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# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Men only associate in parties by sacrificing their opinions, or by having none worth sacrificing; and the effect of party government is always to develop hostilities and hypocrisies and to extinguish ideas."  
—JOHN RUSKIN

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Threepence

## After Six Months of 'Independence' and U.N. Control FAMINE IN THE CONGO

A READER suggests in a letter which appears in our correspondence columns, that FREEDOM's recent editorials on the United Nations and the Congo crisis though "consistent with anarchist principles" were dealing with a topic with which "it is surely dangerous to be quite so purist". The validity of anarchism, at least as we understand it, is that it is based on common-sense [how well the Oxford Dictionary defines this much abused word! "normal understanding, good practical sense in everyday affairs, general feeling (of mankind or community)"]. In the article "What Hope for the Congo" we did not once use the word *anarchism*, nor did we suggest that "if only" the Congolese people had read the anarchist thinkers all would be well! Instead we quoted extensively from pro-United Nations sources to illustrate our point of view that this organisation, far from promoting peace among the nations cannot help but antagonise relations between them as well as aggravating tensions within nations the moment they take a hand in restoring "law and order". Furthermore it is significant that the United Nations have kept out of Hungary, Kenya and Algeria where more lives have been lost, and in the case of the latter are still being sacrificed, than in the Congo. But then Hungary, Kenya and Algeria are the direct interests of three of the Big Four nations.

is notorious that the U.N.O. is a generous employer and all it has done in the Congo crisis is to hire technical expertise to deal with some of the immediate problems created by the Belgian walk-out. But this is something which the Congolese leaders would have been obliged to do if they had been left to their own devices, and could easily have done if Belgium, a member of the United Nations Organisation, had not drained the Congo of its financial reserves and withdrawn the key technical men as part of a plan to paralyse the "independent" Congo, and so ensure their recall under a new form of colonialism which would have bypassed the dangers of an Algerian campaign. Surely one cannot overlook the fact that the crisis of survival in the Congo has been created by Belgium, a member of the United Nations? And when one does not it is difficult to be anything but cynical as to the effectiveness of that organisation's efforts on behalf of the Congolese. Even Mr. Hammarskjold in his statement to the U.N. Council referred to the development of "private armies" in the Congo which could not have been possible "without some outside financial assistance."

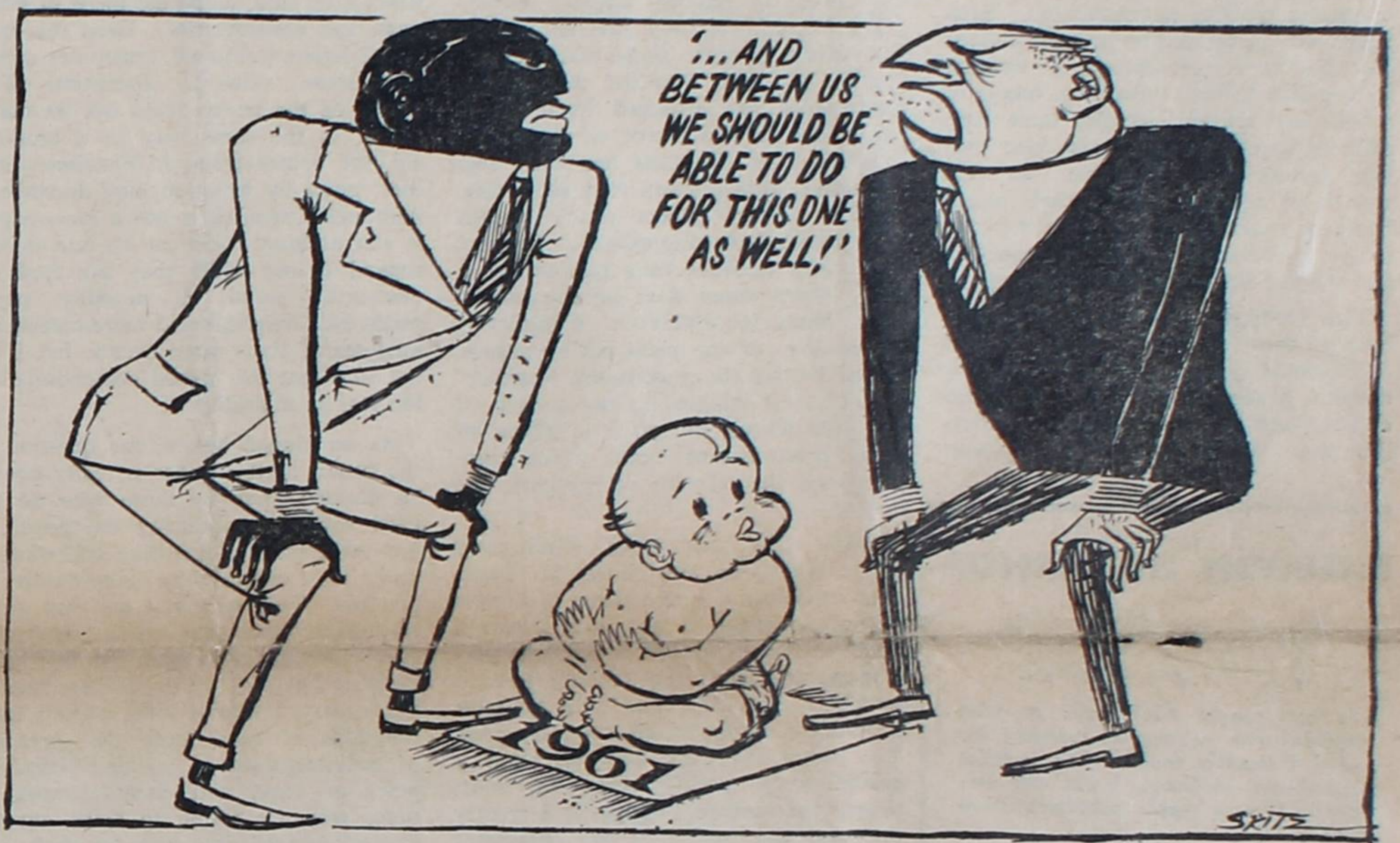
UNITED Nations intervention in the Congo aggravated, to our minds, the power political struggle

in the Congo. So on the one hand, whilst our correspondent can show by quoting Prof. Ritchie Calder, that countless lives are being saved as a result of the intervention of medical and technical experts employed by U.N. agencies, we can point to the fact that the tribal upheavals, to which Ritchie Calder also refers,

may well have been avoided had the political ambitions of the Tsombes, the Lumumbas, Kasavubus, the Gizengas and Mobutus not been fed by financial and other means by Belgium, U.S.A., Russia, Ghana and other powers, all members of the United Nations Organisation. These tribal upheavals, as our

correspondent may be aware if he reads the *Daily Herald*, is costing the lives of 200 people a day in the Kasai province, where 300,000 have sought refuge in a 400 square mile triangle and will find death if food supplies are not forthcoming soon. The British Press which last July plastered its headlines with the terrible fate of the Belgian "colons" who fled the country has, with the honourable exception of the *Daily Herald*, nothing much to say of the plight of thousands of Congolese children and adults who are being

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### LETTER FROM FRANCE

## De Gaulle's 'Direct Democracy'

GENERAL DE GAULLE shares the Anarchists' contempt for Parliamentary politics and the reverence for "direct democracy".\* There, however, the parallel ends. For Anarchists, direct democracy means the right of the people to decide on what is good for them, without interference from above. For General de Gaulle, direct democracy is the

obligation for the people directly to approve of what He has decided is good for them.

Since the chief function of any referendum is to induce people to forego their rights to self-determination and reinforce the State while giving them the illusion that they are in fact exerting their rights, and since they have in any case no say in the choice of the question that is put to them, any referendum is at best a dishonest and anti-democratic form of "democracy". De Gaulle has used that gimmick throughout his political career to reinforce his prestige and his power. From the very first day of his come-back in 1958, he has endeavoured to appear as the benign yet authoritarian father-figure into whose hands the nation could (and did) confidently entrust its fate. His use of the referendum has amounted to a sort of blackmail, which has been effective even with people of the Left: "either you do as Daddy says, or Daddy will leave you to be eaten by the naughty Fascists." Now that, owing to his failure to put an end to the Algerian war, his prestige is waning, de Gaulle has once more decided to resort to his favourite conjuring trick.

This time, however, the trick proves even more dishonest than before, as is shown by the wording of the question. It consists of a single sentence which includes two queries and admits of only one answer—a global "aye" or "no": "Do you approve of self-determination for the Algerian populations and of the organisation of public administration in Algeria previous to self-determination?" The majority of the French people would no doubt wish to answer "yes" to the first part of the question, not through any deep concern for "the right of every nation to govern itself", but because they are tired of the war and know that peace can only come through

independence for Algerians. But the sham-independence that is to be granted to the Muslims by the French government is most unlikely to satisfy anyone, whether in France or in Algeria, and that is why people would be very doubtful about the second part of the question. De Gaulle's purpose is to blackmail them into voting "aye" to the second part as well, for fear of seeming to be voting "no" to the first part of the question. What he is thus asking for, is not the approval of a definite policy (both the approval and the disapproval would be as ambiguous as the question itself), but the approval of his own person, one may say of his own figure, as the sole protector and unquestioned head of the Family.

Feeling, no doubt, that the projected semi-autonomous administration mentioned in the referendum-text has already been nipped in the bud by the bloody clashes that occurred during his last visit to Algeria, the General is now trying to give out, by means of hints and leaks, that he would interpret a massive vote in favour of his project as a massive "aye" to negotiation with the rebels, and that he would make it his business to engage in such negotiations immediately after the results were proclaimed. This, again, is a shameless demagogical trick. For the General knows perfectly well that the bulk of the population here is in favour of talks with the rebels as being the only way to peace. If de Gaulle really wishes to test the people's readiness for such a step, why does he not alter the text of the second question? And if he really wishes to prove that he himself is eager to negotiate peace, why does he not attempt to do it before the referendum instead of after it?

Whatever his reasons for not wishing to do either of these things now, his obstinacy is surely to be partly ascribed to his paternal and authoritarian out-

look: "First of all", he seems to be saying, "vote as daddy tells you, and if you are good, daddy will give you a nice negotiation." The same is true of his attitude to the rebels. There is no doubt that de Gaulle sincerely wants the war to end—mainly because its prolongation is impairing his prestige both at home and abroad. He is also quite aware that any settlement must satisfy the F.L.N. before peace can be effectively restored. But, in his monarchical way, de Gaulle does not care to make peace with his opponents, he means to grant it to his subjects. And those who might be tempted to interpret his latest speech (in which he says, as he has done before, that "We are always ready to receive the delegates of those who are fighting us") as an explicit invitation to the F.L.N. leaders, would do well to remember that those "delegates" were already invited in the same manner and took the General's word for it, but were in fact so system-

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## FRANCO'S PRISONERS

FROM Spain there has, recently come a reminder that, 21 years after the end of the Civil War, there are men still in prison for their ideas. It has come in the shape of a pamphlet (price 1/6d.) issued by the Spanish Ex-Servicemen's Association which tells in restrained and dignified language of their continual persecution and the denial of their most elementary rights.

The two documents which comprise the pamphlet were compiled by the political prisoners of Burgos Central Prison. In this prison alone there are 399 political prisoners. Of these 4 are serving sentences of 60 years, several sentences of 40 and 50 years, many sentences of 30 years, and the rest sentences ranging from 1 to 29 years. Together with previous imprisonments, over 50 have already spent 20 years or more in prison. What a glorious addition to the gallant defenders of the 'free world' is Franco's régime . . .

Mere statistics cannot convey what their sufferings are really like. As in all prisons, the inmates of Burgos Central have to endure a thousand petty humiliations and in-

sults. Lack of heat, denial of adequate correspondence facilities, refusal of communication with their lawyers, extremely restricted visiting—these are some of the indignities inflicted upon them by their jailers. Well might the political prisoners demand, in their letter to the Minister of Justice, ". . . treatment and conditions . . . which correspond to our status as men of ideals . . . who happen to be separated from the rest of the community for the offence of political opposition."

The political prisoners of Burgos Central are not content, however, to demand merely an improvement in their prison conditions. They also demand "an amnesty for all Spanish political prisoners and exiles". This is a demand which deserves the widest possible support and solidarity. In a world such as ours we cannot be sanguine that it will succeed, but if we cease to protest at injustice we cease to be human. A new year is customarily a time for resolutions. Let us resolve that Franco's prisoners shall not be forgotten!

S. E. PARKER.

### What's in a Name : Non-Violent Action Against the Algerian War

The following appeared in the *Parisian daily Le Monde* on Dec. 20, 1960:

Several young members of Non-Violent Civic Action group were arrested on Thursday in Paris while demonstrating in favour of their comrade Jack Muir, who had been imprisoned for refusing to serve in the army. (. . .) They were placed under custody, not without difficulty since they had bound themselves to one another with chains and had locked them on to the railings of the Cluny museum gardens. After unbinding them, the police had to drag them by the arms owing to their refusal to walk. Two young girls who were distributing leaflets were arrested on the same charges.

When asked to give their identity, all fourteen defendants successively gave the answer that they were called Jack Muir. They bore no identification documents. (. . .)



# What Kind of Paper?

AN article by C.W. deals mainly with the question of the interval at which FREEDOM should appear. Should it continue to be a weekly, or should it change to a fortnightly or a monthly?

Occasional and erratic contributors such as I, should not really have much say in the matter. The regular appearance of the paper for so many years, with so little financial resources and depending entirely on voluntary workers, has been the achievement of a comparatively small group of people who had had the capacity for a steady and sustained effort. The interval at which the paper appears must depend on those who are prepared to undertake the responsibility for it.

If, however, the resources of manpower for producing a weekly newspaper are still available, could it be that these resources might be used more effectively in producing the paper at a less frequent interval? C.W. has given some interesting data showing the recent tendency for weeklies to die and monthlies to flourish. I think that we may, with reasonable reservations, look upon the world of journals and newspapers as upon a plant ecology. If you study a patch of ground you will usually find it inhabited by not just one species of plant, but by a variety of species growing in association. Such plants are living partly in competition; according to certain changes in weather some plants tend to crowd out others of a different species. At the same time different species of plant may also provide conditions favourable for the growth or reproduction of their neighbours of other species. Hence we tend to get a balance between competition and mutual aid in any plant ecology.

The readership survey of FREEDOM revealed much the same thing. Readers of FREEDOM tend to subscribe to a fairly definite group of papers. The same dailies, weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies were mentioned with remarkable

regularity. Some of these papers have contributed directly to increasing the readership of FREEDOM, e.g. by advertisement in the *New Statesman*. Also, journals do effect some modification in their readers' outlook. Beginning to read the *Guardian* and the *Observer* in place of the *Daily Express* and the *Sunday Times* might produce continued change in a person's outlook so that he would eventually become alive to the merits of FREEDOM. In the same way, a reader of *Reynolds News* who began to take FREEDOM might well become dissatisfied with *Reynolds News* as a Sunday paper and change to the *Observer* because the latter is written more intelligently. Newspapers undoubtedly compete with one another; few people take two daily newspapers or two Sunday newspapers. (The exception to this is the *News of the World* which has an enormous sale to readers of other Sunday newspapers—presumably because of its unrivalled pornography). Again, weeklies which are somewhat similar in character, such as the *New Statesman* and the *Spectator* are real rivals and tend to replace one another.

FREEDOM is unique as a weekly paper. I doubt if any significant number of people give up reading FREEDOM because they take up reading another weekly paper instead. If they give up reading FREEDOM it is more likely that they are just fed up with it rather than that a rival paper has attracted them. It is partly due to this factor of its unique character that FREEDOM has been able to survive, although run on a shoestring, while so many papers which seemed more stable, have disappeared. The fact that many weeklies have packed up in fairly recent times does not necessarily auger badly for FREEDOM. Considering the analogy of the plant ecology again, it may be that the present-day "weather" is not at all inimical to the growth of our little flower, though it is killing off many profit-making weeds which compete with the telly to fill people's idle hours.

While C.W. has made some good points about the possibilities for FREEDOM becoming a better paper if it were to appear only at monthly intervals, there are nevertheless some strong psychological reasons for keeping it as a weekly if possible. The lives of most people are conducted on a weekly plan. The routine of work and recreation is geared to a weekly cycle; for most people the economic budget is a weekly one and the week-ends are significant milestones in the progress of the big cycle of the year. There is even some slight evidence to show that therapy is

## Discussion Page

most effective if applied at weekly intervals, rather than at arbitrary intervals of time. I suspect that FREEDOM, coming in time for the week-end leisure reading, gains the added influence of a beneficial habit. Many readers must come to expect FREEDOM to be part of the general atmosphere of Saturday, and would miss it very definitely if it did not arrive. If, however, it were only a monthly publication, it would not be bound up with so clear a pattern of events which is being regularly repeated.

I am not suggesting that the weekly paper is the equivalent of the food pellet regularly administered to the animal in a conditioning experiment. I think that we all generally like some sort of regularity in our habits. Personally, if I fail to read the *Observer* on Sunday I find that I just never read it, as it gets crowded out by the demands of the week-days. If FREEDOM did not arrive as regularly as Saturday, I think it likely that the reading of it would be crowded out for quite a number of people whose interest is marginal. Although FREEDOM as a weekly is sometimes a bit thin, it has the merit of being open and controversial. Even the daftest of letters published sometimes stimulate some valuable discussion. This aspect of the paper could not be maintained in the same way in a monthly e.g. the controversies in *Encounter* lose their point by being so long drawn out. Although FREEDOM is not a news-paper, it can at least comment on and debate topical events while they are fresh in everyone's mind. A monthly paper might give weightier and more considered analyses of these same events, but I am not sure that this would compensate for the loss in topicality.

As mentioned before, the question of the future of this paper is really one to be decided upon by those who do the hard work of producing the paper. I feel none the less that they will want to know the feelings of as many readers as possible. This was not a question which was asked specifically in the readership survey at the beginning of this year. Looking again at the replies received in this survey, I interpret the paper's main functions as being both the spreading of enlightenment as to the libertarian point of view, and encouragement of those who are trying to work out the implications of anarchism in their own lives. This seems to me to be fulfilled best by the present weekly form of the paper.

SIR,

In my first letter I contended (a) That "alienation" is not necessarily a mental malady; (b) That to attempt to explain this or any of the wide variety of irrational behaviour endemic to man by means of something called the "unconscious" (in which events can occur) is to presuppose the existence of that thing; (c) That since this unconscious is, in principle, unobservable, proof of its existence is not to be found in its explanatory power, however immense, or solely in supporting evidence. Empirical facts, being contingent, have a conceivable negation, and therefore the evidence which would disprove the existence of the unconscious should be conceivable for it to qualify for status as a fact of the world; (d) This is the only sure way of being able to distinguish between fact and fantasy in the non-observable world. To lose this ability is dangerous as it would undermine both our freedom and reason, since they are mutually dependent concepts; (e) A sick mankind's only sure safeguard against its dangerous irrational impulses is reason (a weak voice, Freud held, but a persistent one).

Uloth, in his desultory reply, objects to these points, but answers none of them. 1. He tells us that he does not regard the unconscious as an entity, and spends the next three paragraphs showing that he does (no-one, by the way, is "forced" to use anthropomorphic expressions). He seems to think that the "undeniable fact" of irrational behaviour (who is denying it, anyway?) entails the existence of the unconscious, which it obviously does not. 2. We are next told that because of the enunciations of a Greek philosopher, our capacities for being aware of our own subjective experiences have been seriously impaired—without noticing (i) that to have a subjective experience entails being aware of it, and (ii) that the criterion for having had the subjective experience is simply having been aware of it. 3. Fromm's comment (which Uloth quotes) on Aristotle's Second Axiom, is ignorant, invalid and irrelevant (the Law of Contradiction is, after all, only a part of Aristotle's Logic, and that, in turn, is only a very minor part of general logic). We are dealing here with matters of fact, not logic. 4. As for "ambivalence", my psychological dictionary defines it as "involving the alteration of opposite feelings . . .". But however Uloth (or his dictionary) defines it, I would certainly deny that a person can experience any two feelings (let alone contradictory ones) with exact simultaneity. 5. I share, passionately, Uloth's naive belief in

Original Goodness. Unfortunately, belief, however passionate, never amounts to proof.

In general: Psycho-analysis is a theology, not a therapy. It works in terms of belief and faith rather than proof and verification. It explains everything and predicts nothing. It cures nobody (neurotics who, from sheer pressure of business, are unable to receive any treatment at all, have the same recovery rate as those undergoing psycho-analysis). Its data are never objective and are therefore unreliable. Nevertheless every issue is prejudged by mixing the data and the interpretation. Violent extrapolations have been made from a few ill people in one social milieu to manking in general in any social milieu.

Throughout history, intellectuals have contorted the facts of the world to fit their fantasies of how it ought to be. Where they have succeeded in infecting ordinary superstitious men with these subjective myths, they have exercised immense power. We have progressed from witch doctors with their totems, through an infinity of evil spirits, down to saints with their Original Sin, all disseminating maelstroms of suffering in order to maintain these dreams. Ordinary people cannot be allowed to remain simply ordinary. If they are not chosen, then they are unchosen. If there is nothing extraordinary about their outsiders, then they must be stuffed with something special inside. Nowadays we all have an unconscious. You cannot, in principle, know anything about it yourself; you must go to a "specialist", with his elaborate esoteric training, for that, and he is soon running your life.

Against this perennial disease stands the anarchist spirit (these remarks *apropos* your other correspondent, H. W. Heason and his call for "constructiveness"). Intellectually a sceptic, emotionally an adventurer, if the anarchist can claim little of the architecture on the mental horizon, it is because he has discovered how often the buildings turn out to be prisons. And if he sometimes appears to have a neurotic objection to walls in general, this is because he has so rarely discovered them to be sound. Often he is scorned for being only a navy, a demolisher. But if he succeeds in doing nothing more than help clear the ground a little, he will not consider his efforts to have been completely wasted.

Yours, etc.,

London, Nov. 29. JOHN ARCHER

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# Why I did not Sign the so-called 'Manifesto of the 121'

I WOULD have preferred not to dwell on the situation of an endless struggle, which for more than six years has had thousands of individuals at grips with one another, victims, whether they know it or not, of authoritarian political and social organisations.

It is impossible for me to choose between this French democracy and this government of national independence. To me the objectives of both sides are equally dubious. Then why choose one side rather than another? I have no desire to.

But now certain anarchists associate themselves with the spirit that guides the different pro-Algerian activities. I have to explain myself. I did not sign the Manifesto of the 121. I do not want to associate myself with it. This is why: I am against war, all wars: national, independence, civil or libertarian wars.

I am against organised violence, of whatever sort it may be, or from whatever source it comes.

I am for non-violence. That does not mean to say that I am for a resistance of a purely passive kind. I am for an active resistance with all that implies in a struggle by means of non-violent direct action against oppressors and exploiters.

What then does it matter under what flag the crusade is organised? Without doubt certain people will smile at the thought of the utter futility of such a stand as mine. But before judging it, let them re-read the writings of the principle anarchist theoreticians, both revolutionary and syndicalist. I am sure that they will find among them all the teaching that they need to be able to make deliberate use of non-violent methods. Certainly one is able to bring

in some corrections of detail, in view of the present-day situation, but pacifism and non-violent action will only be strengthened by them.

Indeed, for more than half a century, the strikes, insurrections and revolutions, all unsuccessful battles, have shown the uselessness of violence in the construction of a new form of society on the road to Freedom. Violence is a form of authority, and what an authority! We cannot erect it into a principle.

The Manifesto of the 121 insists on there being a real difference between the two belligerent powers, and obliges us to choose one side rather than the other. It is even added that for the Algerians—let us say some—a war of national independence appears to justify a struggle carried on by military means. In view of this, I am forced to declare myself in complete disagreement. I am not going to march in this new alliance, and I invite my friends to reflect on it.

For it would be too easy to support this war, under the fallacious pretext of a war of independence. This sort of attitude would suit the war-makers down to the ground. Every such war would then become praiseworthy and justifiable.

I know only too well the old refrain. It is not new for us total pacifists. It is only necessary to remember 1914 and 1940. Let us not be duped anew. Let us not accept the role of justifying the unjustifiable by reasons of state, whether the state in question is an old one or a new up-and-coming one. Provisional governments only await their hour, when they can instal themselves and consolidate their authority.

We would look fine then, after having sided in the installation of a new lot of politicians who were seeking jobs. At

present the process is in full swing. As F. Challaye wrote, in the paper *The Voice of Peace*, "the Jeanson organisation has been legally defined: an organisation of support for the F.L.N."

It is very natural to desire the triumph of the Algerian revolt. We support it wholeheartedly. We support this revolt because we are against colonialism and imperialism. But it is, as F. Challaye says, a matter of a military revolt. "An army has formed to oppose the French Army, using, like it, the weapon of terror, both against the occupying power and against the recalcitrant Algerians themselves. Since we condemn all armies and all war, we have neither to fight nor to support the fellaghas, nor the Jeanson organisation." I share this sentiment entirely.

In any case the Manifesto of the 121 reflects a position entirely incompatible with our pacifist and anti-militarist ideal. "For the Algerians the struggle, whether pursued by military or diplomatic means, does not permit of any equivocation. It is a war of national independence."

Now, it so happens that I am not a marxist, and I do not approve of the war of independence so dear to the disciples of Lenin. I am an anti-militarist. I cannot accept a struggle pursued by military means, and even less one pursued by diplomatic means. I do not wish to associate myself with heads of State.

If I wish that numerous deserters refuse to play the game of the politicians, this wish is for me a total, not a one-way thing, and I understand that the Jeanson organisation and *Jeune Résistance* were in a state of solidarity and mutual aid with the deserters of both sides.

Neither can I approve of these differ-

ent assassination attempts, which make numerous innocent victims, as did those only yesterday in the Resistance.

I cannot agree to the obligation of enrolling oneself in the liberation army, nor this other duty of paying dues. To begin with, all that ought to be voluntary. One ought not to imitate one's adversary. We cannot accept this definition of duties.

For decades we have tried to tear the youth out of the grip of militarism and totalitarianism. One must not, just because the thing presents itself in the form of a stupid war of independence, embark on a manifesto that recalls the spirit of the Manifesto of the 16, which has for us anarchists so sad a memory.\*

In fact, what do we appear to be in this new adventure? What becomes of our ideal in all that? From compromise to compromise, we are dragged towards the acceptance of a war for oil. For beyond the French and Arab nationalists there is simply war, and it is that which ought to preoccupy us. We must keep a cool head, know where we stand, above all when situations as tragic as this have to be faced.

If we have reservations about the methods to be followed, nothing can or ought to divide us on the ends to be attained for the peace of Algeria. Equivocation is only possible for those who refuse to take a stand, or who beat about the bush. We know what Peace signifies, the total absence of war. "The solution," wrote G. Leval, "resides in the fraternal co-existence of two collectives, and in the association of Algeria and France and the greatest possible number of countries able to give help in econo-



## Famine in Congo

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left to die, not because there is not the food in the world (*Guardian* headline December 20: "World Wheat Crop second largest on record") but for political, United Nations, reasons.

We quote from the *Daily Herald*:

"It is the cold war that is preventing food and medical supplies reaching the Congo in quantities massive enough to halt starvation.

Britain, the United States and Russia have the supplies and the aircraft to carry them to the Congo within a matter of hours.

But, a spokesman of the International League of Red Cross Societies in Geneva told the *Herald* last night:

"It is policy that only smaller nations should aid the Congo. Nothing must be done to increase tension there."

The scale on which the smaller nations can help can be gathered from two sample facts.

Yesterday a Danish aircraft with six tons of powdered milk aboard left Leopoldville, the capital of the Congo, for the stricken area. It was estimated that the consignment will provide rather less than one ounce a head for the people in direst need.

Tomorrow a Norwegian transport plane leaves Oslo with another six tons of food. It will not arrive until Monday.

By then 600 people are almost certain to have died. For deaths from starvation in the South Kasai province are running at the rate of 200 a day.

At least 100,000 people are believed to be suffering from extreme hunger. They belong to the Baluba tribe who fled the North and the West after a series of massacres.

Fear at UN headquarters of increasing tension between the big Powers is also holding up medical aid.

A mere 50 Red Cross workers, all from the smaller countries, are in the Congo. They are working tirelessly. But they are too small a band to stem the tide of suffering.

The British Red Cross Society told the *Herald* last night: "We want to help, but we haven't been asked." Nor has America. Nor has Russia.

We want to help, but we haven't been asked . . . Is that to be the epitaph on the graves of the children in the Congo?

"Nothing must be done to increase tension there". That is the irony of the whole dirty business! And whilst it is almost inevitable that as things are organised at present, aid to the Congo will come through the United Nations Agencies, there is no reason to get all starry-eyed about that organisation as a result, for after all it was also largely responsible in the first place for complicating the political issues in the Congo. And the starving thousands of the Kasai are the visible result of power politics within the "United Nations".

## Manifesto of the I21

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mic matters and the practice of freedom."

Our road to Peace does not change its course according to deplorable opportunities. We are and we remain against all wars and all preparations for wars.

That is brief, and it does not permit any compromise with our reason and our conscience.

HEM DAY,

\*Translator's Note: The Manifesto of the 16 was signed by fifteen well-known anarchists, including Jean Grave and Peter Kropotkin. (The name of the home of one of the signatories was mistakenly taken for another signature, hence the name). The Manifesto was in support of the First World War. Written by Grave and Kropotkin it blamed Germany for the militarism in Europe.—A.W.U.

## Public Schools and Socialism

THE Public Schools are one of several outstandingly British institutions whose total effect are very difficult to evaluate.

Among the others are the Church of England, the Monarchy and the House of Lords. All these institutions seem to have little legal or numerical power, they are continually being subjected to pressures to make them more democratic and better fitted for life in the twentieth century, but they continue to exist, and it is difficult to avoid the feeling that they have some kind of power and influence that escapes the analysis of elementary political theory on the left.

This is particularly noticeable when one looks at the post-war progress of the Public Schools, and the private educational system in general. The Education Act of 1944, a dreary document though it is, was greeted by democratic educationalists as a great, adventurous step forward, in which everyone could join full of faith in the future. Its basic idea was of an educational ladder, on which every child would have an equal opportunity of climbing from the bottom rung to the top. (The educational world, including its Royal Commissions and Select Committees, is the one in which such banal similes flourish most).

Fees for Grammar Schools were abolished, and their whole capacity thrown open to children selected by the eleven plus exam. It was made possible, as it still is, for a child who passes that exam. to be admitted to a school where he or she would receive tuition on as high a level as could be bought, for nothing. Since people do not usually pay several hundred pounds a year for what they can get free, it was naively thought in some quarters that this would mean the abolition, or at least the withering away, of the public and private school systems.

This withering away has certainly taken place in the backwoods of the private school world, where little schools run by incompetent teachers, whose sole reason for existence was to sell snob value at an exorbitant price, with disastrous effects on the children, have folded

up by the dozen.

For the big public schools however, the situation is quite the opposite, for like big businessmen and TV advertisers, they "have never had it so good". Although their fees are all in the three to four hundred pound range, they are fully booked up for the next decade and a half, and children have to be put on the waiting lists at birth or shortly after. One imagines the anxious father waiting outside the hospital with his fast car running; "Well darling, is it to be Eton or Roedean?"

There have been several changes since the war which has effected Public School organisation. The Fleming Committee which presented its report in 1942 proposed that a system of scholarships should be organised to enable children of non-moneyed families to attend these schools. That led to a small number of "guinea pig" situations, and the conclusion that middle class origin is a real handicap for someone on his way to the top, provided he gets the right education between thirteen and eighteen. A less sensational but more widespread innovation brought about by the 1944 Act was the establishment of the category of Direct Grant Grammar Schools. These schools vary from the Public School type to the Grammar type, but instead of being controlled by the Local Education Authority they have a large degree of independence, and receive finance direct from the government. In return for this they have to accept some representatives of the L.E.A. on the governing body, and to take a certain proportion of children at nominal fees.

More important than these legislative innovations however, are the changes which the Public Schools have been making themselves. These have included a large dose of what one could call public relations. They have made a determined attempt to present a new image in which they appear as a force leading the country in the direction of progress, instead of being a bastion of conservatism. One of the important features of this mood has been the rapid swing towards scientific education which they

## De Gaulle's 'Direct Democracy'

Continued from p. 1

atically humiliated at Melun that they went back convinced that de Gaulle had never seriously meant to negotiate—his terms practically amounted to demanding total capitulation. Now, there is no evidence whatsoever in his latest speech that the General has changed his mind about these conditions, and as long as they offer no explicit guarantee of goodwill and recognition, de Gaulle's peace-proposals will remain as pointless as his referendum, and therefore just as demagogical. Yet, this contempt for the people is perhaps what the people like—total lack of responsibility is what they seem to enjoy most and it is probable that, for the referendum, the Ayes will outnumber the Noes by 3 to 1.

★

THIS is not the place to dwell at length upon the complexities of French political life. But, to anarchists, the attitude of the political parties with regard to the referendum is interesting, not in itself, but as a typical case-study of party politics. As was to be expected, the extreme Right and even some politicians of the Centre-right, under cover of condemning de Gaulle's dictatorial ambitions, will in fact stand up against his anti-colonial policy, and vote "No". So will the Left, in order to protest against both the Algerian policy and the political methods of the General. Now, if the politicians of the Left had been really concerned with principles instead of power, surely they would have felt that an answer which coincides with that of the Fascists and colonialists is, in the present circumstances, somewhat disturbing; they would have realised that now or never is the time to cut themselves loose from the electoral trickery on which the present anti-democratic régime is thriving, and would unhesitatingly have launched a huge campaign for massive abstention. This, the parties of the Left did not dream of doing. And, for us anarchists, that too was to be expected: the Left-wing politicians have been taken in, not by the General's scheming, but by their own. In a way, it would even be possible to say that de Gaulle is more straightforward in his methods than they are. True enough, there is a double implication in the single answer which he demands from the electorate, bearing both on a principle and on a policy which is obviously at odds with

it. But then, the same is true of every election, whether it is a general election or the election of a General. Every electoral choice has a double implication: one of principle, one of politics; one of appearance, one of reality. Every candidate pretends to be standing for a principle, but when the voters vote for that principle, they are in fact electing an individual who will then carry out a policy which suits his own ambition and interest and has most of the time nothing to do with the proclaimed principle. The text of de Gaulle's referendum, precisely because it is blatantly ambiguous, has at least the merit of laying bare that fundamental equivocation. The politicians of the Left are, naturally enough, quite eager to point it out with self-righteous indignation, but what they are bent on hiding is that all "democratic" elections are based on the same swindle: if people were called upon to abstain from voting, they might start asking distasteful questions, they might eventually realise that between de Gaulle's electoral dishonesty and that of the political parties there may be differences of degree, there is no difference in kind.

To answer "no" to an absurd question is not to answer its absurdity—it is to enter the system of its absurd logic. The only decent and effective attitude would be to refuse to answer it.

But the politicians of the Left may well claim to be fighting for reason, democracy, justice and peace; they are above all interested in displacing the boys at the top. They may well fear and despise de Gaulle and his semi-dictatorial régime, they are in the same game as he is—and their chances of success, just as his own, depend on their respective ability to fool people into trusting their wisdom and foregoing their own freedom of choice and decision. That is why the electoral swindle must be kept up. That is why the left-wing Puritans will mix their votes and their "noes" with those of the right and the fascists, rather than face the risk of jeopardising their own political career by meeting that impossible question with the only possible answer—which is neither "aye" nor "no" but: "ask me another." C.D.

\*These words have actually been used to describe the present régime by the Minister of (censored) Information, M. Terrenoire!

have been effecting, assisted by large sums of money provided by industrial capitalist firms.

The way in which the private sector of education has adapted itself to the opportunity state is a lesson in the process by which the hierarchical power structure of a society changes to preserve itself.

The main belief behind the Public School philosophy seems to be one of training people for leadership. This is achieved by crushing the young boy's personality with a mass of regulations and pointless discipline, on the grounds that future leaders have first to learn to obey, and then to present them with opportunities to rise to leadership and get their own back by inflicting submission on other children. The classical education which was so famous up to the recent war was the equipment needed for the task of leadership, and as the nature of the task changes, so does the equipment. The Public Schools are noted for their Christian tradition; a useful mystique for justifying the leadership attitude to life and stressing the importance of spiritual and mystical values which is necessary in a society where human values are crushed so ruthlessly.

It is a matter for social concern therefore, to see the Public School system flourishing as never before, and above that, establishing itself amongst all sections of the population. Now, every little business concern can hope to get an ex Public School boy on its staff to

help it compete in the prestige field; and every professional man has a chance of seeing his children helped up by direct grant finance or special scholarships, to find his place in the élite.

The Socialist attack on private education is, as one would expect, concerned with symptoms rather than with facts. Although the party itself has a hands off policy, Victory for Socialism boasts its revolutionary point of view by demanding the abolition of private education. Its arguments are that the old boys have a grip on national life which is self-perpetuating because a board of old boys will always choose one of their own kind for a position of importance. It is admitted, in other words, that private education functions in order to provide power holders for a society dominated by a hierarchy. If this provision was not made by the Public Schools it would be made by some other agency having similar functions. Power élites always do the best they can to perpetuate themselves, whether they include education as a method or not.

What the socialists are really objecting to, as well as the anarchists, is the power élite society. That can only be ended by a direct attack, and not by measures that only cause it to adapt itself better, as the Public Schools are doing through their public relations campaigns. It is a more important issue to fight with every possible means against the insidious spread of upper class values throughout the whole of society, that is taking place down through the educational hierarchy.

P.H.

## BOOKS

### ODDS AND ENDS

A number of unrelated topics that follow earlier reviews in FREEDOM.

\* \* \*

Colin MacInnes' *Mr. Love & Justice* (MacGibbon & Kee, 15s.) is the third of his picaresque London novels (the other two were reviewed last November). The separate careers of a policeman and a ponce converge in hospital, where the apparent enemies discover how much they have in common. There is the familiar documentary treatment of contemporary urban society, but this time the author's vitality seems to have flagged and the message is too obtrusive for the reader to enjoy the story. MacInnes is in danger of getting stuck in a rut, but he is still an excellent journalist—see his article in the Christmas number of *Queen*, which is the best of many on England today.

\* \* \*

Simon Raven's *Doctors Wear Scarlet* (Blond, 16s.) is also the third in a series (the other two were revised last January—see the back of the jacket!), and is also a disappointment. The moralistic fantasy this time deals with vampirism; a too perfect young man who is afflicted by metaphysical blood-suckers goes off to the Isles of Greece and gets his own back by becoming a genuine blood-sucker. Not only is this a bit far-fetched, even for this strange author, but the people and places do not come alive as they did before. E. M. Forster and Dennis Wheatley are bad mixers anyway. Raven too is in danger of getting stuck in a rut, but he too is an excellent journalist—see his article about male prostitutes in the November *Encounter*.

Harold Pinter's *The Caretaker*, whose Arts Theatre production and *Encore* edition were reviewed last June, is still running at the Duchess Theatre in a slightly expurgated form—e.g. "arse-hole" has become "coal-hole"—and has been published in a good paperback edition (Methuen, 3s. 6d.). There is a similar edition of his other, more obscure, plays.

Arnold Wesker's *I'm Talking About Jerusalem*, the third part of his Trilogy (which was reviewed in October), has been published in a separate paperback edition (Penguin, 2s. 6d.), as *Roots* was last year. His play *The Kitchen*, which is not part of the Trilogy, is included in *New English Dramatists: 2* (Penguin, 3s. 6d.), as are two not-so-new plays by N. F. Simpson and John Osborne.

Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World*, which was reviewed earlier this month, is now running at St. Martin's Theatre, and is printed in the Everyman edition of Synge's works (Dent, 7s. 6d.).

\* \* \*

*The New University*, the Oxford undergraduate magazine which was reviewed earlier this month, is being brought out fortnightly, four times a term, twelve times a year (6d. a copy, 10s. annual subscription, from 129 Walton Street, Oxford). Its standard and circulation are both rising.

\* \* \*

*Lady Chatterley's Lover*, which Penguin Books published on November 10th, sold out at once. A second impression is on the way, and it is said that the publishers received orders for a million copies within a week. Pity Lawrence isn't alive to see the fun and get the royalties. N.W.

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## D. H. Lawrence Fascist?

To the Editors of  
FREEDOM.

I think that David Markham owes the readers of FREEDOM an apology for asserting something which is not true. In a letter he asserts that I "saw fit not only to drag D. H. Lawrence into the argument, but to label him as a fascist!" I did not label Lawrence as a fascist and it is mischievous to state that I did. I hope this was just a piece of stupidity on Markham's part, for otherwise one might put a less pleasant construction on his making the assertion.

My reference to Lawrence occurs in FREEDOM 3/12/60. I quoted his irrational advocacy of "thinking with the blood" and then pointed out that, "this led Lawrence and his followers to no great harm, but precisely the same message was put forward by Hitler and his followers". Advocacy of the same sort of thing has been used by monarchists, nationalists, religious fanatics, sentimental fools and cynical charlatans, as well as by fascists, but Lawrence was not all of these.

Now any fool knows that Lawrence

was not a fascist. But fascism is just one of the weeds that can grow up when the intellect is held in contempt and "the blood" adulated. This is perhaps a truth that Markham finds unpalatable. I'm afraid that his letter reflects either upon his intellectual capacity or upon the integrity of his intentions.

In Arthur W. Uloth's letter, after considerable evasion of the point, he ends in the last paragraph by agreeing with me that "truth is more satisfying than lies in the long run. Fact is far, far more interesting than fiction". In view of the earlier passages in his letter, I am most surprised at his agreement with this statement of mine.

And now for the further letter from the bloke who wrote to say how disappointed he was in the quality of FREEDOM. Referring to me personally he writes: "Obviously he has not read much about psychology". I assure him, I have read too much about psychology. But before readers of this paper run away with the idea that here we have it, FREEDOM's condemnation and all, straight from the mouth of a Psycholo-

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

gist from Nottingham, let me give them the following piece of information. This Saturday there was a large conference of professional psychologists in London, and just for a joke Mr. Heason's letter was passed round a group of them. It raised a few laughs, and they were specially delighted with the statement which runs, "Any psychologist will tell him that all beliefs are founded on a pattern instilled in the subconscious by the experiences of life and of the race." (Poor old Jung—see what they've done to you!) But it was generally agreed that Mr. H. must have some very strange ideas about what psychologists think—even the daftest of them.

I do not think that you, comrade Editors, need fear the "psychological" criticism which emanates from this dissatisfied reader in Nottinghamshire (that Mecca of Reichian culture!)

I'm sure we shouldn't chuckle over such stuff, should we? But it is better to laugh than to weep.

## Correction

DEAR SIR,

Through some curious quirk of fate, I have said in "Ye Are Many, They Are Few" (or been made to say) that there was an Irish General strike that lasted twenty years! Alas, such a Utopia never was, even in that little bit of heaven!

What I meant to say was that there was an Irish *strike* that lasted twenty years.

London.

JACK ROBINSON.

## Paid Editors for 'Freedom'?

DEAR COMRADES,

If you are collecting readers' opinions about what kind of a paper we really need, I would like it recorded that I agree with C.W. (FREEDOM 10/12/60); FREEDOM's articles are all more suitable for a magazine than for a newspaper, and the quantity of money, time and contributions available dictate that a magazine must be monthly rather than weekly.

While the re-thinking is going on, I hope you will also re-think the ideological and financial reasons for not having paid editors or contributors, and weigh

them against the improvement in quality, and hence in circulation and influence, which might result from payment.

A full-time editor would be able not only to write editorials, but also to check the facts of his editorials, and those of other editors before going to press. I notice simple errors of fact from time to time, but do not draw all to your attention for fear of looking like someone who has nothing better to do than find fault with people, who are doing a difficult job fairly well in their spare time. There must be many other errors which I do not notice, and as a keen reader, must have a lot of misinformation stored in my memory. A full-time editor would also have time to read and assess the contributions submitted from outside.

About payment for contributions: it is natural that experts in various fields, who write articles which they consider worthwhile, like to have them published where they will have maximum circulation and influence. Even if they are anarchists they cannot be expected to submit their best work to FREEDOM if FREEDOM is of no account. But the dilemma is that you must have the good stuff in order to acquire circulation and influence. So you must have some temporary alternative to offer. The opportunity of improving FREEDOM seems to be in itself a sufficient reward for a few expert comrades like 'G'. An editor with time to read articles may draw in a few more by offering a happy relationship between editor and contributor; and a firm reputation for factual accuracy might make still others feel their articles would appear in a worthy environment. Whenever funds allow I think you should also consider giving certain writers, say those of invited articles, the opportunity of waiving payment.

London, Dec. 12.

D.R.

## SPARE A THOU CHIT FOR THE U.N.

While admitting that your two editorials "What Hope for the Congo?" (17/12/60) and "The United Nations, a Threat to Peace" (13/8/60) are consistent with anarchist principles, it is surely dangerous to be quite so purist on this topic.

If, as you suggest, the United Nations had not intervened in the Congo what would you propose should happen to the people desperately in need of medical and technical expert assistance? At the moment there is no ideal voluntary force of qualified experts in these fields, and if the U.N. had not supplied this need some other power would have stepped in making for "dangers of world-wide proportions", just as these dangers existed when the U.N. moved in.

As Ritchie Calder pointed out in his article "Chaos in the Congo" in the *New Statesman* (10/12/60), countless lives have been saved (and are being saved) in the nick of time by the U.N. experts in medical and technical fields. Obviously I dislike the political and military machinations of the U.N. force, but the social service given to guiltless African people is worthy of praise.

Yours,

St. Mawes, Dec. 22

R.J.W.

## The Rational Approach

To the Editors,  
DEAR COMRADES,

I enjoyed reading H. W. Heason's letter and thought it contained a lot of good sense. All the more pity that your correspondent G. should choose to abuse him in the next issue. He shows an extreme emotional reaction to criticism which is symptomatic of the pseudo-revolutionaries and intellectuals who float about in or on the fringe of the Left Socialist and Anarchist groups of today. I agree with most of G.'s subsequent remarks about the necessity of a rational approach to Social Problems and societal relations if one is not to end up with demagogues like Hitler in power.

The real tragedy of modern life is that the spread of scientific knowledge has gone further than that of any ability of mankind to use science as a tool for his real benefit. The emotions of civilised man are still at or very near the jungle level (if that is not an insult to the jungle) and all our fine products of civilisation sit like a very thin crust upon a seething volcanic crater just about to erupt. If I may be permitted to take up your space, I should like to describe

how it is that rationality in man's conduct of his own life and that of the societies he takes part in is so insecurely based.

As individuals we are all brought up for the most part in a repressive society, and are not permitted much freedom of expression as personalities. One factor is the domination of children by parents and the crushing early in childhood of the child's individuality. The other, given a permissive régime in the home, is the traditional set-up of society where those who break away from traditional behaviour are punished by lack of success and social ostracism.

The strength of repression in the home (carried out often unconsciously even by so-called progressive parents) is a force not to be underrated, and the stifling of personality very common. Lack of parental love by woolly-minded progressive parents can be damaging to the emotional balance of a child just as much as overmuch restriction. Human beings are caught between the Scylla and Charybdis of pressures in the home and the outside world with its increasing complexity. The competition of man against man in the interest of profit-making and rising in the social scale at others' expense within bureaucracies are social virtues which are implicitly taught in our society, whose adherence to religious ideas is now only lip service for the vast majority. The individual with a strong enough personality to resist pressures on him to conform generally becomes neurotic and somewhat disordered in the process partly because, finding no real community that he can belong to, he is isolated, frustrated and over critical for lack of any better outlet for his feelings. Rationality in such individuals is often only a front behind which they are naturally friendly emotional human beings. The unifying force of love for one's fellow beings and creatures, whatever they may think or do is a necessary corrective to too much logic and rationality.

Yours sincerely,

London, Dec. 3. R. C. COUSENS.

## Bouquet

To the worshipful company of contributors to FREEDOM, whose articles are of such diverse interests and differing points of view that they must capture the attention of any thinking person, my best thanks for 1960—may they continue with the good work for 1961. Weekly or monthly, it will always be a unique journal for its versatility and freedom from advertising tripe.

All power to your elbows and your pens—cheerio.

Yours leisurely,

Liverpool, Dec. 16. H. H. JONES.

## Police and the Public

DEAR SIRS,

The writer of your leading article "The Police and the Public" (FREEDOM 10/12/60) seems to be completely unaware of the real function of the police in a modern State.

To infer that the police are inefficient from a capitalist point of view, because they have failed to prevent an increase in the crime rate, is to miss the point, of why police forces exist at all.

The prevention and detection of crime is only a secondary duty of the police force. In a society the cornerstone of which (morally, legally and economically) is the sanctity of private property, the main *raison d'être* of the police can be stated quite briefly *viz*: to protect property, and thereby preserve the social and political *status quo*.

That the British police have performed this task with great efficiency and tact is obvious to any objective observer.

The police have protected the interests of the capitalist state on a multitude of occasions. They have helped to break strikes! They have quelled riots, demonstrations and every other manifestation of public discontent.

The unique feature of the British police is that they have carried out their duties with such a degree of tact and restraint that the public is lulled into believing that the police are actually acting for the public good.

As we are all aware, on many occasions, in many countries, police brutality has been a major factor in creating a rebellious populace and thereby a revolutionary situation. This explains the anxiety of the "powers that be" regard-

ing the deterioration of the relationship between police and public, for if the public came to look upon the police as enemies, they would (probably) by process of association come to look upon the masters of the police in the same light.

All this shows how well the police have served the capitalists. In fairness we should admit at this point that not only the public are ignorant of the true nature of police duties, most policemen are equally ignorant in this respect.

The recent pay award is not only a reward for "services rendered". It is also an attempt to ensure that enough men will be recruited to maintain the police forces at their present (from the capitalist point of view) high level of efficiency.

Glasgow, Dec. 14.

J.M.

[If our correspondent really thinks we missed the point we can only assume that he failed to make sense of a paragraph in our article in which the lines were beautifully jumbled up by our printer, and which should have read:

"For the policeman, "crime" includes not only the safe-breakers, the con-men, the ravishers and the ponces, but the political demonstrators, the pickets, the C.P., the Mosleyites, the Empire Loyalists, and the "Reds" left of the Liberals, Irishmen and Blacks."

That the police have carried out their tasks so far as demonstrations, etc., are concerned is due much more to the restraint of the demonstrators than to the restraint of the police. In the case of the Rent demonstrations in St. Pancras, for instance, it is abundantly clear that both in their numbers and the degree of violence used, the British police showed that they can behave just as the police in every country behave when faced with a determined opposition.—EDITORS.]

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1961

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\*GIFT OF BOOKS: London: Anon.

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