

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Only freedom can make security secure."

—KARL POPPER

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Threepence

LEADERSHIP SURVEY

Message

ALL

Leaders of FREEDOM

WITH this issue of FREEDOM we are sending out to all our readers a Questionnaire which we are optimistic enough to believe that a very large number of them will complete and post back to us. We hope that no-one reading through the 25 questions will boil with indignation at our nosiness and tear at the offending document.

We are not just being inquisitive. We do ask personal questions, but we don't ask your name. We are curious and interested to know who our readers are, and we have a feeling that our curiosity is shared by our readers themselves.

This is not just another bit of "market research" the purpose of which is to know people's reactions better to bamboozle them with advertising. Our questionnaire aims at the first place to seek the answers to a very natural question for those of us who have worked on FREEDOM for so many years: who are our readers? Are they young or old; are they "professional" people or "working-class"; are they mainly of the male sex and are they conventional or unconventional in their personal relationships? Secondly, it is natural for a group which believes in the power of ideas in the process of social change and which, week after week, expresses that belief by issuing a newspaper, to ask its readers how far those ideas are important to them, in influencing their way of life and their attitudes. Thirdly, it is possible, if we get a really good response, that the results of the questionnaire, when "processed" by a Hollerith machine, may be useful to the investigation of "the anarchist personality" which one of our contributors has been conducting by individual tests and interviews.

The series of questions in which we ask you how you came to see FREEDOM in the first place, what features you enjoy most, or least, how the paper could be improved, and so on, will be important as a guide to "consumer preferences", to use the market researcher's jargon. Obviously we want to know what kind of paper our readers like best, even though we cannot undertake to be guided by their preferences—since it may turn out, for all we know, that a majority of our readers would not describe themselves as anarchists, but take the paper because they are curious or stimulated by a point of view that is "different" even though they don't accept it themselves, or only do so with reservations.

The problem of postal questionnaires in social investigation of all kinds is that of non-response. In enquiries to the general public the response is sometimes as low as 30 per cent., but in enquiries to special (and literate) groups it has been as high as 90 per cent. We appeal to our readers, however little sympathy they may feel to our point of view, not to ignore the questionnaire or put it in one side, but to fill it in

Press Ignores Protest About

FRANCO'S POLITICAL PRISONERS

ON the date of General Eisenhower's visit to the Spanish Dictator, General Franco, in Madrid (December 21st), a manifesto in support of the group of Spanish intellectuals, who have deplored the treatment of political prisoners in Spain, was issued to the press in this country. The protest was signed by over 70 intellectuals including writers, scientists and painters, and followed another petition from the *Spanish Democrats Defence Committee*, a body set up by the Labour Movement headed by Lord Attlee and Jim Griffiths.

The latter petition has been given front page publicity in the *News Chronicle* with the story of Mr. Robert Edwards' (Labour Member of Parliament) expulsion from Spain on December 23rd. Mr. Edwards was appointed by the *Spanish Democrats Defence Committee* as an observer at the re-trial of 16 "Left-wing Catholics" before a Supreme Court of Military Justice, and took with him to Spain a copy of the Defence Committee's petition; he was arrested and prevented from attending the trial on the grounds that the "Spanish people does not admit foreign interference in its internal policy".

Mr. Edwards and Mr. Jeremy Thorpe (Liberal M.P.), who was originally selected to present the petition in Madrid but who was refused a visa, were also interviewed in a televised programme with the Editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, the latter feebly attempting to defend Eisenhower's friendly call on Franco.

We are glad that some attention has been given to the tyranny of

Franco's régime, but why, with the exception of two newspapers, *The Guardian* and the *Sunday Express*, has the entire press ignored the protest signed by 70 intellectuals! A *News Chronicle* correspondent was in touch with the committee organising this protest but there has been no indication in its columns of its existence.

Allowing for the fact that the two petitions were issued practically at the same time and therefore the one which reached the press first would have the greatest 'news value', we would have thought that if the *News Chronicle* was genuinely concerned with the treatment of Franco's prisoners it would have given publicity to yet another protest signed by so many eminent people, including the catholic writer, Graham Greene.

As it is the *News Chronicle* has chosen to give the greatest publicity to two politicians, thus, rightly or wrongly, many people may conclude that the protest against persecution in Spain is an attempt to make 'political capital'.

This is not intended as a slight on the people who signed the petition organised by the *Spanish Democrats Defence Committee*, some of whom also put their names to the other protest (see FREEDOM, December 26th).

Moral Force

The moral force of any protest against all forms of totalitarianism is that much stronger if the participants are independent, because no political party which has been in power has a completely 'clean' record. It is possible to go through

the history of all parties and find records of behaviour incompatible with stated principles. It is true that individual members of all parties may disagree with policies carried out in the name of political expediency by their parties, in these circumstances the only honest thing to do is to resign; but how many do?

Problem of Communication

Perhaps the most important problem arising out of this issue is the eternal one of communication. In the first instance it is necessary to have an audience, but it is also essential to break the psychological barriers so that what we have to say will penetrate and bring forth the kind of responses we are after. So that if an appeal is being made to the spirit of decency we have to find a suitable language which will honestly and effectively accommodate this end.

In addition, the business of finding the means of communication presents enormous problems. In our society the mass forms are only regularly open to ideas which are acceptable to the controlling groups.

Newspapers have to consider the susceptibilities of the majority of their readers and advertisers; editors have to think of their relationship with the Government of the moment, while the 'national interest' mystique is invoked to suppress ideas and events which a handful of people decide may be against that interest; Radio and Television likewise.

We have been struck by the powerlessness of a minority, however eminent and respected they may be, in connection with the petitions we have been discussing. Deprived

of the usual means of communication the collective voice has been muted.

Some of us naively thought that such a collection of 'leading intellectuals and personalities' could not be ignored by the press. The fact that only two newspapers (to our knowledge) have drawn attention to their signatures in protest against the tyrannical rule of Spain's 'Christian gentleman' justifies this paper's regular criticism of the press and its function.

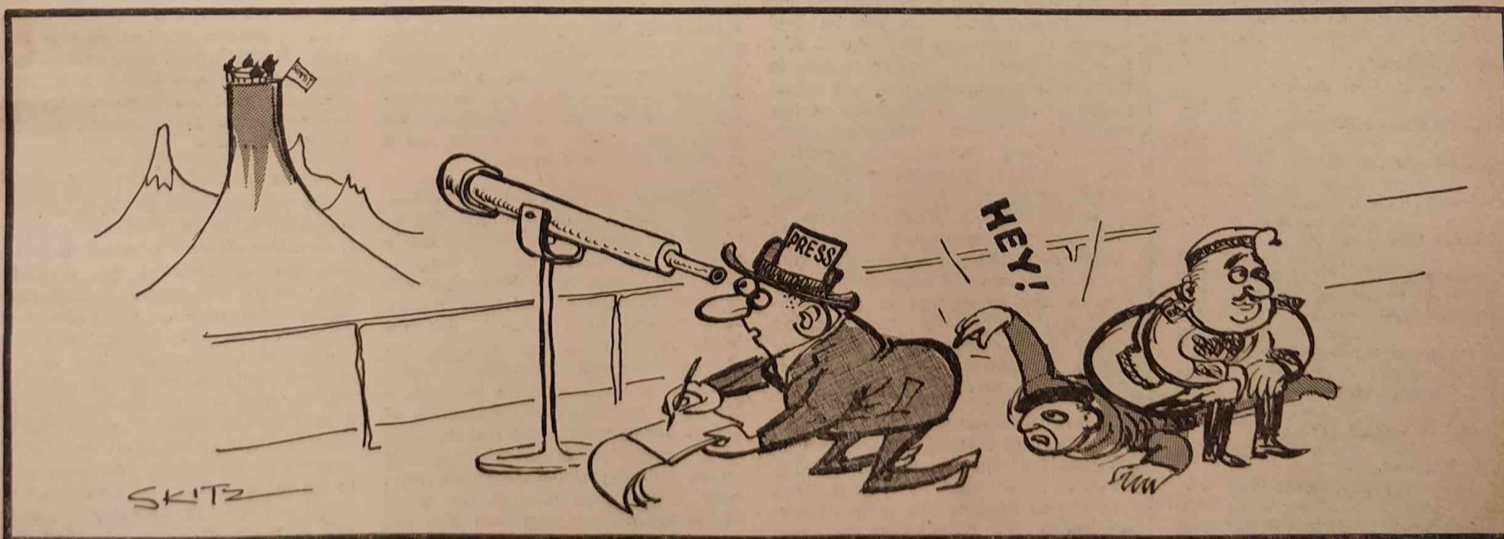
No Support from Labour Movement

We might ask, where do we go from here? Are writers and scientists who are profoundly concerned with events going to accept the limitations placed upon their views by press and radio, or will they find other ways of effectively expressing them?

To return to Spain itself. In 1936 the Spanish people sought and found means of keeping Franco out of power for three long years with little assistance from outside. A resurgence of that same spirit could do much to loosen the grip of Franco.

The shameful inaction of the Labour Movement in this country throughout those years (and the despicable rôle played by Russia and her supporters), contributed to the defeat of the revolution.

Now that Franco is being brought into the Western Alliance, in the event of another uprising the chances of support from the Labour Movement for the Spanish people are even less than in 1936.



The Powers that be

(From a Correspondent)

ON December 14th, an elderly Methodist called Dr. Willard Uphas was sent to prison for contempt of court in Concord, New Hampshire, because he will not reveal to the State Assessor-General the names of his guests at a summer-camp he ran back in 1954. His "main joy in life," he says, is to bring together in "a disputatious meeting" people "who have nothing in common", and this is evidently what he did five years ago.

Neither this, nor his acknowledged

visit to a World Peace Congress in Warsaw in 1950, is exactly the sort of activity encouraged by the authorities in New Hampshire, or in the United States in general (indeed, the US Supreme Court confirmed his citation for contempt). This Christian who takes his faith so seriously and literally could have disclosed the names required by the Attorney-General for an investigation into "subversion" in New Hampshire, or alternatively he could have invoked the protection of the Fifth Amendment. He scorns to take such an easy path. Instead he not only declares that "it is

wrong to bear false witness against my neighbour" but also rejects the authority of the Attorney-General and the courts by describing their behaviour as "a direct invasion of Christian conscience and of an authority higher than that of the State".

He means God, but we do not have to be Christians to admire the sincerity and courage of this man who has gone with a smile and a pile of books into the jail where he could technically spend the rest of his life. How many of us would have his guts?

and help us to find out who reads FREEDOM and what they think about it.

This applies to readers in Poland and Mauritius as much as to those in Britain, America, Australia and Ghana. Please fill in the questionnaire and return it NOW. The results will be professionally analysed and tabulated and published in full in FREEDOM.

THE EDITORS.

ANARCHISM: A 'REVISIONIST' APPROACH

EDITOR'S NOTE: The word revisionist, which our contributor uses to designate his point of view, is liable to misinterpretation. He uses it by analogy with Bernstein's revisions to Marxist theory. The French and Italian anarchists use it to imply those disastrous concessions to Communist methods of organisation which some groups have advocated in those countries. In America the word apparently stands for the revised version of recent political history propagated by Mr. Harry Elmer Barnes. Our contributor uses the word in neither of these senses.

THE position of an anarchist in our present political and social environment is rather like that of a Marxist before 1917 or a Trotskyist after 1929. Briefly, the trouble is that things haven't worked out as they were expected or hoped to do. First let's take a look at Marxism which, as A. J. P. Taylor has put it, is like school—unpleasant and dangerous when neat, but useful when carefully blended with other things.

Marxism

Marx and Engels said the rich would get richer and the poor poorer until at last a violent upheaval established the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which would lead to the Withering Away of the State and the appearance of the Classless Society in which 'the government of men will be replaced by the administration of things'. Or, more concisely, 'Capitalism — Revolution — Socialism — Communism'.

If it had not been for the Russian Revolution this theory would probably have been pretty well discredited by now. For in Western Europe—that is, in the countries Marx and Engels were talking about—the rich have in fact got poorer and the poor richer. Capitalism has gradually become Welfare Capitalism (or State Socialism, depending on your point of view), and everyone is now engaged in living happily ever after. Even if we take into account Russia, China and the People's Democracies, we can say that where there have been Revolutions the Dictatorship has been of the Party rather than of the Proletariat and shows little sign of withering away.

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Even Engels towards the end of his life began to feel that orthodox Marxist doctrine was not correct (see in particular the introduction he wrote in 1895 for a new edition of Marx's *Class Struggles in France*); and Eduard Bernstein deliberately set out after Engels' death the same year to revise Marxist theory in accordance with the facts—which were, as he noted laconically, that 'peasants do not sink, middle class does not disappear, crises do not grow larger, misery and serfdom do not increase'. His theoretical Revisionism and the practical Reformism of most Social Democrats might well have triumphed over the revolutionary doctrines of orthodox Marxists if the Russian Bolsheviks—who were among the latter—had not been successful.

Since 1917, of course, Marxist theory has been inextricably bound up with Russian practice and has had little connection with Marx or Engels. Oddly enough, their ideas—like those of Hobbes—work much better if applied not to classes but to nations, among whom the rich and strong do get richer and stronger, the poor and weak do get poorer and weaker, and violent upheavals are all too prevalent. Indeed Lenin (following Hobson) partly realised this—hence the Communist obsession with Imperialism—but, since Communist Russia is one of the top nations, it is hardly in their interest to foster a revolt of poor against rich nations; just as, since the Russian Communists are now a ruling class, it is not in their interest to foster a revolt of poor against rich people in Hungary, let alone Russia itself. It is impossible not to wish that Marx and Engels could come back to see their handiwork (though I doubt if they would acknowledge it).

Anarchism

What the hell has all this got to do with anarchism? Well, the point is that things haven't worked out right for us either. Just as Communists (or syndicalists, or Trotskyists in the Socialist Labour League) haven't the slightest chance of seizing power in any Western country, so there isn't the slightest chance of anarchist ideas being successful in the foreseeable future—and we haven't got the consolation of being able to apply them to nations.

I think it is vital for anarchists to realise this fact. Of course most of them do; I don't know how many people in the world today seriously hope to see the abolition of government in their lifetime, but the number must be tiny. We need not only to realise this fact; we must accept it and go on to work out what we can do in the meantime.

In the days when anarchists and socialists weren't completely separated, they had much the same policy of agitation and organisation; later, some anarchists hoped to go on with it, but socialists and communists proved more efficient (and intolerant). Since the First World War anarchists have been prominent only in Italy, Spain and the Ukraine, and unsuccessful everywhere. As a result of this tendency, anarchists have tried other policies. They became very impatient and advocated 'propaganda by deed' (terrorism); or they narrowed their field of activity to, say, single factories or rural communities; or they concentrated on education and journalism—the maintenance of *la minorité consciente*; or they became very patient and turned to personal relationships, the Goal of a free society being obscured by the Way of private freedom and growing about as remote as the Second Coming of Christ.

The first alternative has fallen into disuse (though I doubt if I am alone in thinking that the completion of Guy Fawkes' work might be a good idea). The second remains but is in decline; syndicalism and coenobitism are pretty insignificant now, which is a pity. The third and fourth are in varying degrees the chief forms of anarchist activity that have survived. The behaviour of many people shows them to be anarchists, even if they don't realise or proclaim the fact. And of course there are groups like the London Anarchist Group and papers like FREEDOM (with the Freedom Press and Bookshop in the background to keep us up to the mark and to maintain *la minorité consciente*.) But I wonder how much contact is made except with the converted, and how much is being got across even when there is contact. There isn't much point having a voice crying in the wilderness if it isn't heard; and there isn't much point in hundreds of thousands of people hearing it if the only

words they can make out are "Woe! Woe!"

Functions of Rebellion

There seem to me to be two chief functions of any rebel movement: the negative one of attacking what is wrong, and the positive one of suggesting what would be better. I don't mean that the former is any less valuable than the latter (this idea is an old trick of the powers-that-be), but excellent as it is it cannot stand alone. We must be clear about the meaning of our fundamental principle: opposition to the exercise of power by people over other people. Freedom is a splendid word, but it is no more than that if it doesn't mean something concrete. It's no good just saying we want "a free society" and hate "government", and leaving it at that. We must particularise and explain what we mean in detail.

We must also go some of the way to meet those we disagree with. Anarchists may object that we can't compromise. But all of us—except nihilists and hermits—are already compromising to some extent. We are involved in society, here and now, and must begin from that fact. A revolution is more likely to make things worse than better; if we continue as we are going we won't change much in the world we live in, and it is this we are concerned with, not utopia.

Now I don't want to denigrate those people who are attempting to build a free society in factories or self-contained communities, or who are attempting to spread anarchist ideas in the press or at meetings or on street-corners, or who are engaged in a do-it-yourself face-to-face anarchism in their private lives. On the contrary I admire and respect all of them. But I do want to suggest that we should take a long cool look at the theory and practice of anarchism today—just as Bernstein did at Marxism sixty years ago—and see how it should and could be revised.

Anarchists escape certain political diseases—such as conservatism, bureaucracy, paternalism, intolerance, establishmentarianism and so on—but there are other ones they do suffer from that seem to me to be dangerous. I hope it will not be invidious if I name and describe them and suggest remedies for them. After all, we can't be perfect.

Political Diseases

Sectarianism is the belief that one's own sect has the truth in its pocket and that all the other ones are beyond hope. This is particularly acceptable to anarchists, since pretty well all other political groups have some sort of liking for government; but that does not mean they are all equally misguided. It is essential that we should see the differences between other groups and reserve our chief opprobrium for the worst ones while giving some sort of approval or support to the better ones. To say 'a plague on all your houses' gives a nice warm feeling, but doesn't get us anywhere. We haven't got a corner in freedom, and it is absurd to pretend we have.

Connected with this is anti-parliamentarism. I don't want to suggest that we should start putting up anarchist candidates or alternatively go out and vote Labour to a man, but I think we should consider Parliament (and trade unions, co-operatives, local councils and the whole apparatus of representative government) without prejudice. Eighty years ago it was reasonable for William Morris to say that Parliament belonged to 'the Enemy'; Marx had said the same thing before that, but as early as 1895 Engels realised that the German workers were doing better through the Social Democrats in parliament than they had ever done through strikes and riots. I don't deny that parliamentary government has been responsible for an enormous amount of harm (not least in sanctifying the oppression of politicians), but

WHAT ABOUT
THAT NEW
READER FOR
"FREEDOM"
please!

it has also been responsible for a lot of good and is perhaps the best form of government available to us.

I know—we don't want any form of government, and much of what goes on in Parliament is just a charade. But since government is going to be with us for quite some time, we might as well try to make the best of it even while we are working for its abolition. The point is really that if we have abandoned revolutionism (as I think most anarchists now have) then we have abandoned the methods favoured by people like Bakunin, Morris, Kropotkin, and Malatesta and must find other ones. If we aren't going to smash the state by force or simply turn our backs on it, then we must accept the fact of its existence and set about making it unnecessary by other means. And as matters stand the most effective way of making ourselves felt is by putting pressure on politicians (and trade unionists and civil servants and so on), whether constitutionally or otherwise.

Here and Now?

This is not to dismiss direct action or propaganda as a waste of time. But just as parliamentary activity by itself is no use, so direct action by itself is unlikely to get very much done. And our job is not just to work for a remote goal or to live decently ourselves, but to make the world a better place here and now. We must be opportunists; I don't mean we must fall into the trap of careerism (the history of the trade unions and the Labour Party ought to keep us out of that danger), but that we should take every opportunity to oppose what is bad and support what is good. Agreed, government is bad, but national health or proper pensions are good even if in present circumstances only a government can put them into practice.

All I am really trying to say is that we shouldn't dismiss politics out of hand or wash our hands of the whole dirty business. This is the attitude taken up by Communists when they label all other groups as 'bourgeois' and go on to call them 'fascist'. Political parties and politicians aren't all the same. If you look carefully enough you can find radicals and libertarians in quite a lot of places, and we should support them. There is no need to betray our principles; we can always go right on saying exactly what we think. But there are people involved in conventional politics who need and deserve the support of all decent people—Fenner Brockway and Sydney Silverman, Jo Grimond and Jeremy Thorpe, Nigel Nicolson and Christopher Hollis (no longer, alas!).

There are also several movements and organisations that aren't specifically anarchist but can be described as anarchistic—the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the Homosexual Law Reform Society, UNICEF, various refugee relief groups, pacifist organisations, the Danilo Dolci Committee, the International Voluntary Service (which runs work-camps). Jimmy Porter complained that there aren't any good brave causes left; good heavens!—there are hundreds, and we should be in them.

Smugness

The real danger is the smugness that appeals to all minority movements; there is a genuine pleasure in feeling that one's ideas are so wonderful that they will never be put into practice. In a word, *facilism*—the postponement of all present problems because we can deal with them "when the time comes". The time is now; the kingdom of heaven won't fall into our laps, or even come upon us like a thief in the night. There is no inevitable social or historical determinism working in our favour. We have learnt to distrust revolutions (as Christians have learnt to distrust the apocalypse), and we will only get anywhere by a hell of a lot of hard, dull work.

If we don't like the way things are now, we must say not only what is wrong with them but what can and should be done to make them better. If we object to state education, we must say what sort of schools we want (if we want schools at all); if we object to the employment of labour or the ownership of property, we must make fresh proposals for the organisation of production and the rest; if we object to fines and prisons, we must say how offenders are to be dealt with (how about a probation period in which practical restitution is made?). Unless we speak up, positively as well as negatively, our case will go by default. We don't want *laissez-faire* liberalism, or State Socialism, whether Butskellit or

Tribunite; all right then—what's wrong with them and, even more important, what can be done instead? The strength of the Fabians was that they faced up to this sort of question. So must we.

Libertarianism and Radicalism

Above all, perhaps, we must not give up in disgust, or cross to the other side of the road, or sit back secure in possession of the truth, or even carry on in the old ways. The old ways haven't worked, and our predecessors wouldn't think much of us if we repeated what they said fifty or a hundred years ago. Anarchists, in so far as they can be classified at all, combine things—radicalism and libertarianism. By libertarianism I mean the love of freedom, the rejection of power and authority, the insistence on minding one's own business. But this must be tempered by radicalism. A radical is someone who cares, and not only cares about protests but tries to do something about it.

About what? About all the things that are going on in the world, what Voltaire called 'l'infame'. They won't cure themselves, nor will they be cured by the abolition of government alone. A radical cannot sit quiet, cannot withdraw; cannot be an outsider; he is involved in mankind; he has a sense of outrage (see Paul Johnson's article on Conviction). We wouldn't have got so far as we have if there hadn't been plenty of libertarians and radicals before us. We mustn't let them down; we must be both, and so work that men should have a new birth of freedom (to quote Lincoln) and that government, by anyone, for anyone, should perish from the earth.

NICOLAS WALTERS

LEGAL
TYRANNY

THE Northern Rhodesian Parliament has just introduced a new Bill giving the Governor of the territory wide powers in "time of emergency" which should reduce the tedium and possible delay which might result when invoking emergency powers.

The Bill is quite complete in its power and should make white rule of Africans an easy and even more cynical task; it is doubtful if the clause affecting property will ever be used against Europeans.

The Bill enables the Governor to: "control publications and prohibit or control assemblies, the movement of persons, and acquisition, occupation and use of property".

If the governor thinks that these powers are inadequate he can, by announcement introduce more regulations. These "will enable him to detain persons or require them to do work or give services".

What is the difference between this kind of power and that exercised by any totalitarian state?

The only difference is that it is worse in the sense that not all totalitarian states base their tyranny on racialism—all colours, races and sexes who might oppose are equally in danger!

It is reported from Bulawayo that a Mrs. Stuart Little (a millionaire's wife) has announced that her large hotel would be open to guests of all races during the Central African Trade Fair in May, although previously the hotel has only admitted non-European diplomatists.

It seems that officials hesitated to support a proposal that the Queen Mother should be invited to perform the official opening "for fear of involving her in racial incidents".

The shrewd Mrs. Little must know that visiting Royalty (especially to outlandish places) means a boost for business; and anyway, wasn't Nkrumah welcomed at Balmoral thus giving ambitious society ladies the lead in how to behave to one's inferiors?

GOD AND THE DAM

THERE has, as all of us know been a dam disaster at Frejus in Southern France killing 440 people. Our reaction to this is one of horror that such terrible things can happen by freaks or flukes of capricious Nature. More than sixteen years ago a similar thing happened in Germany, two dams burst killing 1,217 people. Our reaction then was very different. The newspapers which now triumphed over this dam-busting a tribute to man's courage and skill (particularly one group of men). In 1923 an earthquake shook Tokyo, killing 100,000 people. This was a disaster. Twenty years later two Japanese cities were devastated; killing 105,000, this was the pinnacle of man's scientific achievement.

The difference in reaction to these events is by the obvious fact that we are at war with the sufferers from the Bomb, Eder, Hiroshima and Nagasaki disasters, so from us there were no cries of grief or laments that Nature could be so cruel or philosophising on the inevitable workings of God.

Voltaire in his poem on the Lisbon earthquake (30,000 killed), repeated the story that this was the work of an all-powerful and all-loving God to restore us to the true Faith, and he expressly rejected a God that could be so cruel. The San Francisco earthquake (or was it a fire?) was claimed as a similar demonstration of omnipotent peevishness whilst Sodom and Gomorrah and the unlikely story of Noah's ark have gone on the record as instances of Jehovah's wrath.

It was found in the Japanese earthquake that the skilful architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright circumvented the wrath of God and it is probable that a little more concrete at Frejus would have done more than the Bible can, to justify the ways of God to man. Similarly the various plagues that beset mankind were more through lack of sanitation than lack of grace.

The outpouring of human sympathy after the Frejus disaster is a greater hope for mankind than all the promises of eternal life and redemption offered by the priests who interpret the disaster as a warning.

But the disasters have their ironical side. The beachhead at Frejus was devastated previously, in an Allied landing; among the dead at the Ruhr dam disaster were 718 foreign workers as opposed to 499 Germans. (These foreign workers were the people who were to be liberated. 'Liberation' came to them only in the Buddhist sense—death).

In January 1959, two "blockbuster" bombs were found in a Ruhr reservoir. These could only be de-fused with the co-operation of the men who set the fuses for the "dam-busters" raid. This they did at the risk of their lives.

Only a God with a perverted sense of humour could think up such a thing but the simple fact is that it is only man's perverted sense of values that make such disasters doubly tragic, because needless.

Common-sense might have averted the Frejus disaster but would have certainly averted the Ruhr disasters. J.R.

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Book Review

Guy Clutton-Brock's Nyasaland

DAWN IN NYASALAND, by Guy Clutton-Brock. (Hodder & Stoughton), 3s. 6d.

WHEN the common man feels something strongly, there is something in it; there is in fact a lot in it, it is this strong feeling about the imposition of Federation that resulted in the deaths of 51 Africans in Nyasaland earlier this year; and in this book Guy Clutton-Brock sets out the arguments for Nyasaland's secession from the Central African Federation. As one who held that secession was the only human answer to the crisis in Central Africa the book further convinced me of the vital necessity for this step.

Early in the book Nyasaland is described as "still largely a land of peasant farmers and off-shore fishermen, of hills-men, plainsmen and happy people of the lake shore." The so-called "backward" and "primitive." Clutton-Brock continues: "The majority of the people lead a simple life with simple things usually on the borderline of subsistence, often undernourished, and sometimes there are those who starve. Mostly they accept this setting and do not envy, nor enter into the struggle of the rich to get richer, but only of the poor to get freer." He talks of this setting in comparison with our own affluent society: "The major proportion of the world's available capital is employed to promote and preserve the ever-increasing enrichment of an ever-decreasing proportion of the world's population." And he provides these figures that should make us wonder about our wonderful 'free world': "In the non-Soviet world the richest countries are estimated to have 15% of the population but 62% of the income, the poorest countries have 54% of the population but only 9% of the income." He adds that "The major crisis of the world is one of disparity... the rich are becoming fabulously richer and proportionately fewer, and the poor become poorer, and more."

Clutton-Brock advocates nationalism as the African's great cause; he in fact joined the Southern Rhodesian A.N.C., but he can still say in the same book that "We are all members of one community of man. We withdraw ourselves wholly or in part when we pursue primarily our own ends, our own individual,

national or racial ends." I agree with Clutton-Brock that the 'African personality' is very fine, yet I think this personality is basically anarchist and not nationalist. Arthur Uloth wrote some time ago in FREEDOM that he considered himself a conservative anarchist, and I can only add that so are most of the ordinary villagers in Nyasaland. Mind you I am not talking of the Bandas, the Congress leaders, but of the ordinary "common man", who lives the simple life and who Clutton-Brock so obviously admires.

Having painted for us the picture of a poor Nyasaland in a world of wealth, the author turns to the history of the Federal Scheme. He tells of twenty years before the imposition of Federation when the people of Nyasaland showed their overwhelming feelings about any federation with Southern Rhodesia, and he concludes that "the opposition to Federation of the people, chiefs and political leaders in Nyasaland is virtually 100%. Opinions are not always expressed openly, but at home around the fire or at any time when people are sure of their company there is not a man who leaves his friends in doubt about his attitude to Federation". To this I can only add that in Northern Rhodesia the position is much the same, I met not one African who approved of Federation in the two years I was there.

And why this complete opposition to Federation? What is the cause? "Throughout the long history of the various proposals for the closer association of the Central African territories, for their federation or amalgamation, the native policy of Southern Rhodesia has been the chief stumbling block." The fear that the apartheid policies of Southern Rhodesia will spread via Federation, to Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia is the main argument the African in the two northern territories uses. Make no mistake about it, Southern Rhodesia is a land of apartheid. The account of Southern Rhodesia by C-B is masterly and essential reading for those who doubt whether Southern Rhodesia is really as bad as all that. This is a subject about which C-B knows a great deal and for this section alone the book is invaluable. In the view of a Southern Rhodesian Government Commission report on Africans living in Salisbury, the capital of

Southern Rhodesia we hear that "the overall picture is one of extreme poverty... the majority of the children were living in acute poverty". We have also the views of a New York editor: "The Rhodesian way of life outclasses that of America. Rhodesia's way of life is something so pleasant and comfortable that Americans cannot conceive it. Anyone who says that the American way of life is better, more comfortable or more luxurious is talking nonsense, absolute rubbish". Need I say he was referring to the white Rhodesian; the "partners" are not mentioned.

From my own nightmarish experience of colonists while trapped in the Royal Rhodesia Regiment, I should say that C-B is far too kind to them. "To the average colonist in S.R., an African remains 'the native'; sometimes generously 'the good old native'; sometimes he is 'the munt' or something worse." As someone who was threatened with strangulation by several colonists for saying I had nothing against "mixed" marriages, and having heard Africans referred to as 'Kaffirs', 'Niggers' and 'Wogs' day in and day out for four-and-a-half months, I feel somewhat more bitter about them. For myself I found Rhodesian settlers the foulest, most heartless people I have ever had the misfortune to meet; I found the smiling, dignified Africans admirable, kind and warming people. I feel like a black man when they say: "We have lost faith in the Europeans, missionaries, the Protectorate Government and the Government of the United Kingdom. We don't really trust any European now. They say one thing and mean another. Federation is a trick, and we have been betrayed and cheated."

One can estimate the 'progress' of the civilization that the white man took to Africa: "The first Scottish missionaries lived with our people. They came and slept in our houses and shared our food —and we were dirty then!" Now the African will observe the white man in the house of a black man and believe he has come "to spy and grab the land". Even before the Emergency the Synod of Blantyre states: "the increase in Special Police activities and the widespread employment of police informers, directed against essentially law-abiding people whose only offence is their atti-

tude to Federation, is creating contempt for the law as such. . . . School children are questioned concerning their teachers, prominent visitors with known liberal views have been followed round the country, sermons are the subject of special police reports, no public meetings can be held without informers and detectives present."

Thus having considered Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia and having seen that the imposition of Federation was against the will of the people, we follow C-B into the epilogue which is an account of the Emergencies in the two territories. The path of Fascism is well described and C-B ends: "In Nyasaland a major disaster impends." "Partnership" and Federation, like all things heinous and hypocritical, have failed beyond any shadow of doubt. Yet at Kariba Dam "I saw Africans doing skilled work alongside Italian artisans in conditions where the safety of every individual depends on the competence of those working with them. Obviously there was a spirit of confidence and camaraderie between the Italians and the Africans", so writes an official of the contractors at the Dam. "Have Italians succeeded in partnership where Federal citizens failed?" asks C.B.

In a Postscript the author talks of the Devlin report but has little to add. He does state however that: "I myself believe that the employment of violence in any form is always wrong and an affront to the spirit of both man and God."

Throughout this book we can find a very unusual breed of man—a good Christian—who loves all men. He is a good man and has his heart in the right place, yet his answer for Africa and for Nyasaland I sincerely believe to be wrong. He sees the freeing of Nyasaland as the replacement of European rule by African rule. In C-B's words: "The immediate political aim of Nyasaland nationalism is therefore to create unity through a government representative of the people... the ultimate aim is for full self-government within the British Commonwealth of Nations." Another Ghana. Can they not learn from the errors of others? Will men never learn that governments are representative of themselves and their own interests and NEVER of the people?

R.J.W.

Old Bore's Almanack for 1960

IN the Great World Horoscope the sign of Taurus (the Bull) rises. Many unusual and momentous events of human and of historical importance will occur during the year. People will die who have never died before. Marriages will take place, children will be born.

The political picture for the year 1960 looks a little misty and out of focus. The coalitions or agreement aspect is still predominant in the foundation map of England. Speeches will be made, votes and bribes will be taken.

1960 will be a great year of activity and decision for the teenage youth of the country. They will be eager to push ahead and make the grade. People will get older this year.

Military leaders will make several foolish statements and providing they are not allowed to have a free hand, no harm will result.

Everything will go faster—planes, trains, cars, except in the traffic blocks caused by too many people trying to go fast.

The Kabalistic number for the year 1960 is 16, and this is a very powerful number under the influence of the planet Mars, the planet of mechanics and war. The clash between the various politicians of the world could lead to trouble. But these Martian-ruled political tendencies will be resolved by the politicians in their own peculiar way and the people had better deal with matters in their own way.

It will be a year of action in racing circles. Many horses will win races, more will lose. In financial transactions the same thing will be observed.

People born in January should avoid dying, February birthdays indicate that accidents are likely to cause trouble, those born in March will find financial stringency unpleasant. April births should resist being foolish. May children will find it is unpleasant to be in prison—unless in an official capacity.

People born in June should find that it pays to be healthy. July births should try not to be ignorant. August is a good month to be born in if you decide to breathe.

Those born in September will find that regular eating is conducive to their health. October birthdays will find that drinking (in moderation) helps survival. People born in November will find that being born is a help to the assessment of standards. People born in December should avoid crucifixion.

* * *

JANUARY. The problem of unemployment will be very acute for those suffering from it. It is unlikely to affect others. Profits will be made on the Stock Exchange. More offices will be built. The housing shortage will affect those inconvenienced by it. Venus and Jupiter in conjunction will produce some surprising results. Weather will happen. British emigrants will go abroad and immigrants will arrive here.

FEBRUARY. Nationalisation will cause debates in Parliament. Unemployment will occur in industries where there is little work. Increase of exports by one country will lead to loss of markets by another. Changes in the Cabinet could make a difference to its composition.

MARCH. Crimes will take place. The increase of transport facilities and speeds will lead to an increase in accidents. Russian political intrigue will intensify. American political campaigning will increase. Britain will never cease to promulgate the democratic way of life. Administrations will run into difficulties.

APRIL. Heads of Government will talk. Taxation changes will take place. There will be criticism of the Budget.

MAY. Increased output in factories will lead to an expansion of productive capacity and a consequent necessity for markets. Africa will be torn by racial troubles.

JUNE. Orders for equipment for the

armed services will be placed. Many social amenities will be withheld because of lack of funds.

JULY. There will be industrial activity all over the country. Agricultural work will also take place. Some people will go on holiday.

AUGUST. The number of weddings will increase in conjunction with the number of births. There will be a further increase in the number of people taking holidays and an increase in the number of road-accidents.

SEPTEMBER. The commencement of the Football season will show results. Election fever in the USA will increase.

OCTOBER. The dangers of assassination of unpopular political figures will be very marked.

NOVEMBER. Financial speculations will cause profit to some and loss to others. Droughts will be ended by rain. Foreign policies will show ambivalence and schizophrenia.

DECEMBER. The Christmas spirit will be gay or else. The year 1960 will end in this month.

OLD BORE.

LUNCHEON VOUCHERS NOT TAKEN

THE City, they have been saying in that famous phrase, has never had it so good.

Some broking firms have paid their staffs bonuses of as much as 200 per cent.—or two years' salary. A bonus of 100 per cent. is probably lower than average.

Yesterday I made a tour of some of the plushier lunch havens. That barometer of city prosperity, the business man's lunch, is set fair—very fair indeed.

At one of the newest restaurants, the Cotillion, the manager, Mr. Roger Forster, who gave up hotel management in the South of France "because it was just dead compared with the City," told me: "If this could go on for a thousand years I'd be very happy."

"My firm gave me two years to set this establishment on its feet. After less than a year we're already well in business."

At the Cotillion lunch comes to at least £2 10s. a head if one is fairly moderate, but it is not difficult to run up to double figures. The place is, however, nearly always full.

"Most of our clients are expense-account men. We offer them a top-class lunch without having to battle their way through the traffic to the West End. That saves an hour of valuable time," said Mr. Forster.

"If lunch lasts long it's nearly always a big business lunch. I've signed my name as witness to scores of big contracts."

"We are the only restaurant where every table has a plug-in telephone so that executives can keep in constant touch with their offices."

At the Beaufort Restaurant in the Great Eastern Hotel, where bills average £2 a head, I was told: "Business has been definitely better in the last few months."

At a medium-priced luncheon place, Pimms, in Bishopsgate, Richard Earlan, the manager, reported: "Much more entertaining by business men and their clients. There's certainly more money about."

Dear Editors . . .

Are Anarchists Authoritarian?

I HAVE read the articles of Bob Green and S.F. with some bewilderment. Both of them seem to assume that human nature naturally tends towards authoritarian modes of behaviour and that it cannot be changed. This is the position of all authoritarians, whether of the Left or Right. If one believes this then why bother about anarchism? If an anarchist society needs "a rigid code of laws" it is not an anarchist society anyway. The whole thing seems very confusing.

In view of some the opinions that are expressed in FREEDOM one can understand J.G. asking "Is Anarchism Authoritarian?", and answering himself in the affirmative. Some forms of anarchism appear to be indistinguishable from Trotskyism, or perhaps it would be truer to say that some anarchists are really Trotskyists or opposition Marxists without knowing it.

I believe that human nature is anarchist at bottom, or that it can be made so. There are some good arguments in favour of this belief, but it is based more on a "feeling" than on rational argument. It requires something of an act of faith. Yet without this belief I would not bother with any sort of progressive movement. If I felt that men were basically and unalterably authoritarian I would consider that we lived in the best possible of worlds already.

With regard to reforms, surely these come about more as the result of change in public opinion than as the result of legislation? The legislation can only come into being because public opinion supports it. Laws passed "before their time" remain dead letters. Such was the case with the early Factory Acts.

A change of public opinion can only be brought about by a certain number of people living in the way they believe to be right and influencing others by their example. Cruel sports can only be brought to an end by a number of people refraining from them, and behaving humanely in their daily lives. Duelling ended, not because there were laws against it, there had been laws against it for centuries, but because public opinion could no longer tolerate it. Cruelty begets cruelty and kindness begets kindness. Kindness can spread as readily as cruelty.

(In any case, legislation against fox-hunting would not save the foxes. They

would merely be exterminated by more efficient and equally painful methods).

It is of course a good thing that the anarchist movement permits within itself such vast differences of opinion. But it is a pity that people whose views are not anarchist should call themselves by this name. It leads to confusion. I suggest the expression "libertarian socialist" as a possible alternative.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

★

I should like to thank J.G. for his article two weeks or so ago.

When I first heard of Anarchism I was impressed with its attacks on all forms of government and coercion. I was aware, of course, that there must be a great divergence of opinion on the creative side of Anarchism but I gradually became more and more disturbed to read so much about workers' syndicates, etc., etc., when all I wanted was freedom . . . freedom to do as I think I ought in order to justify my existence.

To live in a society based on mutual trust and perfect equality sounds all very fine, perhaps, but surely there are few men who seriously believe this could be achieved on a wide scale. I don't share those people's optimism for the future for I can only judge the possibilities of such a happening on my own observation and experience. These have shown me how unlikely it is for men to live selflessly. Where do these optimists find their unlimited faith in the labourer and worker? (meaningless words). Even if this kind of society were possible I feel I should find it as unsatisfactory to me as is the present one. It would, I feel, be a life in which there was less room for the dissenter. Non-co-operation with a syndicate would make life extremely unpleasant for the individual concerned. Rule by the mob is more unbearable to the outsider.

Suppose that I believe the only worthwhile thing I wish to do in my life is to paint or write novels. One can well imagine how I would fare in the Anarchist utopia in which endeavour, righteousness, and worthiness is measured by the amount of dirt on a man's hands. Yet surely each of us has the right to decide our own future.

Attack all that prevents man from fulfilling the life he considers he must live; that is the Anarchism I shall sup-

port. I agree that I aim to destroy society in its present form without putting anything in its place, but such is my cynicism of the degree of success attainable I can perceive neither a future ideal state nor chaos, only a long personal struggle for my own freedom.

Yes, one can too easily dismiss this point of view as selfish. If selfishness means doing and living in the way I consider the right way, supposing that which attempts to thwart my individuality, or restricts the growth of what is best in me, then I am selfish without shame.

Yours sincerely,

Romford, Dec. 22 C. K. JESSON

★

J.G. regards anarchists and socialists who look to the future as akin to the Christians, but neither they nor the Christians can have anything on J.G. in utopianism in holding that expression of individuality is possible in an authoritarian State. Any attempt to put into practice his theory of "spontaneous activity" would quickly end in very restricted activity in Her Majesty's goal. His strictures on conscience and duty are irrefutable but pointless, since neither of these bourgeois virtues have any place in anarchist philosophy. He rejects with scorn all thought of the future because "he will not be there". Neither will he ever witness that "positive freedom" arising from the individual anarchism he proudly labels "extreme".

Let J.G. be critical of himself. Can he really give effect to that "full realization" of individuality under existing conditions, and is he not creating an Aunt Sally in his conception of the destructive power of organisation even though entirely voluntary and free of compulsion? If voluntary organisation thwarts the "inner dynamism" which J.G. avers is part of our living selves, all teaching, environmental influences and external experiences must similarly do so if we are to reject all precepts of behaviour and conduct. Like it or not, complete individual autonomy is no more practicable than are Christian ethics. Man is a social animal, depending for existence on contact and unity of action with his species. Only with communal life can liberty ever be attained, because with common ownership of wealth the necessity for authority will end and for the first time, individual liberty be given the opportunity to develop. J.G. describes these prophesies—as he terms them

—as subtle, elevated, pure and moralistic. They are at least realistic, since all brotherly and comradesly sentiment can be eliminated, with the recognition that common and self interest are one. It is surely the individualist who—like the Christians—has lofty aspirations of creating a new Society by changing the "inner self" unmindful of the conditions causing the disease, in the manner of a gardener spraying the plant and leaving the poisoned soil, who is the elevated but puerile moralist, indulging in a mirage of abstract argument leading only to a desert of confusion.

All the divisions in society today arise out of the private ownership of property and governments are necessary only whilst those divisions last. With the end of external authority, the greatest possible measure of freedom to each individual to live in accordance with desire will follow as naturally as the cart follows the horse. Attempts to reverse this sequence must of necessity prove barren and sterile.

To J.G. as to many others, anarchist society is necessarily of the "indefinite future". Perhaps so, but conditions are changing at a phenomenal pace. The measure of past development is not a guide to the future. Possibly J.G. will "be there" after all.

Yours sincerely,

Woldingham, Dec. 18. B.F.

★

Your jubilee hilarity over the defeat of the Labour Party sounds a little odd coming from a Libertarian Socialist group.

You seem to rub your hands with glee over the victory of the Tory Party and the defeat of the Labour Party, not realizing that by those tactics and your pamphlets you played right into the hands of the enemy camp, which places you into the category of Labour baiters, Labour haters, Labour mongers, and all the evils that go with the above.

I wonder if you or any number of workers would like to go back to the heydays of 1939 with the dole and unemployment of those days; or if you have the courage to come out and credit the Labour Party with the reforms they ushered in the first time the Labour Party took office?

St. Louis, U.S.A. BEN CAPES.
Dec. 7th, 1959.

BOMB PROTEST

FREEDOM of movement and expression, as we say so often, are permitted by Governments only if the individual does not over-step the boundaries laid down by the authorities. Immediately this happens, the individual can be made powerless by the force of the state, either by physical or legal violence.

The latter has been invoked against the 20-man Sahara bomb protest team, led by Michael Scott, and now held up by the French police at Bittou in French West Africa. Passports have been impounded while the police await further instructions from Paris.

The keys from the three vehicles have been demanded by the police, but so far the team has refused to part with them. It is possible that their transport will be seized, and in such an eventuality the 20 men intend to carry on on foot.

This will obviously create difficulties for the team, but their determination to carry on may prove that the individual (or a handful of individuals) is not as ineffectual as the authorities might suppose.

DIRECT ACTION COMMITTEE AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR

344 Seven Sisters Road,
London, N.4.

New Year Radical Demonstration at Harrington, 2nd January 1960. This demonstration will go on as planned although the Committee is at present in prison.

OUR American contemporary *Liberation* recently conducted a poll of its readers like, but more complicated than, the correct questionnaire addressed to readers of FREEDOM. 220 people replied, and the results are reported in their November issue. Given the choice of describing themselves as "pacifist", "conscientious objector" and "anarchist", the largest number of readers (64) ticked both "pacifist" and "conscientious objector". Forty-two people accepted the designation of "anarchist", but only seven chose "anarchist" alone. Asked to say which magazines they prefer to *Liberation* 28 wrote "None", another 89 did not list any others. Those magazines which were preferred most frequently to *Liberation* were: *Progressive*—20; *Nation*—17; *Fellowship*—12; *Catholic Worker* 11; *I.F. Stone Weekly*—11; and *FREEDOM*—10. *FREEDOM* is of course, the only non-American periodical in this list. Among the general comments was the one that there was "too much anarchist material", though the report also says that "A number of readers are interested in articles on the history and prospects of pacifism and of anarchism". The report contains much interesting information about the kind of people who read *Liberation*, and makes us confident that, if only enough readers take the trouble to complete and return *FREEDOM*'s less elaborate questionnaire, the effort will be rewarding.

Amateurish

The trouble with most minority papers is that they are not very good as papers, irrespective of their ideology. We all know the reasons why: they are slung together in the spare time of people who don't write for a living, and so on. But it still means they are poor journalism and consequently don't win the loyalty of readers except those who buy them as an ideological duty. Some people of course (though usually the amateurs

End Game

themselves), make a virtue of amateurism, and some readers find it refreshing. A note on the American quarterly *Dissent*, for instances, comments that its charm "does not derive from its conception of socialism, which even its editors consider fuzzy, but rather from a bump-tious lack of style which is refreshing after the customary diet of pseudo-omniscient slicks and faded liberal weeklies. *Dissent*'s proletarian typography and unedited prose convey a rhetoric which suggests the gassy boyishness of the sectarian thirties. . . ." But it does get tedious. To bring things nearer home, the question is: is the task of producing an anarchist paper a problem of journalism or a problem of anarchism? In seeking a larger circulation should we produce a paper which conforms more to the "rules" of successful journalism (I don't mean at the *Daily Mirror* level) or should we produce it as anarchistically as possible? Is the deficit fund an unwelcome necessity or a desirable expression of the relationship between publishers and readers?

Money

To put it in an extreme way, should we aim at a paper which is given away and paid for entirely by donations from readers who think its continued existence desirable, or should we put the price up to something nearer the cost of production? (No-one at all familiar with the problems of publishing would expect it to be possible to produce such a paper at a profit, but at double the price it ought to cover its costs, and donations from readers could then be used for sales promotion, extra pages or the financing of books and pamphlets). Editorial opinion is divided on this point. To some it seems that we should aim at a paper whose income from sales is nearer to its costs. Others prefer the idea of an anarchist paper which could

survive without the need to sell it at an economic price, or to sell it at all. We are wrong, this argument goes, when we perpetuate the idea that people only value what they pay for. It probably does apply now, but it is this attitude that we want to break down just as we want to break down a lot of other attitudes.

Give-away

There was a man in Bristol during the war who used to go to the market place with a barrow loaded with bread to which he invited the public to help themselves; the idea behind his action being that people should come to the view that everyone has a right to live, irrespective of whether they have a job or money. The same, it is suggested, applies to an anarchist paper, and it should be part of our propaganda to make people feel that ideas are free for everybody. If the ideas are good then these people will also think that they should do something about not contributing ideas, but also to the raw materials and production of the paper. This is an impeccably anarchistic argument, but it can also be pointed out that since we are all negligent when it comes to paying out money for the best of reasons, the simplest way to collect people's solidarity is to charge them for their paper, the charge at present made being little more than the cost of a cigarette, even an economic charge being less than the cost of three. Moreover many people prefer not to acquire a moral obligation when they get a newspaper.

The questionnaire, in indicating to what extent readers identify themselves with the paper, may throw some light on this topic, demonstrating, not which approach is right, but at least which is practicable.

TRISTRAM SHANDY.

FREEDOM T.U.C. & THE BOYCOTT

IN FREEDOM (26/12/59) you attack TUC leaders for their double-hypocrisy and corruption in the line they are taking over the question of an industrial boycott of S. African goods. You end on what seems to me a curious innocent note:—"Let us hope that rank and file trade unionists will once again teach their leaders a lesson in the principles they are all supposed to uphold." Yet do you really think that rank and file TU members are less racist in their outlook than their leaders? What do you base this hope that the rank and file will stick to the principles of internationalism? This whole question is so much deeper than you seem aware it is simply running away from the problem to blame the TUC leaders for the state of affairs.

I do not doubt for one minute that rank and file would call for unofficial action with regards to a S. African industrial boycott if they really cared about the fate of their fellow workers in Africa. Yet my own experience of European workers in Africa—where they are more racist than the settlers etc.—is enough for me to laugh at the possibility of workers' action. For heaven's sake let's face facts whether they are pleasant or grim!

Secondly, C.W. in his "Last Journey at the 50's", speaks of Ghana moving steadily towards dictatorship—a statement with which I agree—yet another African state to achieve independence in the 50's, Guinea, has no opposition at all which is surely an even clearer sign of dictatorial intentions. At least Mr. Dumbo, leader of the Opposition in Ghana is able to say that "when Ghana agitated for independence, the country was promised that barbaric British laws would be removed. Instead new and more barbarous laws were added."

And lastly I have a letter from the Liberal Party Organisation, who queried about Mr. Grimond's statements about the possibilities of syndicalism, as they tell me the following which I think warrants the attention of all libertarians: "It may interest you to know that Syndicalism is under careful consideration and will be the subject of several articles in *United* (the Liberal Trade Union journal) early in the new Year." Exactly what Liberals think syndicalism remains to be seen, but it does look as if libertarians might look to the Liberal Party rather than to the Labour Party for hopeful signs, as the agitations of Mr. Jeremy Thorpe seem to show.

St. Maues, Cornwall.
27th December.

R.J.W.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

Meetings now held at
The White Bear (Lounge Bar)
Lisle Street, W.C.2. (Leicester Square)
Every Sunday, 7.30 p.m.

- 1960
- JAN. 3—Tony Gibson on
LOLITA AND SOME PROBLEMS
OF OUR TIME
- JAN. 10—
David Bell on
PRISON EXPERIENCES
- JAN. 17—Philip Holgate on
PARADOX OF ANARCHISM
- JAN. 24—Jack Robinson on
ANARCHISM IN 1960?
- JAN. 31—Charles Humana
PERSONALLY SPEAKING

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