the rewards and prestige of its members decrease. In modern societies, the lower strata comprise those who work with their hands, perform routine jobs, command scant rewards and enjoy least prestige. In the popular leftist image, the top stratum is termed the ruling class; it is a group which—unless or until it is overthrown—passes on its privileges to its kin and heirs and which, by its control of the instruments of State, excludes from its ranks many able persons who have had the misfortune to be born into families of lower status.

Somewhat less crudely, the hierarchical ordering of societies may be pictured as three analytically distinct pyramids: the social status pyramid which ranks people according to the prestige they enjoy; the class pyramid which ranks people according to their relationship to the economic order; and the power pyramid which ranks people according to the degree of control over others that they exercise. In a 'model' society, these three pyramids coincide: the economic dominants enjoy the most prestige and exercise the most power. In real societies the coincidence is always only approximate. There is a tendency for a person high in one pyramid to be, or to become, high in the other two, but this is only a tendency. When the pyramids do not coincide we get the phenomenon of 'status discrepancy' and, if this becomes widespread, society is heading for trouble. The French Revolution may be interpreted as a case in point. The bourgeoisie, having acquired dominance in the economic field, was denied its 'due'

social prestige and political power: the Revolution was the means by which the bourgeoisie achieved its 'rights'. In this instance, the old French ruling class showed its ineptitude: the British aristocracy, in contrast, has shown more perspicience and skill. As society was being transformed by the industrial revolution, instead of meeting the bourgeoisie in head-on conflict, it compromised. It accorded them increasing political power and acquiesced in their increasing prestige; and, at the same time, often by judicious marriages, acquired positions of dominance in the new economic order of industrial capitalism. The landed Duke became also the City director and banker. As the end result, the aristocracy remains today a significant element in the British ruling class.

Social Mobility

The term 'social mobility' refers of course, to the process by which individuals move, up or down, from one position in society to another. In recent years there has been a good deal of sociological research in this area—in this country associated mainly with Professor D. V. Glass and his colleagues at the L.S.E. This research is concerned primarily with mobility in the status pyramid, particularly with movement across the line dividing manual workers from the rest. Its starting point has been the fact that there is a general consensus in our society about the prestige rank order of various occupations—a consensus which is remarkably stable over time, and which is common to all industrialised societies, whatever their social system. In the Soviet Union, as in Western countries, the manual worker enjoys less prestige than the white-collar bureaucrat. In the book under review,* Lipset and Bendix bring together and analyse on a comparative basis recent international research in this field and, in addition, present the results of their empirical study of occupational mobility in Oakland, California. The book is a technical piece, replete with statistical tables, and designed for the professional rather than the general reader. However, some of their findings are of interest to anyone seeking to understand modern society, since they throw doubt on a number of widely-held generalisations.

Of these, perhaps the most significant concerns the rate of social mobility in

different countries. It is popularly believed that the USA is a relatively 'open' society with a high rate of social mobility, whereas European countries are relatively 'closed' societies in which class barriers are largely insurmountable. This belief has been the basis of much argument, by conservatives and radicals alike, attempting to account for the stability of American society and its lack of a significant socialist movement. Roughly, the argument runs that the American workers have been content with industrial capitalism and have not sought to change the system because they have enjoyed widespread opportunities to rise in the existing social hierarchy. The USA, unlike Great Britain for example, is a country where there is genuine equality of opportunity. In fact, however, all the empirical research findings point to the conclusion that, as between manual and non-manual categories, the overall pattern of social mobility is much the same in all Western industrial societies. In Germany, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Japan, and probably Britain (though the statistics are not strictly comparable), as in the USA, a large minority of the sons of industrial workers achieve non-manual positions. Roughly one-third to one-quarter of the sons of manual workers are 'upward mobiles'. Downward mobility from non-manual to manual positions is also significant, although the proportion involved is smaller. Total mobility rates (up and down) show a high degree of similarity, ranging between 27% and 31% for five of the six countries concerned.

These figures reveal a surprisingly high rate of upward mobility and refute the generalisation that the USA is a more open society. Since there is no significant difference between a society (USA) whose ideology emphasizes equality of opportunity and societies (Western European) whose ideologies emphasize status stability and class distinctions, the cause of social mobility cannot lie in the social ethos. It is the authors' major thesis that social mobility is an integral and continuing aspect of the process of industrialisation itself, with its concomitants of urbanisation and bureaucratisation; and further that there is no evidence that social mobility rates tend to decline as industrialisation matures or that the class structure becomes more rigid. A predominantly peasant society, even if there were complete equality of opportunity, clearly could not have a high social mobility rate. As such a

society industrialises, however, the character of the labour force changes and new opportunities become available. In particular, industrialisation has involved a large expansion of white collar 'middle class' occupations. In Britain, for example, in the period 1907-1947 the number of administrative workers per 100 production workers increased from 9 to 20.

Rags to Riches

The belief that the USA is a more open society is supported by an ideology which emphasises 'rags to riches' stories and the 'log cabin to White House' idea (though, in fact, it is harder for a US worker to enter the political élite than it is for his counterpart in Britain). To the ordinary man the US appears a more open society because an upward mobile finds it easier there than in Europe to be accepted by his new class. And this in turn is explained largely by America's absence of an hereditary aristocracy. "Americans", as the authors point out, "have rarely been exposed to persons whose conduct displays a belief in an inherited and God-given superiority and also demands that others demonstrate (by deferential behaviour) their recognition of this superiority."

Some of the consequences of social mobility are most notable in the political sphere. In general, upward mobiles from the working class are more conservative than those who remain stationary. In all Western societies, occupational status is a major determinant of political allegiance. In Britain, for example, most manual workers vote Labour because they believe it to be 'the party of the working class', even though many of them disagree with important items in its programme. The white collar sons of manual workers having changed their status tend to change their political allegiance and vote Conservative. Using material from a Swedish study, the authors suggest that such changes are related to consumption patterns. The white collar workers of working class origin continue to vote for working class parties unless and until they change their style of consumption. When, say with the acquisition of a car, their consumption pattern becomes middle class, they begin to vote for right-wing parties. Such findings underline the significance of the Labour Party's failure at the recent election to get out its vote among the prosperous car-owning workers on the new housing estates in the Midlands and elsewhere. Downward mobility

from non-manual to manual, which in any case less, carries with it no compensating advantage to compensate for the loss of status. The downward mobile middle class origin tend to retain their right-wing political allegiance. It is very much as though there is a pronounced conservative bias inherent in this type of society.

The consequences of social mobility are not only political. For the individuals concerned, the psychological consequences may be very severe. This is obvious in the case of downward mobile who have lost status. It applies also, however, to the social climbers. Upward mobility frequently involves such persons in a conflict of loyalties; their associations with primary groups, like family, cliques and friendships tend to dissolve; and they may find themselves in an *anomic* situation where they are incapable of choosing between different norms. Studies of mental illness in America suggest that people moving up the social scale are more likely to have mental breakdowns than the non-mobile.

A Good Thing?

The underlying value assumption much of the recent research is that social mobility is a good thing because it creates the opportunities of the unprivileged and hence enlarges their freedom. Mindful of the social and psychological consequences involved, Lipset and Bendix question this assumption. It is no longer obvious, as it was to 19th century theorists, that a high degree of social mobility will increase the sum total of human happiness and welfare. Now that it seems improbable that there exists at the bottom strata of society vast reserves of frustrated talent, it may be doubted whether it is wise to deplete further such talent as does exist there. Would it not, for example, be better for the working class movement if fewer of the talented sons were skimmed off for service in bourgeois careers?

Such conservative questionings seem to be based on the pre-supposition shared by most sociologists, that a stratified society is inevitable. To the sociologist, stratification is seen as an application of the principle of the division of labour. The anarchist ideal, of course, is a society where there are no pyramids of class, status and power. Work of the sociologists, such as this, not only help us to understand the society we live in; it also poses the fundamental question of how far the anarchist ideal is realisable in a complex industrial society.

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Lectures and Essays

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Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin 56/-

Second-Hand . . .

The Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe W. E. H. Lecky 6/-

'48: The Year of Revolutions James Eastwood and Paul Tabori 6/-
Prophecy of Famine

H. J. Massingham and Edward Hyams 6/6

Conscription and Conscience (1916-1919) John W. Graham 7/6
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Crane Brinton 3/-
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... and a dash of pity with your status soup

ADD A DASH OF PITY, by Peter Ustinov, Heinemann, 15s.

THIS collection of short stories ranges over a wide area. All illustrate the corrupt nature of our society. Their humour is wry. There is pity in the stories, but little in the society they describe. Only the account of a comic bull-fight is really uproarious, without leaving a bitter aftertaste. People who are not prepared to read serious works on the nature of our society, and are still convinced that soldiers are brave and noble, that British justice is the best, that America is a "free country" and so on, may be made to think again by reading a humorous story. Under the guise of being just "fun" it may get past the mental censorship, and make an impression or at any rate linger in the mind.

To me the most striking story is "There are 43,200 seconds in a day". It is the tale of a man who acts as the "voice" of a rabbit puppet called Siegfried on a B.B.C. children's programme. He is a gentle timid soul who occupies the top floor of a house, the bottom floor of which is the home of a prostitute. He does not even realise what the woman's profession is, and does not at first believe it when he is told. She is murdered and he is suddenly dragged into a world which he cannot comprehend. He has to give evidence and is bullied by the prosecution and the defence. His innocence and simpleness are regarded as duplicity. He gets a very rough handling, for to be a witness to a crime is almost as bad as committing one.

In the end, as a result of this treatment, he becomes insane. Having been taken to task on the witness-stand for being unable to account for all his movements exactly on the night of the murder, he taks to carrying around with him a little notebook in which he puts down

everything he does throughout the day, with the time it took to do it and exactly when it was done. He is committed to an asylum.

In "The Man in the Moon" a scientist who has discovered a way to reach the moon finds himself virtually a state prisoner, but by a lucky chance some of his knowledge has already been transmitted to a Swiss colleague. It is the Swiss who get to the moon first. The state has no interest in science as such. Politicians are only interested in power.

Peter Ustinov has few illusions about our civilisation. He writes almost as if he were an anarchist. Perhaps being a cosmopolitan has something to do with it. He understands the way of living and feeling of so many different European peoples that he can hardly become the victim of patriotic idealisations.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

THE STATUS SEEKERS, by Vance Packard. Longmans, 21s.

IN a list of words and phrases to be resolutely avoided during the coming year, *The Observer's* columnist Pendenis included "Status Symbol". It is a weakness of Packard's book that it has come a little too late. The descriptive side of status seeking, with which he is largely concerned, is fairly common knowledge. Yet he does make an interesting contribution in his method of dividing society into classes. In this, he discards the conventional broad division between the working class (blue collar) and the middle and upper classes (white collar) on the grounds that modern trends of wage structure and functions performed have rendered it invalid. Instead, he draws the really important dividing line between the college educated

"diploma élite", and the "limited success class", thus splitting in half the "middle class" which other sociologists have regarded as a homogeneous block.

The descriptive part of the book deals with the importance as status symbols of residential district, job, club membership, religious affiliation, education and so on. The style is rather anecdotal, and a selection of the best anecdotes is given on the dust cover. However, the most morbidly amusing one is surely that of an antique dealer who sold a couple of old portraits to an aspiring theatrical celebrity. Later on the dealer, watching a television interview involving the celebrity in question, saw him point to those very portraits, on his wall, and tell the interviewer "They're my wife's folks". The chapter on home selection and decoration is in fact the most amusing in the book.

The basic idea behind this work is to show, by bringing together the results of much investigation, in an easily accessible and readable form, that attitudes, including religious, political, moral and educational ones, are largely determined

by sociological factors. It would be very interesting to compare that approach with the one which claims that such attitudes can be explained in terms of individual psychological characteristics, which may even be inherited. Another problem which obtrudes itself rather worryingly is whether, after all these psychological and sociological investigations have shown the factors which determine people's attitudes, one can ever regard one's opinion on a social question as being the product of rational thought and feeling.

A common characteristic of works in the field of social science is that they affect detachment from the human problems under discussion. There certainly is a place for pure objectivity, but it is in the pages of learned journals. "The Status Seekers" is a popularising book, and could quite properly be the vehicle for an attack on the whole conception of life which gives rise to the neurotic pursuits which it describes. It is not. The author finishes off some of his chapters, such as those on the home and religion, with a rather weak lament that these institutions are used as status symbols, instead being a private haven and an expression of one's relationship to God respectively. However, in general he supports capitalism, the domination of man by machines, the American dream, religion and party politics, only objecting that they do not correspond in reality with the image that propagandists of Americanism have successfully put over.

In several places, Packard makes the point that people must be convinced of the truth of the American ideal, if they are really going to defend it. He has no desire to radically change the American ideal to something that would lead to a happier, less neurotic society.

The book is extremely well presented. P.H.

CAMUS

ALBERT CAMUS, the greatest of the French writers of his generation, was killed in a road accident on Monday at the age of 46. "Freedom he valued above everything" said *The Times* on Tuesday. "If he derived from any single master it was from Bakunin."

An appreciation of Camus and his ideas will appear in next week's FREEDOM.

HARRINGTON

Continued from p. 1

paigned moved into a more radical frame of mind, or is it simply that the General Election is behind us?

In this month's issue of the *New Left Review*, Christopher Farley writes:

"In less than two years the emphasis in the CND has changed markedly from that of a moral and anti-political movement to that of a pressure group on the Labour Party. One doesn't easily forget the applause in the Central Hall in February 1958 for A. J. P. Taylor's denunciation of the politicians. 'Cynical references to the Labour Party,' J. P. W. Mallalieu observed in that week's *New Statesman*, 'were applauded as heartily as references to the Tories.' By contrast, a speech a few weeks later from Frank Allaun at the close of the first day of the Aldermaston march showed how far some people had anticipated the mood of the Campaign. His invitation to marchers to 'come on in' and join the Labour and trades union movements met with a coldness bordering on contempt. But all that was long ago. From then until the Election, the CND became increasingly concerned with the Labour Party. The aim was to 'convert' the Party and return a Labour Government, preferably in that order but not necessarily so. Many rank-and-filers believed that the arrival of a Labour Government would be half the Campaign's victory won. Well before October 1959 the CND was seeking first the kingdom of Labour in the hope that all Campaign things would be added into it in office. Indeed those who dared to suggest that Campaigners should vote for their own policy and not that of the Party received negligible support and much abuse."

The CND's national conference in a few months' time will demonstrate whether or not the Campaign's leadership have got beyond the stage of Labour Party drum-banging. At last year's conference Canon Collins said he was confident that after the General Election, "a majority of the Parliamentary Labour Party will be taking our view. The great need is to work through Parliament and concentrate on the political side". What will he be saying this year?

TODAY the Direct Action Committee, or rather the succession of Direct Action Committees, has the initiative. In the latest imaginative application of Gandhian civil disobedience techniques, they have made a demonstration, not to the government—who today couldn't care less—but to their fellow-citizens, that disobedience speaks more convincingly than petitions and resolutions. "They know," writes Alex Comfort, "and so do the authorities, that whatever happens, the spectators on this occasion will be demonstrators next time themselves".

The *Sunday Times*, needless to say, describes them as the "lunatic fringe", and the *Daily Herald* finds them "dotty". Perhaps they will find the appropriate answer to the dilemma posed by Lient-Gen. Sir John Cowley, former Controller of Munitions:

"Unless we bring the nuclear deterrent into play we are bound to be beaten, and if we do bring it into play we are bound to commit suicide."

Not so easily laughed off, is it, by comparison with the antics of eighty polite people getting considerably arrested by avuncular policemen? Of course, if a similar demonstration were taking place at every military installation in the land, and the government and press would begin to talk of "stern measures" and "exemplary sentences". The Direct Action Committee are pioneers in a struggle which, by its very nature, brings to the fore at once the contemporary relevance of anarchist ideas: the struggle between people and governments. C.W.

Pacifist Social Aims

TOWARD A NON-VIOLENT SOCIETY, by J. Allen Skinner (for a working party of the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee) "Peace News", 6d.

SOMEONE I know once described the guild of socialism of G. D. H. Cole as "Anarchism with its guts taken out". One might be tempted to describe this pamphlet in the same way were it not that it is a sorry enough creature without having to suffer such drastic surgery. True, it echoes certain of our criticisms of present-day society: its power-centredness; its impersonality, its militarism—and there is much in it that needs to be said even if it has been said before. It is afflicted, however, by that vagueness and confusion of thought characteristic of so many pacifist publications. No doubt this is due in part to the difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of producing a clear and yet unanimous statement of position by a movement composed of so many heterogeneous elements. It is possible to unite christians, socialists, liberals, vegetarians, anarchists, atheists, meat-eaters, and so forth, in a negative stand against war, but when it is desired to unite them on a more fundamental and positive basis then trouble begins. The result of such an effort is usually a statement so generalized in order to get the approval of the largest number possible, that it becomes a hodge-podge of ideas whose few flashes of clarity are snuffed out by vitiating qualifications and that infuriating English game of 'up-to-a-point'-ism.

This particular pamphlet is a case in point. We are told that the pacifist believes that "power—the right of some groups to control the conditions of life of others—is not an acceptable basis for the control of mankind's affairs". This assertion is repeated a few pages later when we are assured that "the pacifist desires to eliminate the exercise of coercive power by some men over others and to develop and extend the relationship of voluntary co-operation". Well and good. But we are also told that the kind of society the pacifist wants is one "in which community is at its

maximum and coercion of any kind is reduced to a minimum". And again the ubiquitous qualification is repeated: "The pacifist seeks the creation of a non-violent society in which the factor of coercion is reduced to a minimum". It would appear that, after all, what the working party who inspired this pamphlet really want is that we should retain the cake of coercion but eat less of it.

When the attempt is made to spell out these aspirations in more concrete detail the superficial similarity with the anarchist approach which appeared in the early pages crumbles away. The reduction of coercion "to a minimum" is to be achieved by a number of institutional devices among which are regional parliaments with "limited powers" (for what?); the strengthening of local government; and the creation of "local agencies on a functional basis". In spite of the respects paid to the human personality, no awareness of the right of that personality to self-determination is shown. And it is here that the crucial difference between this kind of 'radical-pacifist' thinking and that of the anarchist is made clear. As expressed in this pamphlet, the concern of the radical pacifist is to bring about a *modification* of the coercive apparatus of the state, to achieve a *partial* dismantling of the power structure. The concern of the anarchist, on the other hand, is to work for the *abolition* of the power principle in human relationships by urging people to withdraw their support from every apparatus of coercion, to assert their own individual sovereignty, and to create a new and free way of life by means of voluntary co-operation. In other words, this particular type of pacifist still clings to the political reformist concept of social change, whereas the anarchist stands for a genuinely *radical* change, a change that will get down to the roots of oppression and eliminate them.

S. E. PARKER.

Bicyclists and their Chains

I SOMETIMES feel that the real class-war is not between the bosses, workers and peasants, but between the motorists, cyclists and pedestrians. Indeed, while the means-of-production business leaves me pretty cold (it's so Victorian, my dear), I am deeply involved in the means-of-transport one as a cyclist of twenty years' standing (and that, I may say, doesn't leave very many out). In this capacity I have necessarily developed the class-consciousness that leads on to greater things; I have begun to feel that the time has come for some sort of road revolution, followed perhaps by the Dictatorship of the Velocipedarist.

As a cyclist I have had an unrivalled opportunity to make an extensive and impartial study of those strange species, the motorists and the pedestrians. The chief characteristic of the former is their total indifference to everything except the velocity of and pain on their cars; the chief characteristic of the latter is their total indifference to everything. The ideology of motorism is to hurl the dangerous and noisy machine at the greatest possible speed from one place to another; I have not yet been able to elucidate the ideology of the pedestrians.

It is of course true that one encounters from time to time a member of one of these two classes who has become *déclassé* and who exhibits unfamiliar characteristics. I have met motorists who not only look in their mirrors when turning right but look through their windows when turning left, and thereby avoid knocking me into the pavement or into the ditch. I have also met some pedestrians in London who don't consider the gutter as a sort of spare pavement or who—when they do decide to consider it as such—actually look backward first. But I have, alas, met all too many who have decided to treat all vehicles as if they were H-Bombs and

have walked on as if they didn't exist; hence my bent handlebars and broken spokes (ah, but you should have seen the other fellow).

Difficulty with pedestrians could of course be cured if bicycles made a noise (a bell doesn't count, since no one ever takes any notice of it); but this is the whole point of cycling—that one can travel fast and easily without making a noise like a thunderstorm. The silence is particularly important in the countryside, where there isn't much point in travelling if you can't hear birds singing or smell hay and flowers; on a bicycle you can do these and go a hundred miles a day as well. The speed is important in towns; it is hard to convince motorists or users of public transport, but I can guarantee to get to work faster by cycling than I can by going by bus or train, and in the rush hour faster than I could by car. Add to this the regular exercise and the relief from nervous tension. Perhaps we cyclists are a privileged class, rather than an oppressed one.

But really motorists are awful. The number of times I have only saved my life in London by getting off my bicycle or going up onto the pavement is as large as the number of times motorists have shown me any courtesy is small. And, of course, the motorists seem to be taking over the roads completely. More and more big roads are closed to cyclists, who have to use tracks similar to the original Icknield Way. On the roads we are still allowed to use we are increasingly regarded as annoying intruders. You only have to look at Oxford or Cambridge to see that it is the cars who have intruded, not us; think what they would look like if they were closed to motor traffic—and why not Hampstead and Bloomsbury too? Cyclists of the country unite! You have little to lose but your chains. A.F.

Apologies for Apartheid IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

FIELD-MARSHAL MONTGOMERY'S impressions of South Africa have been given much publicity in the press. They have however, a familiar ring, for, if you substitute Aryan for White, Jewish for African, and Hitler for Verwoerd are they not just the kind of thing that Monty's pre-war equivalents used to say about Nazi Germany. The late Gen. Misconception, in one of his Sunday paper articles of 1937, recorded his impressions of Germany, later reprinted in his memoirs *Thoughts in Retreat* (Stodger and Hackon, 1939), a book which somehow failed to make its mark. Here are some extracts:

"I greatly enjoyed my visit to Nuremberg last month. Of course I appreciate that a fortnight is too short a time in which to see a beautiful and richly endowed country, to meet the people and to examine all their problems at first hand. I have however, been trained as a soldier to seek out the essentials of a problem, and to cut away the unimportant details. At the outset I must express my gratitude for the kindly way in which I was received by all sections of the population—Jews and Aryans. Living outside Germany, and hearing exaggerated reports, one might well gain the impression that there was something sinister about the people. I found them warm-hearted and desperately anxious to solve their problems.

"It requires no expert to appreciate the tremendous complexity of the racial problem in Germany. The Government and people are faced with a unique situation, quite different from that existing in other parts of Europe. The main reasons for this are:

1. The large numbers of Aryans.
2. The Aryan has as much right to live in Germany as the Jew because he has been there as long, if not longer.
3. The majority of Aryans have nowhere else to go.
4. The development of the Reich has been carried out by Aryans.

"In examining the German problem and assessing the various solutions now being put forward, one must be careful not to be put off by the many bad features which are to be seen (concentration camps for example) and unfortunate incidents like the so-called 'pogroms'. All these do not necessarily condemn the final solution. At the

moment there is almost complete *spleisichaltung*, and one cannot suddenly break down all the barriers between Jew and Aryan—because of the social differences and varying standards of civilisation. But one may hope that as time goes on there will be a gradual and natural relaxation of the total segregation.

"There must be a grand design—a master plan—to solve the racial problem, and it is inevitable that some of all races may have to suffer during the process of its evolution. Whatever solution is finally adopted must be a *practical* one, divorced from emotionalism and preconceived theory. It is impossible to see how any solution which is opposed by the vast majority of the Aryan population—at present the only section which enjoys economic, police and military power—can succeed, or how any government sponsoring such a policy could survive.

"In this connection it is essential that political differences be sunk. Progress would be rapid if the racial problem could be removed from the party political arena. There are a number of popular misunderstandings about Germany which a visit can do much to dispel. Did you know that the institution of concentration camps was fundamentally a British idea, based upon the South African show of 1901. (I was at Sandhurst at the time). They cannot therefore be said to be altogether bad. As I said to Herr Heinrich Himmler when I visited Mulhausen—it was so clean and orderly—I can't see how you make these places pay. He had a lot of Reds there at the time. My impression of Herr Himmler was that he was a good administrative type. Chancellor Hitler impressed me as a sincere, quiet-spoken and kindly man. Indeed I understand that he is a vegetarian. With great earnestness and thoroughness he explained to me the Race Laws of the Nazi Party. He began with a short resume of German history over the past 3,000 years with which I was in substantial agreement.

"There is no doubt that by normal democratic standards the Jew is inflicted with a number of irksome and apparently unjust regulations. There are also reports that the police are somewhat ruthless in dealing with the Jew, but it should not be forgotten that they have a dan-

gerous and difficult job in coping with large numbers of communists, drug addicts and sex perverts.

"Violent criticism of Germany is more often than not uninformed, and does more harm than good. Indeed uninformed criticism is valueless. I reckon it unwise to criticise unless one has been out there and seen the good as well as the bad; too many critics concentrate on the bad and ignore the good. I believe that steps to deal with agitators are justified under these circumstances. Critics of Germany at the League of Nations really do harm, and the attacks are often sponsored by

countries which allow as bad, or even worse, conditions to persist in their own states."

The General concluded: "The campaign for boycotting German products is a monstrous and stupid thing. Nothing could work more to the disadvantage of the Jew, and it is hardly the way in which one member of the League of Nations should treat another."

In rescuing General Misconception's words from an undeserved neglect, we may learn, perhaps, how to value the opinions of Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery. J.R.

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ARE WE LABOUR-BAITERS?

IN a belated attempt to clear up some of the confusion in the mind of our correspondent, Mr. Ben Capes of St. Louis, (FREEDOM, 2/1/60) may I point out that neither the Freedom Press Group nor the London Anarchist Group, who published 'Election Guyed', are libertarian socialist groups?

His excited letter (I cannot recall hilarity over Labour's defeat!), therefore seems a little misplaced, except for the fact that those people in this country who do think of themselves as libertarian socialists are just as vehement as ourselves in their criticisms of the Labour Party. In some ways they are more so, since they do share many socialist concepts with Labour and hence may see in the large party their own potential corruption foretold or at least their own faults writ large.

Perhaps as seen from America, where neither of the ruling parties could by any stretch of misunderstanding be even mistakenly referred to in just as socialist, our Labour Party seems to be really radical. From St. Louis I suppose any party which even pays lip-service to racial equality must appear to be bold and fearless in its championship of the oppressed. Oh, brother!

In this country, however, we anarchists and those few libertarian socialists that there are (and there aren't many for even those socialists who oppose the Labour Party are largely authoritarian) have been able to recognise the Labour Party for what it is: an alternative political organisation for the administration of capitalist Britain.

The only organisation outside of the official 'labour movement' that speaks like Mr. Capes in this country is the Communist Party, which is of course even more authoritarian than Labour, but which does like to argue by extension as he does in order to pretend that anyone who opposes them, or the labour movement which they hope to control, must be an agent of capitalism.

This has always been the Communist tactic with regards to the fascists as well, at one time even going so far as making them suggest that anybody criticising the Soviet Union should be prosecuted for making fascist propaganda; but Mr. Capes should have known better than to try the same sort of argument with us, for our position towards capitalism is well enough known. Indeed, most people understand that our opposition to the Labour Party is precisely due to the fact that it is a capitalist party.

As for the bogey about going back to 1939, I really must inform Mr. Capes that this was not an issue in the recent election. Neither the Labour nor the Tory parties are quite so silly as not to recognise that the adjustments made to our economy since 1939 have made it so much more stable that mass unemployment is most unlikely, even under the Tories, while the equally important adjustments made in Tory thinking have made them wiser in governing.

Thanks to the reforms for which Mr. Capes thinks we should credit Labour, capitalism in Britain is in a much stronger position than in 1939, and we may be sure the Conservatives are duly thankful.

In fact, of course, if we start giving 'credit', we shall find ourselves going back to the Liberals at the time of the First World War, when the need for cannon-fodder showed up the fact that Britain was a C3 nation and pointed to the need for a health service to keep us fit for military service.

These are the sort of considerations which always motivate the actions of governments, and the Labour Party in office was no exception. Instead of allowing distance to lend enchantment, Mr. Capes should remember Labour's record of anti-working class activity—the prosecutions of strikers and sending of troops into the docks, for instance; or how nationalisation has tied the workers in state industries; how they behaved towards Africans (Seretse Khama); how they absorbed unemployed into a huge armament programme and the Korean War in 1950—a typical capitalist solution; how they initiated Britain's Atom Bomb programme, etc., etc.

To oppose all this is not to play into the hands of the enemy. It is to expose the old enemy in its new guise—a guise which has apparently thoroughly deceived Mr. Capes.

London, W.1.

P.S.

SPANISH APPEAL

SPANISH Refugee Aid was formed in 1953 to assist the Spanish Republican refugees, 150,000 of whom have been living in France, often in misery and poverty, since 1939. They lost their homes, health, jobs and country because they would not live under a dictatorship.

The honorary chairmen are General Lazaro Cardenas, former president of Mexico, and Pablo Casals, world-famous musician and Spain's most distinguished exile. Novelist Mary McCarthy is chairman of the group.

A campaign for \$25,000 for a special World Refugee Year project is now announced by the Committee. Funds will go to the Foyer Pablo Casals, a centre for old people to be started in Montauban, France, and to be named after the organization's honorary chairman. More than one thousand Spanish families live in the vicinity of Montauban in south-central France. Most of them are old and impoverished.

Funds beyond the \$25,000 goal will be used to place the old people in decent housing. They now live in damp, dilapidated buildings termed uninhabitable by the municipal authorities in Montauban.

NANCY MACDONALD,
Executive Secretary.

Spanish Refugee Aid,
80 East 11th Street,
New York City.

THE NEED FOR RE-EDUCATION

AT a recent L.A.G. meeting at the "White Bear", I was more than surprised to hear arguments—no, not arguments, but real consternation—on the part of some of our oldest comrades, at the prospect of having, in a free society, to 'carry' those anti-social types who are apparent in present-day society.

One comrade went so far as to say that he would withhold his labour from anyone who tried to get by as an 'artist' and who, in his opinion (as yet uneducated in art) was a phoney producing abstract trash.

This seems to me to be a point which touches the very fundamentals of anarchism. Without having to discuss the blueprints of an anarchistic society, we can see that to accept anarchism involves a certain amount of re-orientation on the part of the 'convertee'; new values have to be assimilated into one's life. The good, bad, rights and wrongs of matters are replaced by an analytical survey of conditions.

The lazy person is not, to the anar-

chist, a lazy person any more, but a person who has failed to gear himself to the industrious activity of capitalist society and, more important than the fact of the lazy person or anti-social type is the attitude of the anarchist towards him.

In my opinion it is useless to suppose that one is ready to be a part of a free society when one's attitudes and mores have not undergone the transition from bourgeois ideology to liberated thought.

If faced with the situation in a free society, I would be much too busy minding my own business than to go around setting myself up as a judge of what is good painting, useless toil, etc., etc.

The free society depends upon free minds and we look for these to the present-day anarchist movement, but when professed anarchists start talking in terms of 'carrying phoney's' or 'why should I do this for you if you're not doing anything for me', then we must admit our defeat in trying to re-educate people to our way of thought.

London, W.8.

F.H.

NOTES & FOOTNOTES

1. Correction to *Anarchism: A Revisionist Approach*. A. J. P. Taylor said Marxism is like 'alcohol', not 'school' (naughty printer!).

2. Footnote to *Jack's All Right in Hairdressing*. The salon in question gave its employees Christmas bonuses of about one week's wages but only Christmas and Boxing Days off work (after they had worked the whole of the previous Saturday). It has decided to 'give' them four overalls a year instead of three (incidentally it is not legally entitled to deduct even 2/6d, a week for overalls, since these are compulsory and uniform). A girl recently had 15s. deducted for being away two days with a cold. Another girl, asked why they don't form (or join) a union, said: "Mr. — doesn't like us going over his head." No comment.

3. While I much enjoyed C.W.'s *Last Look Round at the Fifties*, I was sorry to see no mention of the work of Dolci in Sicily, Abbé Pierre in Paris or Johannes Wasmuth in Düsseldorf—encouraging examples of direct action to relieve unnecessary social suffering. Incidentally, doesn't a decade technically end at the end of its tenth year—i.e. isn't 1960 the last year of the fifties, rather than the first one of the sixties? London, Jan. 4.

N.W.

END GAME

POSTAL questionnaires present difficulties even when the greatest care has been taken to make the questions simple and unequivocal. You can read all the literature from Mr. Huff's "How to Lie With Statistics" to Dr. Deming's "On a probability mechanism to attain an economic balance between the resultant error of response and the bias of non-response," and still leave ambiguities in the questions. Or perhaps it's just that people won't read. I tried it out on a man who has been taking FREEDOM from me for a year or more. Once I had overcome his initial resistance to filling it in at all, by pointing out that it said IN CAPITAL LETTERS that he needn't put his name to it, he still found difficulty with some of the questions. In the end they were all resolved except the ones over questions 4, 16, and 24. (As to the one about Any other Comments, "You haven't left room for any," he grumbled, not without justification).

Order of Merit

Question 16 is the one in which you are asked to put an order of preference against thirteen topics which turn up in FREEDOM. The simplest way to do this is to start by putting 13 against the one you are least interested in and work backwards. Or fill it in faintly in pencil first, in case you have second thoughts. He wrote 13 against everything except sex which got 12. Question 24, despite its careful wording, is one which calls for careful and honest thought before

answering. Our self-esteem makes it difficult for us to say that anything so insubstantial as a newspaper could have been a contributory factor in changing our lives, but it does happen; our ideas must come from somewhere.

Not Categorically

Number 4, in which five schools of anarchist thought were named, irritated my friend who said that he didn't come into any of these categories. I pointed out that the question began "If you would describe yourself as an anarchist . . ." Then we got into an argument about the general and the specific meaning of the word "individualist". It was a word, he declared which could perfectly well be applied to Sir Winston Churchill or to one of those tediously unconventional girls who insist on sitting on the floor. I explained that as a qualifying adjective to "anarchist" the word referred to two specific schools of thought, that of the "conscious egoism" of Max Stirner, and that of a whole series of 19th century Americans from Josiah Warren to Benjamin R. Tucker. But if Stirner, why not Nietzsche? and wouldn't the late Sir Ernest Benn's "Society of Individualists" be equally entitled to use the word specifically, he asked, and I wasn't in a position to contradict him. In the end we settled for the use of the word for all those anarchists who didn't feel covered by all the other terms.

Overtones

But what about these other terms, he asked. What, for example is a "philo-

RATIONALISATION

The following is an extract from a regular commentary feature by 'Plate-layer' in the Nov. 1959 issue of the *Metal Finishing Journal*: "Much nonsense is . . . talked about the 'waste' caused by corrosion, as if great prosperity would accrue to all if it were eliminated. To take a typical example, the replacement of cisterns and hot water cylinders is estimated to cost the country £7 million per annum. If by waving a wand, all these cisterns could be made to last for ever, it is true that householders would gain this amount of money each year, but the makers of cisterns, galvanisers, plumbers and transport workers would lose it. And as all these people are also householders in any event, this is where we came in!"

Quite a startling piece of rationalisation, isn't it?

Slough.

E.C.

MONKEY BUSINESS

In a recent issue of FREEDOM, N.W. asserted that only the Chinese have included a Top Animal (monkey) in their Pantheon. He forgot about Hanuman, one of the forms of Vishnu.

Doncaster.

B.S.

SWEDEN & AFRICA

YOUR 19th December, 1959 issue had an especially interest article, *Public protests against South African Racism*. Political party protests are being made here in this germ-free egalitarian paradise. In this land which boasts of its "political neutrality" all parties from the so-called Communists to the extreme right all wish to appear as saints in the eyes of the Swedish working class. Opposition against South African racialism gives political parties their big chance.

Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the "Disunited Nations" waits anxiously for the new emerging "independent" African states to join the endless series of discussions. Mr. Hammarskjöld is almost a "national" institution here in this land of "neutral" bliss. All we hear is how much "Sweden" is doing for the world's suffering millions, or how many missionaries have been sent out, etc. The Swedish company Grängesberg's have invested a milliard kroner in Liberia combined with American capital. This will help the Liberian peoples achieve a "higher living standard".

It is hoped in some circles the new emerging African "states" will attain the

magnificent "Welfare States" where the extremes of riches and poverty are abolished. Something like we have in this country—everything so nicely organised by the State for the State, and to the State. And the moment one has said this the whole mechanism of Swedish Radio and Press come into action subtly to suggest that reformism can work beneficially not only for their own peoples, but also for those who they consider as backward.

Sweden, December 30.

H.

WANDERING WORLD CITIZENS

A GROUP of world Citizens, including myself, are organizing an order called, "WORLD CITIZENS FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM". We believe that the world needs an anarchist-pacifist order of independent World Citizens loyal only to Love and Brotherhood.

As World Citizens, our loyalty is to Love and Brotherhood and not to any political government. We are stateless as far as political governments go. We think that political governments and the violence that accompanies them are the curse of our world and we urge all men to be free of them and to give their loyalty to Love and Brotherhood. Men who are members of states are irresponsible to humanity. They leave the fate of humanity in the hands of politicians. We urge men to become responsible citizens of humanity and to leave nothing up to anyone else but be answerable for all their acts.

Our intention is to walk from village to village calling men into our order and suggesting that the villages declare their independence from the state and form a self-sufficient community of sharing without the use of money. First we hope to form such a self sufficient community ourselves where no money will be used and all will be held in common as an example to other villages. Our community will say, "what's mine is yours" and we hope other villages will accept this same philosophy. We hope to start our first community and walk in Europe.

RICHARD FICHTER.

Maison Maccario,
Roquebrunne-Cap-Martin,
(Alpes-Maritimes) France.
Jan. 1st.

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