



'All parties without exception, in so far as they seek for power, are varieties of absolutism, and there will be no liberty for citizens, no order for societies, no union among working men, till in the political catechism the renunciation of authority shall have replaced faith in authority.'
P.J. PROUDHON

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THE 'MIRROR' GOBBLES UP ODHAMS

SO the dilly-dallying by the directors of Odhams Press over the *Daily Mirror* take-over bid, and the rallying of 'support among M.P.s for "government intervention" and the appointment of another Press Commission, served only to give the Mirror group time to raise its offer for Odham shares? Last week with the Mirror's announcement that it had raised its take-over bid, the directors of Odham's, whatever their personal feelings in the matter, could not advise stockholders to refuse the offer. Though Sir Christopher Chancellor, chairman of Odham's and other directors are not proposing to accept the Mirror offer

TUC Leader Plays Safe

for themselves—their holdings in the company are very small—they declare that they cannot advise shareholders to refuse the improved offer which "they and their advisers N. M. Rothschild and Sons, consider from a financial point of view to be fair and reasonable to the ordinary stockholders".

According to the *Daily Herald* Mr. Cecil King, Chairman of the Mirror and the Herald's boss-to-be, has "pledged to the TUC that if his group acquired Odhams, the *Daily Herald* would be kept going for a minimum of seven years. If the Herald were sold, the seven-year guarantee would be a condition of the sale".

One doesn't know whether Mr. King's pledge can be explained as an example of eccentricity—you know, millionaire-socialist and-all-that—or whether the fact that the TUC own 49 per cent. of the shares in the *Herald* carries with it certain guarantees which Mr. King cannot get round. From press reports, it would appear that Mr. King would be glad to be rid of the *Herald* and the *People*, and the obvious potential buyer so far mentioned is Mr. Thompson the unsuccessful bidder for Odhams. It would seem on the surface that the TUC have a golden

opportunity to acquire all the shares in the *Herald* and print it on the presses of the Co-operative's *Reynolds' News*, which prior to the Rothermere *News Chronicle* take-over was printing the *Evening News* on its presses, an arrangement which was to be ended with Rothermere's acquisition of the *Chronicle's* presses.

But will the TUC have the guts or the *interest* (which is equally important) to have a daily reflecting the workers' point of view? Mr. George Woodcock, general secretary of the TUC responded to Mr. King's statement with the following bureaucratic reply:

"We have been waiting to see what the outcome would be and we have had assurances from Mr. King concerning the *Daily Herald*."

"It looks as though we shall have to discuss with him how to tie up these undertakings into some kind of agreement."

I see by the paper upon which they serve my lunch that some human has suggested that we domesticate animals just for a day in Lent. Aren't we well enough involved with men's foolishness what with police dogs, Laika, vivisection, Pavlov's colleagues, circus, war-dogs, without getting us tied up with the religious nonsense?

I think it was Flaubert who said that dogs came into the world to save men. We know that we dogs sometimes become a religion in the Whiteheadian sense of the term "what a man does with his loneliness". You will remember the credo that starts "A dog is man's best friend" and goes on "the more I see of men the more I love my dog" and finishes "you'd think they were human... they know." We know, all right.

The world was a very nice place before man came along and domesticated us by diluting our pure mongrel wolf strain with moronic mastiffs, asthmatic bulldogs, pop-eyed Pekes, neurotic greyhounds all for his own silly pleasure and amusement.

Man claims to be monarch of all he surveys. He knows everything—except where he came from, where he's going to and what he's here for. He doesn't know how to arrange his food supplies and permanent sleeping place—otherwise he has his problems solved. Now he wants to involve us with his silliness about the Bone of Heaven, and the Lamb who died for us.

RHODESIA No Compromise Possible

IT is an accepted fact, except perhaps in the backwoods of Cheltenham and Bath, that given equal opportunities an African is no less intelligent—and for that matter, no less stupid—than his white brethren. That the confederates for leadership in the African nations are so few has nothing to do with heredity, but a lot to do with opportunity. The struggle between the 2½ million Africans or, at least, a sizeable minority, and the 80,000 Europeans is over this very question. The issues are simple: what is complicated are the interests involved.

Equality of opportunity even for an African elite of say 80,000 (because let there be no illusions: if the 80,000 whites were to leave N. Rhodesia the 80,000 blacks who took their place would, like their predecessors, live on the backs of the remaining 2 million 420,000 blacks) presupposes either a rapid expansion of industry, of services and the bureaucracy or the wholesale departure of the whites. The African parties naturally have demanded a majority both in the Legislative Council and the Executive Council. The Whites who have all along been practising racial discrimination at the expense of the Africans have de-

manded that race should not enter in the calculation which, as the *Guardian* puts it, "is another way of saying that the whites should remain in charge", since they outnumber the Africans who are "qualified" to vote.

There can be no compromise between these two interests. Certainly it would be foolish of the Africans to give any ground now that they have the whites of their country on the run and the British Government out of sympathy with the colons (if only because they have dared to challenge their authority).

The Master Race

Jansenville (Cape Province), February 24.

A 54-year-old white woman who thrashed a 5-year-old African boy with an electric flex after he broke some eggs while playing with her chickens was today fined £80.

Mrs. Elizabeth Jacoba Bekker was found guilty last week after a doctor had told the Court he had counted 134 stroke marks, some open and bleeding, on the boy's back. The magistrate said today that but for her physical condition Mrs. Bekker would have been imprisoned.

Taking it all round it's a man's life when we get involved too much in their business. They do all they can to suppress our love of smells, they haven't the aesthetic ability to develop the olfactory sense that makes life vivid and meaningful to us. What instincts we have that have not been bred out of us are looked upon with disfavour.

We animals are credited with all the vices of man. Living like brutes, dying like a dog, fighting like animals, law of the jungle, nature red in tooth and claw, undesirable females are 'bitches', working like a horse, etc., etc.

Perhaps I am mistaken, but was it not Pascal who said that "Man is a wolf to men." The conception of our revered ancestor as a voracious type of man is repugnant to me but I can accept the idea of man's projection on to the wolf of the qualities he has himself. The wolf-pack was a co-operative organization. The wolf never killed its own species except for sex or hunger. Man is more shocked by killings for sex or hunger than he is by killings for the lofty motives of politics and religion...

Now he wants us to fast for his religious ideas. We shall soon not be allowed to fraternize with Protestant or Catholic dogs. Black dogs will not be allowed to mate with white dogs. And to cock a leg on a church or the House of Commons will be evidence of atheism or anarchism.

SUKIE.

WEST INDIAN MIGRATION

Boot on the other foot

The prospect of West Indian migrations being debated in the Commons—there is a motion down in the name of Mr. Cyril Osborne, the Conservative member for Louth—has prompted the West Indies Office in London to produce three sets of documents outlining its side of the case.

The three fact sheets prepared by the West Indies Commission in London deal with most of the arguments that are usually put forward against the movement of West Indians to this country.

One of the remarkable things that emerges is that British emigration to the various islands of the West Indies is actually proceeding at a rate which, in percentage terms, is higher than the traffic coming here. Jamaica, for example, has been receiving British settlers at a rate of 14 per 10,000 of her population, compared to Jamaicans entering Britain at the rate of four per 10,000.

The documents also assert that the crime rate among West Indian migrants is lower than the United Kingdom, and that the available statistics—from hospitals and tuberculosis X-ray surveys—suggest that they are healthier. In economic terms, it is argued that West Indians have filled a vital gap in essential services such as hospital nursing and public transport, and have supplied manpower for industry to fill a very real need.

Sit-down on British Transport

Passengers on the 8.12 a.m. Metropolitan Line train from Chesham to Liverpool Street refused to leave when asked to do so by station staff at Great Portland Street one day last week. They were told that the lighting system had failed. The train was already running late and had been in darkness on and off for most of the journey.

After arguments lasting several minutes a railway official eventually allowed the train to complete its journey.



FREEDOM PRESS will be seventy-five years old this year. Its work has been carried on all this time by voluntary labour solely for the presentation of Anarchist or near-Anarchist ideas. If you approve of what we are doing, please help us by taking out a subscription and/or helping to distribute this journal and our new monthly ANARCHY.



Dress

Rehearsal

— or show-down?

'Other action we take may be such as the authorities cannot tolerate. We do not want for ever to be tolerated by the police. Our movement depends for its success on an immense public opinion and we cannot create that unless we rouse the authorities to more action than they took yesterday'.

— Bertrand Russell



SO far as "forcing the government's hand" on the issues of Polaris bases in Scotland the sit-down on February 18th can be written off as a failure. But then who among the demonstrators really expected the government to take notice of the Committee of 100 when it could virtuously point to the political "Left" for support in its nuclear weapons policies? So no political illusions. But as a spontaneous, human demonstration it was an overwhelming success. When 2,000 people say they will turn up to take part in the sit-down and in fact more than 4,000 as well as thousands of supporters turn up, in spite of a press silence which was significant, then all concerned can feel well satisfied with the result of this first demonstration.

Without underestimating the work put into the initial organisation by Michael Randall (Secretary) and the Committee members, what must have struck any observer, hostile or friendly, was the informality, the "unorganised" nature of the demonstration which contrasted so favourably with those tight-lipped, party organised, regimented demonstrations with which we, of an older generation, are all too familiar with,

and disgusted by. What an impressive sight it was in Whitehall as the column of sit-downers, flanked by supporters, spread itself it seemed to the full width of Whitehall and advanced like a great wave towards Parliament Square. With the noise of traffic temporarily silenced one suddenly was aware of the sound of thousands of shuffling feet and voices in conversation, occasionally punctuated by the hysterical appeals from the loudspeaker of the one van and one Vespa counter-demonstration of the Empire Loyalists. At Parliament Square they were joined by seedy youths marching Indian file and advertising their wares: Mosley's newspaper *Action*. As the column reached the Square it seemed as if the main concern of the few police on duty was to divert the traffic, but as soon as the demonstrators began to take their places on the pavement, hundreds of police suddenly emerged from their hide-outs in the side streets to encircle and contain the sit-down to the pavement around the Defence Ministry. But as the human chain wound itself round the three sides of the huge, ugly building, so the wall of police became merely isolated posts in a fence without wires.

Two sides of the building were already filled and the column from Trafalgar Square was still advancing, when four fire engines, bells clanging, suddenly descended on Great George Street. Serious-faced fire-chiefs consulted with serious-faced police-chiefs—as if they hadn't discussed it all beforehand!—and we can imagine that other police-chiefs were observing closely the reactions of the squatting demonstrators. We observed them too; no one stirred, a few jokes were made about the wisdom of bringing a raincoat to such demonstrations, and ten minutes later the fire-engines with their police-aides slunk off, their bells muffled, their hoses dry, to look for a different conflagration.

THE JAUNDICED EYE OF THE PRESS

THE Press reacted with indifference or hostility, and in the case of the *Sunday Telegraph* with alarm. Neither the *Sunday Times* nor *The Observer*, nor the *Guardian* and *The Times* on the Monday, committed themselves to an editorial comment. The *Pictorial* came out with one of its pungent comments which just shows that even if Mr. King inhabits the lofty heights of monopoly his reporters have their ears to the ground.

The *Sunday Pictorial* certainly believes that their ideas are wrong, but we defend their right to be wrong. . . . At least the demonstrators feel strongly enough about an urgent issue to DO something. One trouble with politics these days is that they are too limp and unexciting. Few people care deeply enough to get out and crusade for what they believe to be right. There are too many "don't-knows", "don't-cares". At least Earl Russell and his Whitehall Warriors can claim that squatting on the pavement is better than sitting on the fence.

The *Sunday Telegraph* on the other hand issued a warning of the dangers (to the authority of the State of course) in allowing such demonstrations to take place without opposition. Bertrand Russell and his friends were not charming eccentrics nor the dedicated representatives of a persecuted minority. On the contrary they belonged to a "highly organised political movement" which in a few years had achieved "immense political success by normal methods of persuasion". Aldermaston and similar outings were now O.K. demonstrations. But, warns the *Sunday Telegraph*

The Photos

The *Freedom* photos on this page show, on the left, (1) a typical London police sergeant, whose tolerant attitude to the sitters is, we think, apparent in his kindly eyes. (2) The speaker on the platform at Trafalgar Square is the Quaker scientist, Dr. Jack Mongar. (3) shows a group of the sitters, still cheerful after a couple of hours, and (4) shows Michael Randle, Vic Richardson, Michael Scott and Bertrand Russell. On the right, Herbert Read is seated just behind the leaders. (2) the Government's show of strength limited itself to the parade of fire engines. (3) these are the people the hoses would have been used on (4) more of our co-operators.

Top: the marchers on the way to their assignment.

if many more of these—now numbering many thousands—who support Lord Russell's views were to adopt his methods national safety as well as public order would be seriously in danger.

No man can be denied the right to resist violently or non-violently the policies which his conscience instructs him to resist; but no one who chooses this course can claim that society should not oppose him. Demonstrations like yesterday's must be restrained with just as little and just as much force as is necessary to stop them spreading into a public danger.

The *Sunday Telegraph* is right, and as if to confirm its fears, at the Press conference called by the Committee of 100 last Sunday, Bertrand Russell declared that the demonstration of February 18 was only a "dress rehearsal" for future "more positive" action "such as the authorities cannot tolerate". And in last week's *Peace News* Michael Scott shows that the implications of civil disobedience have been understood, at least by him, when he writes

We shall resist not only the threat of war but the evils of oppression and criminal neglect of the great resources of the earth through exploiting and restrictive practices. We shall resist these abuses whether within the systems of so-called Communism or of capitalism and colonialism.

In other words, when one embarks on civil disobedience one is not simply seeking to persuade government on a specific issue such as unilateral nuclear disarmament; one is challenging the authority of the State, the system of government and

Continued on page 4



Freedom and Anarchy

LAST Saturday you, our readers, were sent the first issue of our monthly journal ANARCHY. Today we send you FREEDOM in the first stages of a face-lift. We have not changed our ideas—you can easily verify this for yourselves—but we feel that the printed word can be presented in a way which is attractive, just as a pot or a chair or any article man-produced should seek to perform its function as well as please the eye. But FREEDOM, unlike a good chair, does not aim at attracting readers by its layout and also make them feel comfortable, though perhaps there is something to be said for presenting uncomfortable ideas as attractively as possible. At least if the critics of FREEDOM's layout are now happy, then we will have at least removed one obstacle in attracting new readers.

The second, and equally important obstacle for comrades like S.F. FREEDOM, Feb. 18th) is that ours is a cliché-ridden paper "partly due"—he thinks—"to the ever-present need to produce a paper at all costs at the end of each week". Maybe S.F. is right, just as one of our colleagues was right when he suggested that producing a weekly paper didn't give us time to think; that our senses have become so dulled that we confuse pearls of wisdom for clichés, and clichés for thought. The remedy lies with our readers, at least the anarchists who read our paper.

The fact that very often much of the paper is filled by the "anonymous" pens of the editors is determined by the amount of suitable material that is received for publication. Nothing would please us more than that the paper should be written each week by our readers. But let us make ourselves quite clear on this question. All kinds of people try to make use of FREEDOM to put over every "ism" in the calendar, to ventilate personal grudges and air what are, in our humble estimation, crack-pot theories.

To further the ideas of Anarchism

Only last week, one reader cancelled her subscription to FREEDOM because we refused to publish a communication from a friend of hers attacking the editors of *The Freethinker*. This lady accused us of being dictators and not believing in the freedom of the press! Another reader who will probably cancel his subscription in due course, sends us a letter which starts by appearing to be interested in anarchism and turns out to be a transparent attempt to get free publicity for the Henry Georgists. We have nothing against the Henry Georgists having their say (indeed anybody interested should, so our correspondent informs readers in his "suppressed" letter communicate with 177 Vauxhall Bridge Road London, S.W.1!) but FREEDOM has never posed as an open forum for Georgists, Catholics, Communists or Revisionists, but has declared itself in its subtitle as "the anarchist weekly" (perhaps we should change the "the" to "an"?), and what we intend to go on doing is to publish material which furthers the ideas of anarchism in all its facets. We will also go on publishing articles and letters which are critical of anarchism but only from people who have first taken the trouble to study the anarchist arguments. For this reason we always offer space to S.F. who is perhaps one of our harshest critics, and deny it to the many correspondents who presume to criticise anarchism without having even read the basic works which are available to all honest enquirers.

FREEDOM does not try to offer itself as a universal chair which will comfortably accommodate every bottom, a panacea for Everyman's problem. As our readership survey showed, for some, reading FREEDOM made their lives not less, but more "complicated". That they still went on taking FREEDOM says something about the character of those readers, just as the fact that we do not propose to make FREEDOM a palatable mush for all readers, perhaps makes clear that we are not interested in circulation for the sake of circulation. We want to expand, and in all directions. Hence the experiment with a weekly and a monthly which we hope will, besides having a "common market" (that is you, our readers with whom we have been in touch week after week over the years) find readers in every corner of society.

★
YES, we have certainly "taken the plunge" and without the backing of a millionaire-convert-to-the-cause! As we write *we know* that we are overdrawn at the bank and have many bills to pay. Many of you will have been reminded by a printed notice not only that your subscriptions to FREEDOM are much overdue but that we are not after your money but your interest in social ideas. Nevertheless those who supply us with paper, blocks, type, stamps and services demand their due, and to meet these commitments we are asking all postal subscribers to send us 30/- (\$5.00) a year for FREEDOM and ANARCHY! And for those of our comrades and friends who realise that these are worth more than a weekly bus-ride from Piccadilly to Fulham, and who are in a position to afford it, our weekly DEFICIT FUND is there to acknowledge and welcome their solidarity.

BOUQUET

DEAR COMRADES,
Congratulations on your wonderful idea—and welcome to "Autonomy"!
Reading the various articles which have appeared on the subject of "what now?", I have successively supported carrying on as now, becoming a fortnightly, becoming a monthly, changing the name to "For a free sex life, For a cheap and effective contraceptive!" (Apologies to defunct Cominform), etc., etc., etc.

However, your idea has decided me and I have pleasure in becoming a subscriber for the first time. Herewith 30/-.
Yours fraternally,
Ilford, Feb. 24. M.D.
[*Our comrade, like many other readers, will have been surprised to receive "Anarchy" and not "Autonomy", a last minute change of title which was made after FREEDOM had already gone to press. But the contents remained unchanged! —EDITORS].

The photos of the sit-down were taken by Freedom's own photographer. We hope to make a regular feature of publishing our own exclusive photos in future.

To the Editors of FREEDOM:

I have read with growing concern FREEDOM's commentaries on the Congo situation. It seems to me that some of the views expressed are unfortunate instances of the kind of thinking that has condemned anarchism to impotence at a time when its influence is desperately needed. I am surprised that your Congo commentaries have not stimulated the type of response the headline on the David Pratt story last spring called forth. The issues involved seem to be at least as serious.

What has FREEDOM's Congo position been? I hope that the following summary is fair to the writers involved. If not, I will gladly accept correction.

(1) On July 23 the author of the lead article of FREEDOM denied having any "sympathy" for the Belgian refugees, even though he granted that some of them had been subjected to "disgusting" treatment. The sufferings of the natives and the profits of the Belgians while they ruled the Congo were cited as reasons for this lack of sympathy. The following week, though taken to task in a letter for his indifference to the Congo atrocities, the author refused to modify his earlier views.

The author of the article seems to be guilty of a number of errors. First, he confuses the *explanation* of behaviour with its *justification*. No doubt the Nazi behaviour towards the Jews can be explained in socio-psychological terms; but this in no way justifies it. Similar remarks apply to the behaviour of the Congolese (actually a small number of them) toward the Belgians. Second, the author appears to think that because certain persons happen to fall into the class of 'Belgians who live in the Congo', they share many politically significant characteristics other than that of being a Belgian who lives in the Congo. This type of fallacy is at the root of racial and other kinds of prejudice, and one would think that an anarchist would be able to avoid it. In judging men we must judge them as individuals and not as members of classes. Third, the author attacks the colonialists and capitalists for their plunder of the Congo, when his attack should be directed at an economic system within the context of which colonial exploitation is a necessity—not only for the well-being of the exploiters but also for the economic development of the underdeveloped colony. The adherence of the capitalist to his system is no more than a sign of his moral perversity than is the adherence of the cannibal to his system of concepts and behaviour a sign of the cannibal's moral perversity. The anarchist who rightly argues for humane treatment for the insane and for the sex offender should show similar humanity to the financier and colonist.

(2) When the U.N. forces moved into the Congo FREEDOM at once adopted a highly critical attitude toward their efforts to restore peace. On August 13 the lead article was titled "Item for the Agenda: That the United Nations is a Threat to Peace." The only reason given for this thesis (I call it (a)) was that the U.N. "tends to involve the power blocs in issues which normally they would not consider worthy of their interest or attention." The U.N. was

An American reader criticises our articles on

Congo

also accused (b) of being counter-revolutionary, and (c) of being impotent until the condition (universal amity among nations) that it is supposed to promote is already realized. Subsequent issues of FREEDOM have maintained these charges against the U.N. along with the charge (d) that the U.N. operation is responsible for much of the present suffering of the Congolese. I shall consider these criticisms in order.

(a) Can anyone seriously maintain that the major power blocs would not have considered the Congo situation worthy of their attention had there been no U.N.? Does the author believe that the Soviet Union would have kept out of the power struggle between the Lumumba government and the Belgians? Does he believe that the West would have tolerated Soviet intervention in the Congo? Perhaps the author of the article could elaborate on this.

(b) Apparently the author intends by this charge that since the U.N. represents governments the solutions it imposes on social problems will reflect the authoritarian nature of all governments. While there is much to be said for this criticism, I do not believe that it is as damning as the author thinks. If we treat all governments as *equally* authoritarian, then the U.N. is an enemy of freedom. However, if we do not (and I do not believe that we should), then it is quite possible that U.N. solutions will be less authoritarian than those which would have been imposed by particular governments.

(c) This view can be put in the form of a dilemma: If we have international amity, then the U.N. is useless (since we already have what it is supposed to produce). If we do not have international amity, then the U.N. is useless (since its work will inevitably be frustrated by conflicts). We either have or do not have international amity. Hence, the U.N. is useless. The second premiss of the argument seems to be false. It neglects the fact that the U.N. may be a casual factor in resolving international conflicts. It may be objected that the U.N. helps resolve only those conflicts that the major powers have initially decided should be resolved. This is no doubt true; however, the resolution of such conflicts may lead the powers that be to take a less recalcitrant position on other conflicts.

(d) This charge is well answered by N.W. in his letter of January 14. The Congolese have been suffering in spite of, not because of the U.N.'s activities. (This is not to say that the U.N. could not have done a better job than it has in its efforts to bring peace to the Congo.)

Common Ownership and Freedom

DEAR COMRADES,

F.B. (Letters—18.2.61) proclaims the necessity for common ownership in order to achieve "complete individual freedom". He seems to have got his priorities reversed. Individual freedom surely implies that I can accept or reject common ownership as I wish. To argue otherwise is to deny free choice and hence individual freedom. "Anarchism . . . is compatible with the most diverse economic conditions, on the premise that these cannot imply, as under capitalist monopoly, the negation of liberty" (de Santillan). In other words, common ownership may be one of the economic arrangements entered into by free individuals, but it would be so as a consequence of their freedom, not its primary condition.

Again, F.B. fears that unless "interests" are identical authority will be needed. I see no reason why, in any free way of life, there should not be differing "interests". If anarchism admits of a plurality of diverse economic conditions then it can also embrace the differences that would go with them. F.B. appears to have confused the pre-

datory competition for economic domination which is a product of power systems with what one might call the 'peaceful competition' of groups formed in freedom. The first needs authority in order to secure the spoils to the conqueror; the second does not because its 'competition' is not for the purpose of conquest, but arises from the desire to surpass others with the excellence of one's own way.

As for F.B.'s deprecation of "anarchism from within" all one can answer is: How else? It is true that man is conditioned by his circumstances, but he also creates them. Indeed, it is difficult to see how any free life can be achieved unless man becomes sufficiently conscious to want to change his circumstances from those of authority to those of liberty. Anarchy could only be realized by those who are anarchists, just as free communism could only be realized by those who are free communists. If F.B. can show how a free life can be lived by people who are not free, I would be very interested.

Yours fraternally,

Bristol, Feb. 22. S. E. PARKER.

The causes for the chaotic situation in the Congo are too complicated to go into here, but there is no reason to include the U.N. among them.

This brings me to an issue which transcends the Congo question. It is the question of the anarchist attitude toward international organizations. In the past FREEDOM has apparently approved of the work of certain U.N. agencies, such as UNESCO. Is this support now to be withdrawn? And if so, why? Unless anarchism is to relapse into a futile individualism or back-to-nature movement, it is necessary for anarchists to come to terms with the modern world. One of the needs of the modern world is international co-operation. Now, if there is to be international co-operation, then organizations of international scope must be formed. These organizations may be either authoritarian, in which case as anarchists we must oppose them, or libertarian. Just what form an international organization having a libertarian influence is to take and how it is to develop in such a world as ours are questions that should be discussed by all anarchists who wish to see the ideals of anarchism made more relevant to the problems of the 20th Century.

(3) In the January 28 issue the Congo situation is reviewed in an article titled, "The Congo Tragedy." In this article we are told, "The question which the critics of FREEDOM . . . do not face

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The Sit-Down

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the existing values of society. This means—to quote Michael Scott's conclusions

that a great deal of new thinking has to be done and done quickly. For many of the ideas we have inherited are totally inadequate to meet this great menace and dilemma of mankind in the fields of religion, politics, ethics and economics. The epoch making changes that we have lived through have created a totally new situation which can only be dealt with by new ideas. The threat of force has been removed as the ultimate sanction.

Alarm & Despondency in the Political "Left"

SUCH arguments not only alarm the thinking Right, but the leaders and would-be leaders on the so-called Left as well. The reactions of the three weekly organs of the Left—the *Spectator*, the *New Statesman* and *Tribune*—to the sit-down are illuminating. Last week's *Spectator* ignored the demonstration altogether. The *New Statesman* ignored it editorially, having the previous week published the following editorial note over Bertrand Russell's article on Civil Disobedience:

This week-end Bertrand Russell and other demonstrators who accept the tactic of civil disobedience will take part in an unlawful protest against the Polaris missile in particular and nuclear policy in general. For reasons stated at length in this journal last week we do not believe that either his assumptions or the tactics he advocates are correct in present circumstances, but we believe that he should have a full opportunity to explain his position.

But even more interesting is the reaction of *Tribune* which for many socialists is the movement's white hope in the struggle against the revisionists and the deviationists of the Party. *Tribune* gave no advance publicity to the demonstration, and last week in an editorial on "Civil Disobedience and CND" came down solidly on the side of the Establishment. "Everyone who has grasped the barest outline of the arguments [of the advocates of civil disobedience] must have sympathy for the resolute and unselfish character of their actions". But

those who favour civil disobedience cast doubt on the effectiveness of political action to change the immediate course of Governmental policy. And, indeed, they regard such action as quite secondary to personal non-violent protest.

There are two great dangers which are apparent in such a policy. First, that the argument as such against nuclear weapons (which is enormously powerful—it won at Labour's conference at Scarborough last year) is not materially advanced by such action; second that it injures people's belief in the effectiveness of democratic action.

The reasons for this are quite simple. Any protest against nuclear strategy which an individual makes cannot possibly be left at that point. For once one challenges the assumption of such strategy, one is faced with a whole series of other decisions that have to be made.

These budding politicians have put their finger on the spot, but whereas they look upon it as the weakness of the civil disobedience movement, to our minds it is

its ultimate strength assuming that it proceeds along the lines outlined by Michael Scott. For *Tribune* the difference between the measures of civil disobedience and the Aldermaston march are that

civil disobedience is an end in itself—not a means (as is the Aldermaston March) to achieving an end. Only politicians could make the distinction as *Tribune* does. As we see it, they have got the wrong end of the stick! The Aldermaston March has indeed become an end in itself, for so far as achieving any change in government policy it has miserably failed. After three marches not only have we still got the bomb but we are also about to receive the Polaris depot ship and submarines in the waters of Holy Loch. The realists among the supporters of CND seem to have drawn conclusions which *Tribune* and other politically blinkered Establishment "socialists" cannot allow themselves to see. Civil disobedience may well be an unthinking act of despair among otherwise law-abiding citizens, and they undoubtedly will think before joining any further demonstrations. But a determined, conscious movement of civil disobedience seeks to upset the smooth running machine of centralised power, of injustice, of rule of the many by the few, of permanent tension between nations and of production for profit and not for needs, not just for the sake of destroying that machine—we are no political Luddites—but because at long last it has dawned on some of our fellow beings that the machine of State, whoever operates it, and however good are the intentions of the operators, cannot function in any other way than the one for which it was designed.

For instance, the only realistic approach to unilateral nuclear disarmament—realistic, that is, from the point of view of influencing government policy—is that adopted by people like Commander King-Hall who argue that from a military point of view this country would be stronger if it spent its limited resources—compared with those of America and Russia—on other kinds of weapons and defence. Such an approach does not put a spanner in the machine of state; on the contrary it seeks to strengthen it! It is not, therefore a contribution to peace, but at most a cunning, unorthodox, move in the game of power politics. The foundations of force on which the machine of state is bedded remain, unscathed, unshattered; if anything the machine has been oiled to run more smoothly.

A movement of civil disobedience, as we see it, is a movement of thinking individuals who can no longer accept that their lives should be regulated and disposed of by a machine called the state or government. We are individuals not holes in a card to be fed into an electronic computer

(Incidentally, it was one of the warming and exciting sights of the sit-down demonstration that it was not a blanching of humanity but a turbulent sea of faces, young and old, smooth and wrinkled, smiling and serious, tense and carefree; each declaring his individuality

and at the same time wanting to be, and accepting the responsibility of being, a link in that chain of solidarity and protest).

and as thinking, reasoning individuals we demand to organise our own lives in the knowledge that we can do so while at the same time identifying ourselves with the needs and dreams of those around us. The goal of such a movement is to provide the environment in which men, women . . . and children, can develop as individual human beings. To this end they must seek to destroy the machinery of centralised authority, the state, government, élites. Civil disobedience cuts the grass from under the feet of budding politicians, undermines the authority of government and the confidence of its henchmen, the police, as well as building up the confidence and sense of responsibility of the individuals engaged in such action. "Unity is strength" but the unity we seek is not in numbers but unity through diversity, the unity which is built on mutual respect and not on sameness.

That old fashioned Mother of I.L.

Sir,
With reference to the report contained in your issue of Jan. 28th, "I.L." ends by gloating over the fact that Neill was able to put over the radio his "open advocacy of a free sex life for adolescents". Well, as seems usual, this advocacy springs from the male sex—who has nothing to lose from the deal.

Speaking on behalf of my own sex I would like to say that although the position would no doubt be eased if we had a different set-up in Society, where perhaps children would be taken care of and belong to the community as a whole, the situation now is that the girl is left to shoulder the burden, or perhaps pass it on to her parents. Not to mention the fact that the child has no proper home. Most often the male does not even shoulder the financial burden, especially if he is young.

Quite frankly, if I had a daughter in the age group 14-15, or even older, I

should be very much against her leading a "free sex life" for it must be admitted surely, that even with a full sex education and the greatest of care, "accidents" can and do happen.

No sir, I'm afraid I must remain "old fashioned" in this matter.
London, Feb. 22. MOTHER OF "I.L."

Readers in Durham . . .

DEAR COMRADES,
I am endeavouring to 'comb out' any Anarchists (Libertarians) in the Durham City area—primarily with respect to the proposed University Libertarian Movement, for which internal propaganda is best suited, but any sympathisers outside of the University would be greeted with open arms. If it is at all possible maybe you would insert an advert to this effect in FREEDOM.

With many thanks for your assistance.
Sincerely yours,
ERIC ADAMS,
111 Musgrave Gardens,
Durham City.

CONGO

Continued from page 3

squarely is: should such strife (i.e., the factional strife in the Congo) be prevented on "humanitarian grounds", at all costs—even by outside intervention? Those who answer this question affirmatively are stigmatized as accepting the status quo and, by implication, as welcoming continued Belgian control of the Congo. The article continues, " . . . if the U.N. had not come in to take over the material problems of running the Congo the politicians . . . would have been obliged to tackle these material problems—or fail . . . We may be wrong but it is our belief that left to solve the problems of survival there would have been an awakening among the people of the Congo which would have done more to break down the tribal barriers than anything which the U.N. and its agencies have done in this direction so far." "Technical experts from outside" would have been needed, but an appeal by the Congolese would have brought them.

Let us consider the question first. I have tried to face it squarely and my answer is a qualified "yes". In general I would say that it is better to bring about peaceful solutions to social problems (even if the peace is enforced by a third party) than to resolve such problems by force. To apply this formula to particular situations one must consider the character of the disputants as well as that of the third party. There is no particular virtue in violence. A solution reached without it can be at least as satisfactory from the anarchists' point of view as one reached with it. As anarchists we should never be loathe to cite "humanitarian grounds" for our policies. I do not believe that such mitigated pacifism commits anyone to accept the status quo. As for the merits of a prolonged Belgian rule in the Congo, I can only say in reply to this academic question that in the light of the events of the past six months, the Congo was not ready for independence when it received it. What should have been done I am not sure; but I do not believe that any of the values anarchists accept have been promoted by the precipitate withdrawal of the Belgian authorities (to put it as mildly as possible).

AND A BRIEF REPLY PRO TEM

[We welcome comrade Anderston's attempt to analyse FREEDOM's "line" on the Congo tragedy. At a first reading we found his arguments plausible; at a second reading, having also re-read the editorials he refers to, we strongly object to his summing up of our arguments—particularly regarding our evaluation of "The New Refugees"—and consider that his assessment of the facts and of our approach are coloured by his own "revisionist" approach. It is too easy always to accuse anarchists, and in particular an anarchist paper, of being unrealistic, by which is meant that we do not offer solutions within the limits of the system. But the whole point, the very existence of a paper such as FREEDOM arises from the fact that we do not believe that satisfactory solutions to human problems can be found in the context of the existing social and political set-up.

The fact that we have not yet succeeded in reaching and persuading enough people that the existing system is wrong, makes it, surely, more important to try and break down illusions about the potentialities of the existing system than trying to persuade people that we have the solutions, within the context of existing society for problems which stem from the nature of that society. It is nonsense to dismiss anarchism as impractical because it cannot offer a life-saving pill for the mess created in the Congo by a rapacious Belgian imperialism and exacerbated by the power-political ambitions of the leading nations within the U.N.O.

Our correspondent is also being misleading when he suggests that we praise the "noble savage" and thereby live in

chests we should never be loathe to cite "humanitarian grounds" for our policies. I do not believe that such mitigated pacifism commits anyone to accept the status quo. As for the merits of a prolonged Belgian rule in the Congo, I can only say in reply to this academic question that in the light of the events of the past six months, the Congo was not ready for independence when it received it. What should have been done I am not sure; but I do not believe that any of the values anarchists accept have been promoted by the precipitate withdrawal of the Belgian authorities (to put it as mildly as possible).

The speculations about what would have happened if the U.N. had not intervened, unlike the rest of the article, strike me as singularly unrealistic. The writer does not consider the Belgian intervention, nor does he consider the imminent East-West intervention. The "technical experts from outside" would most likely have been paratroopers and mercenaries. At best there would have been a prolonged civil war, with ensuing disease and starvation. An authoritarian government (or governments) in the Congo would have been the upshot of such a war. Men in Africa are no more rational than men in Europe. To speak of an "awakening among the people" is to express a pious hope, not a probability. Anarchism has gotten beyond the stage of "noble savage" sentimentality, though I fear that the writer of the article has not.

Fraternally Yours,
M. G. ANDERSON,
Hartford, Conn., Feb. 20.

STOP

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