

FREEDOM

'What are people for? Surely people do not exist just to provide bomb-fodder for an atomic bonfire, or religion-fodder for rival churches, or cannon-fodder for rival nations, or disease-fodder for rival parasites, or labour-fodder for rival economic systems, or even consumer-fodder for profit-making systems.'

JULIAN HUXLEY.

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ORAL CONTRACEPTIVES
THE YEAR 1886
CORRESPONDENCE

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Solidarity Wanted FOR SCHOENMAN AND CLARK

IN theory Ralph Schoenman, the American student who last Friday completed a two month's sentence in one of Her Majesty's prisons for "inciting the public to commit breaches of the peace" (to wit, to take part in the sit-down demonstration at Trafalgar Square on September 17), should have left our shores by the time this issue of FREEDOM is printed. His permit expired and the Home Secretary will not renew it. This is a polite and hypocritical way of saying that he is to be deported as an undesirable alien. Of course the Home Secretary, who likes to be considered an enlightened Tory, wants to be fair. In a letter to Fenner Brockway he

writes: "I realise of course that he will want a short time after he leaves prison to put his affairs in order and I shall not seek to enforce his departure before the end of the month".

In theory George Clark sentenced at the same time as Ralph Schoenman was due to be released on the same day. But two days before, he was taken from prison to appear at London Sessions in connection with an earlier demonstration which took place outside the American Embassy on September 6th. He was sentenced to a further *nine months* for having organised a sit down and for refusing to undertake to keep the peace. Since the technical obstruc-

tion caused by sitting down carries a maximum penalty of a £2 fine it means that the nine months sentence was the punishment imposed by the chairman, Mr. R. E. Seaton, for George Clark's refusal to be bound over to keep the peace.

The savagery of the sentence, the more so since it follows on a two month sentence imposed for a similar refusal on September 13, (that is even before the demonstration of September 17 took place), has not awakened the consciences of our liberal press. Yet in the deportation of Ralph Schoenman* and the sadistic, cat-and-mouse treatment of George Clark the State has clearly shown the *slender limits of its tolerance and patience for the dissenters in our midst*. We italicise those words of the last sentence not because we are surprised or shocked

by developments, but in order to underline a point we anarchists have been making all along, and which seems to have escaped the notice of those more "trusting" demonstrators who honestly, but naively, if we may say so, believe that governments—by which they mean the ruling class—are open to persuasion by the people, when they take the trouble to publicly express their deeply-felt concern for the future of mankind.

The attitude of government to interference in its legally sanctioned mission(!) of governing is best summed up in the remarks by the Chairman at London Sessions when George Clark refused to give "an undertaking to keep the peace."

We all have to live in the world as it is today and from what you have said,

your efforts have done nothing to improve it. You are a nuisance to the overworked and understaffed police and will have to go to prison for nine months.

(Can we presume from the foregoing that if the police were neither overworked nor understaffed he would not have been such a nuisance

Continued on page 3

*Technically the Home Secretary could argue that our friend is not being deported but simply that his permit is not being renewed. Why is it not being renewed when Bertrand Russell, whose secretary he is, has stated that Schoenman is engaged in important research work for him which will require another year's work? Whether they think Russell a liar or not is beside the point if it can be demonstrated that Schoenman is not a charge to the tax-payer whilst he remains in this country.

Salazar's Democracy

ALL opponents of the "communist system" are by no means lovers of freedom; conservatives of all shades, fascists and rival leftist groups have a variety of doubtful motives for opposing Russian type communism—some more obvious than others.

What we find particularly hypocritical about many supporters of Western type democracy is that while on one hand they reject communist dictatorship, on the other they readily accept other forms of dictatorship if they happen to be opposed to the Soviet Union at the moment.

Portugal is a case in point. One of Britains' ancient allies, Portugal has had a dictator in control for thirty years, holding power with an efficiency which many politicians, from East and West, must envy.

In the name of democracy Dr. Salazar has for years disposed of the opposition in a blatant dictatorial way without the resultant pious condemnation from self-styled democrats which generally follows an open communist display of suppression.

Last Sunday interested Portuguese voters went to the polls in a one-party election.

Originally there were 66 opposition candidates to Dr. Salazar's government. Seven of these were ruled ineligible by the Supreme Administrative Court because they "advocated self determination for Portuguese overseas territories". Fifty-eight candidates decided to withdraw two days before the elections,

and one died, probably of fright!

It might be thought that since so many candidates were allowed to stand by the government the opposition had no valid reason to withdraw, and stood a fair chance of putting themselves before the voters for election. But, the reason given by the opposition candidates for withdrawing is that a free vote was prevented by government fiddling by the following measures:

"The first is that no Opposition representative is being allowed to scrutinise the counting of the vote in districts which they are contesting.

Secondly, by being denied access to the electoral registers which the Government's National Union can consult freely, the Opposition is under a distinct handicap when it comes to distributing ballot slips. In addition, cases are quoted of Opposition supporters being deleted from the registers.

Thirdly, as the National Union ballot slips are easily distinguished from those of the Opposition, electors who vote for the Opposition risk Government recrimination."

It must not be assumed that all candidates in opposition are liberals. Like the opponents of communist dictatorship there is a mixed bag of political rivals cashing in on the social unrest which followed events in Angola. The *Observer* correspondent categorises them as follows:

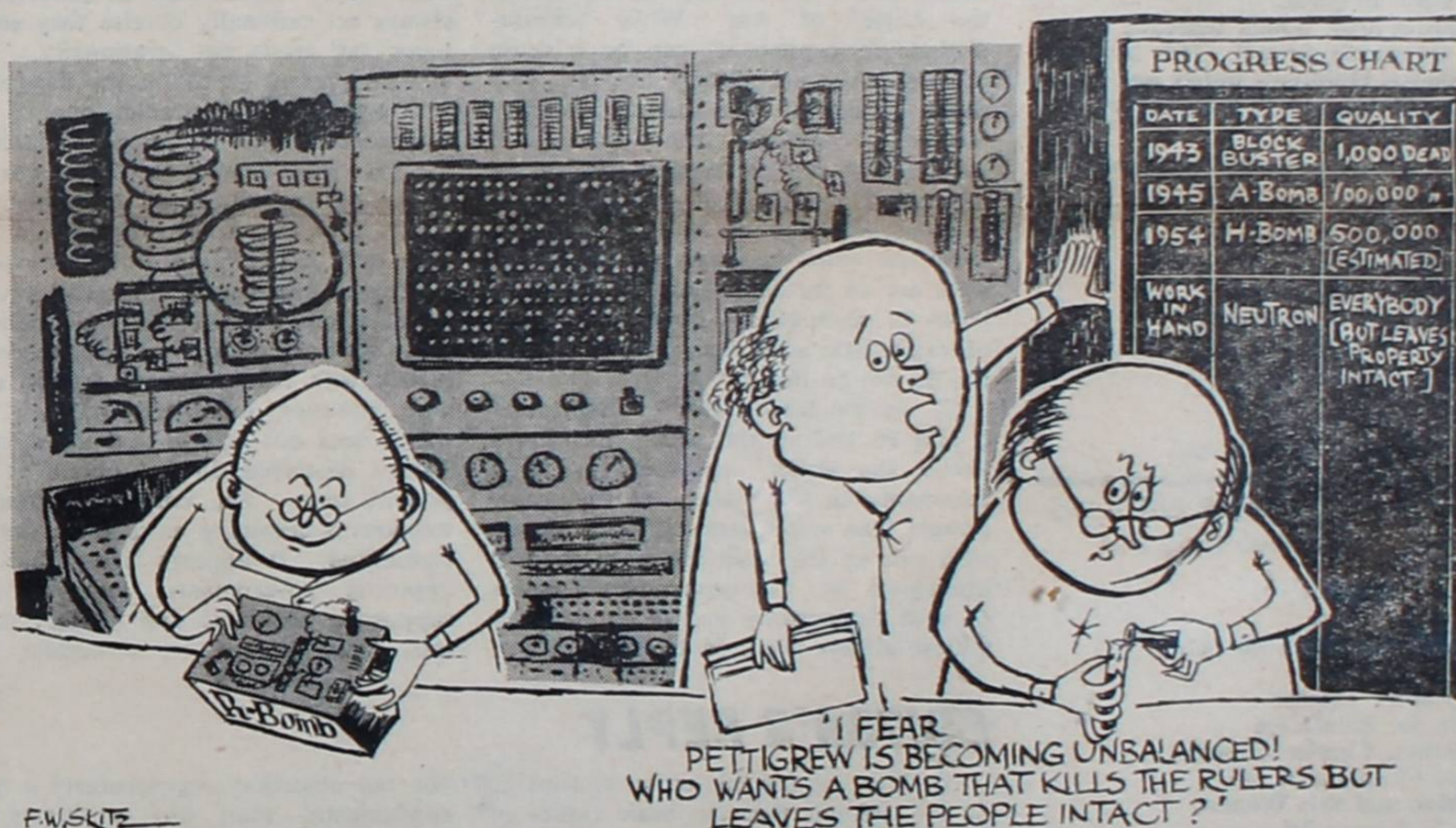
On the far right are the monarchists and the conservatives. The centre is represented by three different elements. First, the "classical opposition" consisting of the old liberal remnants of the Republican Government which was destroyed by the military coup in 1926.

Secondly, the Catholic Action supporters who significantly for the first time are now openly defying their bishops by insisting that the Church should abandon its traditional support of Salazar.

Thirdly, young Army officers, of whom several publicly came forward as candidates—an action which it is thought would not have been possible unless they could count on the protection and support of important elements inside the Army and Navy.

Not a very reassuring collection of rogues!

But for better or for worse there are plenty of signs which mark the end of another dictatorship. The grip of Salazar and his supporters is in the process of being loosened.



FW/SKTE

ETU STILL APATHETIC

THE results of the Electrical Trades Union elections to the Executive were officially announced last Sunday though for some weeks before the Press had been unofficially declaring that the overwhelming defeat of the Communist members of the Executive was a foregone conclusion. And so in fact, after probably the most thorough scrutiny of votes at any election, the forecasters have been proved right: the 8-3 Communist majority has been turned into a 9-2 anti-Communist majority.

The *Guardian* declares that the results are a "triumph for the reformers who have fought hard and

long to wrest control from the Communists", and adds

The *Daily Worker* on the other hand looks upon the results as a victory for the "press Lords" and a "defeat for the membership of the E.T.U. and the trade union movement generally".

The present victory of the Right Wing is not because that group has sponsored a constructive policy. It is mainly because the Press, television, the T.U.C. and the Labour Party's leaders have succeeded in mobilising inactive members who, because they were not following union affairs closely, were blind to the positive achievements of the leadership.

It seems to us that the assessment of the *Guardian* is unduly optimistic

GOVERNMENT IS GOVERNMENT

A *British United Press* report from Accra quotes Mr. Kwaku Boateng, the Ghana Minister of the Interior as saying that:

The Government would apply the maximum punishment, including the death penalty, to anybody who plotted against the security of the State. The warning was contained in a broadcast to the nation tonight.

He called on every Ghanaian to consider himself a security officer, and said that responsibility for the security

of the State was no longer the task of the police alone. Every party member and loyal citizen should be vigilant and should report to the nearest police station anyone suspected of subversive activity.

Mr. Boateng said that Dr. Nkrumah, his party and the Government were determined to use all force at their disposal to ensure the security of the state. They were resolved to fulfil their obligation to protect life.

Whose life?

and that of the *Daily Worker* unduly pessimistic! For if something emerges from these elections it is that the overwhelming majority of the members are completely apathetic, unconcerned as to who is at the top, and certainly quite uninfluenced by the big guns of the Press and TV, or by considerations of morality and honesty such as were raised in the Court findings on the conduct of previous elections.

The figures surely speak for themselves: of a membership of 250,000 a mere 50,000 cast a vote. Even if the *Guardian* is right when it declares that probably 150,000 members only are up to date with their subscriptions and entitled to vote the situation would still be that: 100,000 members don't even pay their subscriptions; 100,000 members pay their subscriptions but did not vote for one reason or another, or for no positive reason at all; and 50,000 actually voted.

The five deposed Communists polled between them 8,878 votes as against 12,796 votes cast for their successors. The *Daily Worker* maintains that "in the main the defeated executive candidates maintained the size of their votes." (Figures at the previous elections were not given in the Press reports we have seen), and it is not without interest that of the two Communists who held their

Continued on page 3

ANARCHY 10

OUT NEXT WEEK includes

ALAN SILLITOE
His Key to the Door

Notes of an Accidental Jailor
by COLIN MACINNES

INDUSTRIAL CENTRALISATION
and WORKERS CONTROL

AUGUSTUS JOHN on
Fourier's Utopia—and Mine

ANARCHY is Published by
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Oral Contraceptives

RECENT announcements in the Press about the use of a contraceptive tablet have been premature and misunderstood. It will be several months before "the Pill" becomes available in Family Planning Clinics because clinical trials are still going on to study the side-effects and suitable dosages. "Conovid" made by Searle & Co. can be obtained on a doctor's prescription at a price to the patient of 17/- for a month's supply, and it has now been shown that this substance does effectively inhibit ovulation (egg-production in women) if taken once a day for twenty days every menstrual cycle. There are ways in which the instructions differ according to the time that menstruation occurs—or it may not occur at all—and it is wise for a woman to be under her doctor's supervision for several months to begin with and thereafter at regular intervals. There are also "side-effects" from taking the tablets which are not permanently harmful and which usually go away after the first three months. It is said that there are no long-term harmful effects, but some doctors are rather doubtful about the wisdom of inhibiting ovulation in a woman for a long period of time as it seems on the face of it that the cyclical energetic processes of the endocrine glands are being disturbed.

It is, then, quite a business using an oral contraceptive and this may be a surprise to some optimistic

souls who thought that it was going to be simple and easy. Using other physiological principles may lead to simpler methods such as inhibition of nidation (*i.e.*, preventing the fertilised egg from attaching to the womb), about research on which FREEDOM had an article several years ago; or interference with effective sperm production in men. Neither of these methods seem to have hit the medical headlines yet.

The important feature of any contraceptive method is that while giving the possibility of sexual freedom, it involves a mental attitude on the part of the user. It is clear that all methods involve decisions and planning, and to this extent they represent a stage in sexual maturity. They give the ability to make love with freedom from pregnancy anxiety. As this, or any other, anxiety is the antithesis of sexual pleasure, contraceptives have en-

abled women in particular to develop their sexual function to its fullest extent and therefore they have helped to make sexual relationships meaningful and maturing for the individuals concerned.

Difficulties and failures with contraceptives usually occur in couples who have either failed to accept the idea of contraception; or have failed to accept the method itself. In the first case some women have a very strong impulse, which may be unconscious, to have a baby because they really want one; or else they have a desire to punish themselves for their overt sexuality by the consequence of a pregnancy. These are the ones who "forget their cap" or fail to follow a simple technique faithfully. Those who fail to accept the method itself in the case of the diaphragm, for instance, are those who find it impossible to touch their genitals without disgust, and so put-

ting in a diaphragm becomes "un-aesthetic". In the same way some men abhor the use of a sheath when there is no possibility of making love without a pregnancy by any other method. This is equally irrational and may be based on fears of a failure of erection at the crucial moment, or a premature ejaculation when putting on the sheath. Luckily, most people who come into these categories can be detected by the careful contraceptive and he will then be given the opportunity of helping them to overcome their sexual problems. This may enable them to use the contraceptive method comfortably.

To those who do not really accept the idea of contraception, tablet methods will not help—they will fail by not taking them. In a clinical trial, one woman became pregnant in the first month because she only took seven tablets instead of twenty.

To those who are unable to accept the so-called "mechanical-plus-chemical" methods of contraception, the tablets may seem a good idea. It is possible that making love without pregnancy anxiety will eventually help these people to overcome their underlying sexual problem but on the other hand contraceptionists may be justified in feeling that they should seek advice for the disgust that they feel towards their own bodies.

What of the "over-population of the world"? It seems unlikely that the present type of oral contraceptive will be able to help those people who cannot be taught such techniques as the use of the diaphragm because of primitive taboos or inability to operate as circumspectly as these methods require. One can imagine that a single tablet taken once in a menstrual cycle might, and research is continuing in hope of developing such a substance.

Here again, attitude of mind is more important than statistics. For "over-population" perhaps one could read "under-production" of food, houses and clothing. The mass-application of contraception is becoming a political shibboleth as long as it remains impossible. Contraception should only be used by individuals as a decision of their own to help them to develop happiness in their own love-relationships and families. The Family Planning Association has pointed out that the birth rate has actually risen in this country since contraceptive advice became easily available. The truth is that people like having babies if only they are not born to starve or damage the health of their mothers. It is also quite important that each time a contraceptive is used in making love it should be a fresh decision on the part of the user. This means that surgical operations (such as vasectomy in men, or tubal ligation in women) should only be used when all else has been tried unsuccessfully. Thus can be eliminated the frustration or unconscious tension of an instinct which has been opposed.

J.M.

Some of Our Best Friends . . .

MELBOURNE, NOVEMBER 7.

Miss Winifred Atwell, the West Indian pianist, said in Canberra today that she had been infuriated by cases of racial segregation she had found in Australia during her current concert tour.

She said that at Moree, in New South Wales, it was not until she was near the end of her programme that she learned that aboriginals in the audience had been forced to sit apart from white listeners on hard wooden benches.

At Bowen, in North Queensland, she said, aboriginals had been refused admittance to the theatre where she appeared. At her request the management had finally left the doors of the theatre open so that the aboriginals could watch and listen from outside. She listed this as the worst example of segregation she had found in Australia. Of the Moree incident she said: "Had I known about it before, I would have had second thoughts about appearing."

Miss Atwell said she had been angered by the way aboriginals were being "shunned" in Australia and felt that they lacked a feeling of security because they had no property rights. If they had the right to own and control their own property it would be a first step towards acquiring self-respect.

Miss Atwell has received many telephone calls from people in Brisbane, Sydney, and Melbourne congratulating her on her outspoken criticisms. She said that the calls had come mainly from white people.

(Guardian)

..Are South Africans

COLOMBO, SATURDAY.

The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mrs. Bandaranaike, has told Ceylon delegates at the United Nations not to be too severe in their attacks on South Africa. She criticised a speech by a delegate in the recent debate on apartheid.

Although Ceylon was strongly against apartheid, delegates should bear in mind that Ceylon had certain trade connections with South Africa.

(B.U.P.)

THREE QUESTIONS ON THE DANGERS OF WAR

DEAR COMRADES,

Recent articles in FREEDOM on the dangers of war raise a number of questions I feel many readers would like answered.

(1) In the October 7 issue the writer of the lead article claims that wars are caused by crises in capitalism which cannot be solved by means other than war. Surely this is an incomplete account of the causes of war. While "contradictions in capitalism" can be a cause of war, they are clearly not the only cause. One of the most attractive features of anarchist theory (because it accords with the best modern thought on the subject) is its refusal to accept monistic explanations of historical change. Does the writer seriously claim that all wars are to be explained exclusively in terms of economics—or rather, in terms of capitalistic economics? Even Marxists do not go this far.

(2) In the lead articles of September 2 and 16 and in the article mentioned above the writer attributes far more rationality to the leaders of the major powers than would seem to be consistent with one of the main theses of modern anarchism, *viz.*, that governmental power in both democracies and dictatorships is almost always acquired by the worst of

men—men who are unstable, immature, fanatical, unprincipled, and quite often deranged. There are other good reasons for opposing government, but this is an important one. Yet the lead articles mentioned give the impression that the men who govern both East and West are incapable of the irrationality of launching a nuclear war. One cannot have it both ways: either men in government always act rationally or else they sometimes (at least) act irrationally. The writer's present stand on the danger of war appears to contradict one of the very good reasons for being an anarchist.

(3) In discussing accidental war the writer of the article of September 16 claims that the dangers of such a war "are only conceivable when war is in any case imminent; when the professional soldiers are given more power to make spot decisions . . ." I agree completely with this statement. I am at a loss, however, to understand why the writer does not believe that the circumstances described do not obtain at the present time. The control of modern weapons is becoming more and more decentralised. It appears likely that the opposing governments, together with supporting economic and military interests, have decided on a nuclear war

unless certain incompatible demands are met. Does the writer have any special information to counteract this impression? It is not enough to say that war with modern weapons is unthinkable. I think it is obvious that on this side of the Atlantic, at least, many persons in authority and many more who have influence on persons in authority are thinking about nuclear war in traditional terms, *i.e.*, as "diplomacy by other means". Nor is it enough to say that since we have not yet had an accidental war, despite the "alleged" dangers, we will not have one. We may be in the position of the trusting chicken whose farmer "friend" wrings its neck some morning contrary to all its most reasonable expectations.

These critical questions aside, I do think that the articles cited contain much that needs to be said to counter the superficial and somewhat hysterical approach to the dangers of war that is so prevalent today. It would, however, seem to be a sounder policy to attack governments for having put our lives so uselessly in jeopardy than to deny that we are in any serious danger.

Fraternally yours,
M. G. ANDERSON.

Hartford, Conn., Oct 31.

EDITOR'S REPLY

[1. Yes, we (or this writer at least) is of the opinion that the basic causes of modern wars are economic. We do not deny that there are individuals whose lust for power and world domination is so strong that to achieve their ends they would be prepared to see the world threatened with annihilation if need be. But not only have such men not succeeded in rising to such positions of power so far, but it seems to us that the trend towards always larger power blocs makes it even more difficult—if not impossible—for such a situation to arise in the future. Wars caused by human aggressivity? Alex Comfort in his study of *Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State* points out that "If contemporary wars were in substance, as well as in background, the direct expression of aggressions projected from the urban public as a whole, we should not expect to find any such elaborate rationalizations as Hitler, or we ourselves, employed, except as a means of allaying the guilt of those who suffer them". And he goes on to say that "In assessing the causation of war, it is impossible to overlook the part played by conscious choice, by economic activities such as those of armament firms and financial 'lobbies', and the deliberate use of war as a means of government by diversion". We agree!

2. Is it "one of the main theses of anarchism" that governmental power" is almost always acquired by the worst of men, etc. . . ."? Anarchists have always questioned the motives of those people who seek positions of power from which to dominate the lives of their fellow men (and this is not limited to politics). And when we have not questioned their motives we have always warned that power corrupts even the best of men.

No, our objection to government is more fundamental than any criticisms we might have as to the mental state of those in office. The reason why we maintain that if at some time or other a nuclear war will be launched, it will not be either "accidental" or the result of the "irrationality of the men who govern" it is not because we think politicians, generals *et alia* all-wise and incapable of irrational actions but because the power of decision in such major issues as world war does not rest in the hands—or in the heads—of a small group of individuals. If we may again quote Comfort: "The size of the executive in centralized societies makes it hard to differentiate from other groups, such as finance and productive industry, into which it overlaps. In the United States where industry is in private hands, the executive in government employment has been estimated to include between 4 and 10 per cent. of the employed population".

3. It is because we consider that the issue of Berlin is a side issue, of little consequence to the ruling classes of America and of Russia, but a tasty bone of contention to add to the political pot which goes on boiling but which in spite of having had at least a dozen such bones added in the last few years—Formosa, Egypt, Cuba, Hungary, etc.—has still not boiled over!

Comfort makes the important point in the passage quoted above that war may be used deliberately as "a means of government by diversion". We believe that such is also the purpose of political "crises". So long as they produce the desired results there is no special advantage to be derived by resorting to more deadly diversions.

Comrade Anderson suggests that we

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SOLIDARITY WANTED

Continued from page 1 and would therefore have received a lighter sentence?)

And when members of the public in the court received the sentence with "loud cries of 'shame'" Mr. Seaton commented: "If there is any more of this, there will be more of you going inside".

This latter remark shows that the Chairman of London Sessions is not a fit person to sit in judgement over others since clearly he can neither control his emotions nor hide the corroding effect that occupying even his modest seat of power has had on him.

★
NOW, the Committee of 100 are loath on principle (or is it for tactical reasons?) to protest or take any kind of action either in the rather exceptional circumstances of Ralph Schoenman—an alien in the eyes of the law, albeit the citizen of a nation which could be described as our closest nuclear friend—or in such more everyday matters as police behaviour at demonstrations, and gross abuses by magistrates and judges so far as sentences imposed as well as in the gratuitous remarks they make in their courts. Perhaps because we do not believe that martyrdom is the passport to a better world, though we recognise that persecution is a price that all serious reformers and revolutionaries must expect to pay for their militancy, we should not hesitate to demand that neither the police nor the courts should abuse their powers. Are they not all-embracing enough for us to allow them to abuse them as well without protest?

To allow Ralph Schoenman to be deported, and George Clark to be subjected to a cat-and-mouse treatment (to which not even conscientious objectors were subjected during the last war in this country), without protest and agitation is to acquiesce in the mockery of democracy. The government professes to believe in democracy. Even if we do not believe its protestations let us not miss one occasion to challenge it, or to expose it to ridicule when it stubbornly refuses to give way on minor issues such as are in fact the cases of our two friends. For us these are not minor issues. Ralph Schoenman and George Clark are victims of political persecution. On what grounds other than political does the Home Secretary refuse to renew the former's permit to remain in this country? And in the case of George Clark the savage sentence imposed on him by the Chairman of London Sessions was not only a sop to the police but a warning to those who took part in future demonstrations of what they might expect if they are picked up. What have these considerations to do with making the punishment of George Clark fit his crime?

THIS IS POLITICS

One

1
MOSCOW, NOVEMBER 8.
Mr. Khrushchev has sent a telegram of congratulations to Dr. Konrad Adenauer on his re-election as West German Chancellor, the Soviet news agency Tass said today.

Reuter.

Two

2
Commenting on the reported Russian offer, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, said at Bournemouth last night that he hoped it was true, though he had no confirmation of it, that Mr. Khrushchev was sending constructive proposals in respect of the situation in Berlin.

"I hope that he is persuaded that negotiations with the Allies securing the status and free access to Berlin should precede his treaty with East Germany. If Mr. Khrushchev is sending a genuine olive branch then he will find that I am perfectly capable of sitting on the branch with him and cooing like a dove."

Three

3
MR. EMRYS HUGHES (South Ayrshire, Ind. Lab.) asked the Minister of Defence what plans the Government had for the manufacture of a neutron bomb.

MR. WATKINSON.—It would not be in the public interest to make any statement on plans for the manufacture of specific types of nuclear weapons. (Opposition laughter.)

MR. SYDNEY SILVERMAN (Nelson and Colne, Ind. Lab.) asked the Minister of Defence what proposals had been submitted to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization by the United States Government concerning the testing of a large neutron bomb, whose principal new contribution to nuclear strategy was its alleged capacity to kill people without damaging property.

MR. WATKINSON.—I have no knowledge of any such proposal.
MR. SILVERMAN.—Has not the Minister seen frequent and quite authoritative statements that the United States is preparing to test such a bomb? Does he not think it worth while to make some inquiry to see whether this is so?
Does he realize that, if such a test were made, this would be represented in many parts of the world as the final triumph of capitalist priorities? Will he undertake that the United Kingdom would never undertake itself, or be associated with, genocidal mania of this kind? Will he inform the United States, or ask the Foreign Secretary to do so, that we would not regard such a weapon as compatible with the maintenance of our alliance with any power that tested or used it?

MR. WATKINSON.—I have no knowledge of all those allegations. Our general position on tests was clearly set out by the Prime Minister the other day.
MR. SILVERMAN gave notice that, in view of "the terrifyingly unsatisfactory answer" given by the Minister, he would raise the matter again.

THE year FREEDOM was born, Augustus John was eight years old, Picasso was five, Bertie Russell and Willie Maugham were twelve years old and the hero of Sidney Street, Tonypandy and the Dardanelles was eleven years old. I do not believe I am being ungallant or incorrect in revealing that Lilian Wolfe was eleven years old at that time.

Viewed from this perspective it would seem that history is a process of growth, but viewed from 1886 it seems that history repeats itself or rather "things change only to remain the same."

The year 1886 was a stormy year by many standards. England had just gone through a General election. The Irish were still very troublesome. There was a slump on, the Americans had two million unemployed in 1885. Technologically the world was on the march. The internal combustion engine was invented in 1885, the Canadian Pacific railway was completed. Troops were switched from suppressing the Indians (American) to suppressing rioters (American).

The election of 1885 was marked by the scandal of the S.D.F.'s acceptance of "Tory gold" to put candidates in the field to defeat the Liberals. This, in addition to the damage to their reputation did them no electoral good, for even in Kennington, London (then a working-class suburb) the SDF only secured thirty-two votes.

The new parliament introduced the first Lib-Lab members with a proportion of coal-miners. Bradlaugh, the free-thinker was finally allowed to take his seat in the new Parliament, he had been elected for Northampton in 1880, 1881, 1882 and 1884 but on each occasion the House of Commons refused to admit him since he would not take an oath. Finally at his election in 1885 he was allowed to take his seat in 1886 without taking an oath.

The year was marked by frequent riots and bomb outrages. Much of this was the work of the Irish Nationalists and Sinn Feiners who were very active at this time. The ingenious Captain Schaack of the Chicago police (or more likely his ghost writer) attributes lists of Fenian bomb plots to the anarchists.

It is true that some of the anarchists were in the midst of their violent phase (c. 1878-1901) but no government was ever out of a violent phase, certainly not in 1886.

The Irish had perfected the weapon of the boycott and the rent-strike and Benjamin Tucker had been loud in his praises of the Land League, now the movement was falling into the hands of priests and politicians.

On January 14th "a foreign socialist plot against capitalism" was discovered in Chicago. This was an ominous sign.

On that day W. T. Stead, the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* was released from prison, he had been sentenced for the 'direct action' of proving that it was possible to procure a girl for prostitution. He was sentenced for that act and subsequently the law was changed.

In February there was a mutiny aboard the reform (prison) ship *Clarence*.

On the 8th February, the SDF arranged a meeting in Trafalgar Square, at the same time the Fair Trade Movement (a Tory organization) arranged a meeting same time same place. The police objected, as police will, but had then no power to ban the meetings as Trafalgar Square was then a public place, and not the province of the Ministry of Works.

Hyndman, Burns and Champion spoke off quietly enough until the SDF contingent broke up and marched down Pall Mall to Hyde Park. On the way, club windows were smashed, shop windows were broken and shops looted. (The three speakers were arrested for sedition and were later acquitted). Further riots followed in London on February 9th, there were riots in Leicester, Birmingham and Yarmouth on February 11th and 15th.

On the 16th February the SDF called for a meeting in Hyde Park but instead,

ETU Apathy

Continued from page 1
seats, one, the member for Northern Ireland was returned unopposed.

What emerges from this sordid struggle so far as those of us who believe that social change must come from the working people of all countries, is that (1) the overwhelming majority of the workers in this

THE YEAR 1886

on the 20th February the Chief Commissioner of the police resigned and was replaced by a military man.

The meeting was held on the 21st February and the police made a baton charge.

On the 28th, a mass meeting was held in Manchester.

On March 5th an Anarchist threw a stink bomb into the Paris Bourse.

On March 18th there was another demonstration in Manchester, and on the 27th a demonstration at Liege in Belgium.

About this time Benjamin Tucker, the editor of *Liberty*, attacked Johann Most the New York editor of *Freiheit*, the German-language anarchist paper, for his support (or at least), his non-repudiation of the New York anarchists' alleged complicity in a series of arsonical fires (some fatal) which had been engineered in order to defraud insurance companies. Ironically enough, Tucker commended Justus Schwab (whose brother, Michael Schwab, was sentenced in the Haymarket case) for his break-away from Most. It was Most's inflammatory *The Art of Revolutionary Warfare* (1885) that helped the Chicago prosecution.

TEXT OF A LAG LECTURE

On April 2nd there were riots in Milan. On April 8th events in the U.S.A. took a more violent turn, strikers, members of the Knights of Labour, blockaded the railroad at Fort Worth, Texas.

On April 9th, there was a riot at St. Louis in which six strikers were shot.

The wide unrest due to unemployment led the unions to desperate revolutionary measures. A gigantic campaign was launched for . . . the eight-hour day. This was the utopian dream for which (indirectly) the Chicago tragedy was acted out.

May 1st was the day on which labour meetings have habitually been held. August Spies, a German-speaking journalist on the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, a Chicago anarchist paper, was speaking at a strike-meeting when firing broke out at the McCormick reaper works. When Spies arrived at the factory he discovered that in a battle between Pinkerton strike-breakers aided by police against strikers, five strikers had been killed (and four policemen). Witnessing the police violence incited Spies to write an inflammatory editorial and leaflet pleading for 'Revenge' in the melodramatic high-flown prose style affected by anarchist journalists at that time—and probably called for. A meeting was organised for May 4th in the Haymarket.

On May 4th the meeting was held. It passed off quietly. It seems to have been a rather dull meeting and Carter Harrison the Mayor popped in, saw it was quiet and trotted off on his horse to tell Captain Bonfield who was waiting, with police in readiness, that he could go home. Fielden, who was speaking, was coming to the same conclusion, for it looked like rain. To his surprise and horror he saw Captain Bonfield who for some unexplained reason had marched with his squad of police up to the meeting. Fielden turned to the menacing ranks of police. The police captain said:

"In the name of the people of the State of Illinois I command this meeting immediately and peaceably to disperse . . ."

"Why, captain?" Fielden said, "this is a peaceable meeting."

At this point a whizzing object hurtled from the crowd into the police, a blinding explosion shook the street and sixty-seven policemen were killed and wounded. The remaining police fired into the crowd and one was killed and several wounded.

The police of Chicago organized raids, and within days ten men, Spies, Schwab, Fischer, Fielden, Engel, Lingg, Neebe, Parsons, Schaubelt and Seliger were indicted for the 'conspiracy'. Parsons and Schaubelt escaped arrest and Seliger turned State's evidence.

On May 5th there was a riot in a mill in Paris, five strikers were killed.

With some vague symbolic undertones the House of Commons was closed on May 27th 'owing to defective sanitary arrangements', the stench in the House of Commons was too bad even for politicians.

Johann Most was sentenced on May 28th to one year's imprisonment for incitement to riot.

To return to matters more near at home the bridge across the Thames between Fulham and Putney was opened on May 30th.

On May 30th, in Bloomfield, New Jersey, Randolph Bourne was born, a hunchback, out of a twisted body came the direct straight thrust of his essay, "The State", and his "War and the Intellectuals".

At the Hague on June 9th, a meeting was held to protest against the prosecution of Domela Nieuwenhuis (later to become an anarchist) for high treason. The police cleared the hall.

On June 17th, riots in Zurich were attributed to anarchists.

The right of ell-snatching was withdrawn from fishermen at Amsterdam, and on July 26th rioting broke out and twenty-five people were shot, and forty police were wounded. The military were called in.

A Coney Island pleasure steamer was discovered on July 27th to have a bomb (planted by Social Revolutionaries) on board.

August 6th to the 10th saw rioting in Belfast between Nationalists and Orangemen. This item seems to have remained on the fixture list.

On August 20th, after a brief, corrupt, biased trial, Spies, Schwab, Fischer, Fielden, Engel, Lingg and Parsons were sentenced to death for the Haymarket 'plot'. (Parsons gave himself up to the court during the hearing). Neebe was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. Schaubelt had escaped arrest and Seliger, having turned State's evidence, was released.

In Madrid, September 20th, there was a Republican rising.

The police in old Vienna, on October 8th, unveiled an anarchist plot to set fire to the town.

With masterly timing and the Chicago anarchists safely in jail, the Statue of Liberty was finished on October 28th.

October 31st saw a demonstration at Charleroi in Belgium.

New York's electors rejected Henry George for Mayor on November 1st. He came second.

Guy Aldred, the editor of *The Word*, was born, by a strange coincidence, on November fifth.

On Lord Mayor's day, November 9th, a Socialist procession was banned in London. This was replaced by a demonstration in Trafalgar Square.

The year was coming to a close but, as now, evidence was not lacking that enlightenment was only a veneer. At Blois in France, two peasants were on trial on November 22nd for the murder of a woman they believed to be a witch.

On December 18th, a ray of hope came from Ireland. Due to boycotts and the activities of Sinn Feiners and Land Leaguers, the process servers and bailiffs in King's County refused to serve writs.

This year of gloom lightened only by the birth of FREEDOM, closed on the same note. A publican at Clapham shot dead a carol singer on December 25th.

JACK ROBINSON.

being publicly exposed. (2) It is clear that in spite of 15 years of Communist rule of the E.T.U., the rank-and-file members of that union are no more militant than in the unions dominated and controlled by the Right wing Labour bosses. (3) that the new bosses of the E.T.U. will no more inspire their members to be militant than their predecessors. Executives need obedient, not militant members. The problem is how to break the vicious circle.

Mutual Aid Behind the Urn

Railwaymen at Nuneaton Trent Valley station have shown the British Transport Commission how to make refreshment rooms pay.

When the commission's catering department closed the station refreshment room thirteen months ago—because it did not pay—the Nuneaton Railway Servants' Refreshment Society Ltd. offered to take it over and run it.

At the end of its first year's working, the society has made a handsome profit. The secretary, Mr. J. R. P. Emmett, a carriage inspector at Nuneaton, said yesterday:

"We could see where the BTC had gone wrong. They were charging too much. For instance, their tea was 5d., coffee 8d., and a ham sandwich 10d. Our prices are tea 4d., coffee 6d., ham sandwich 6d."

The society grew out of the old coffee taverns established 54 years ago by the London and North Western Railway on many main-line stations when railwaymen were forbidden to use platform refreshment rooms. For just over 13 years, the society has operated its own coffee tavern at Nuneaton, providing mainly tea at low prices for railwaymen.

It has 94 shareholders with a share capital of £400; for the past 12 years the dividend has been 50 per cent—three years ago, it was 100 per cent—and not surprisingly there is a waiting list for shares.

The society pays the commission £110 a year in rent, plus rates, water, gas and electricity. It does all its own buying, employs three women full time, two part time and two men part time.

(Guardian)

SLIPPING BACK

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT NOVEMBER 11th, 1961, WEEK 45	
Expenses: 45 weeks at £70	£3,150
Income from Sales & Subs.:	
Weeks 1—44	£1,384
Week 45	£29
	£1,413
DEFICIT	£1,737

DEFICIT FUND

London: McF. 4/3; Fife: G.G. 2/9; London: S.T. 5/-; Bellshill: G.B. 1/6; E. Barnett: E.H. 1/10; Chichester: G.B.A. 1/6; Glasgow: J.H.* 1/6; N. Cooma, N.S.W.: P. & A.C. 8s; London: K.L. 5/-; Church: C.R. 1/6; Kidderminster: J.W.H. 7/-; London: P. & G.T.* 12/6; S. Africa: V.P. 10/-; London: L.O. 6d.; Yelverton: M.C.D. 5/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.* 2/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; Willenhall: J.L. 4/-; Southend: P.O.* 5/-; Hounslow: L.* 4/-; Hove: A.R. 2/-; Buxton: A.B.A. 13/3; London: A.L. £3/4/-; Brockworth: J.H. 5/-; Stranraer: T.H.N. 5/-; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-; London: P. & G.T. 5/-.

TOTAL 16 16 7
Previously acknowledged 911 9 11

1961 TOTAL TO DATE £928 6 6

*Indicates regular contributor

£800 SHORT!

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Vol 1 1951: Mankind is One
Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial
Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
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Correspondence

A Society of Lunatics?

"'Tis a mad world, my masters."

DEAR COMRADES,

There is not very much in the very long editorial reply to my letter with which I can possibly disagree. The anarchist case is stated again, in the classic manner. The anarchists have been saying the same things for a century or more, without receiving much public notice. It is only towards the end of the reply that the difference in viewpoint begins to emerge. The writer appears to look upon the ruling class as a sort of indestructible and immensely cunning clique, ruling from behind the scenes with a Machiavellian skill. They enjoy immunity from most of the troubles that afflict the rest of the population, and when the end does arrive they will retreat in good order to their deep shelters, their space stations or even to Canada, and come back to inherit the earth, like the meek, when everyone else has been eliminated by Hydrogen Bombs or Death Rays.

I think this is a very romantic point of view. It reminds me of those novels where an international gang, sometimes of "anarchists", sometimes of mad scientists or sometimes Dr. Fu Manchu, is preparing to dominate the world or blow it up. "Life", said Oscar Wilde, "imitates art." Perhaps we are witnessing the ultimate triumph of the boys' adventure story. I think the truth is weird enough, but less aesthetically satisfying perhaps.

"They know which side their bread is buttered." Do they? This knowledge did not save the French aristocracy from the guillotine or exile at the time of the French revolution. Ruling classes are as liable to irrational behaviour, to mistakes and to suicidal policies as are the rest of us. I think that the point of view of the editorial

A Progressive Day Nursery Teachers

WORKING mothers are ill served with Day Nurseries in which to leave their children while they go to work.

FREEDOM-minded parents are still more ill served.

We are therefore very pleased to hear of an initiative by one of our readers to put this right in her own neighbourhood at least, and we feel sure that nobody need feel dubious just because it's being organised in a church hall! Our reader writes:

DEAR FRIENDS,

If you know of anyone with young children, living in the N.W.6. area of London, you may be interested to hear of a progressive Nursery Class for children from 3—5 years opening there shortly.

It is the SALUSBURY ROAD NURSERY CLASS, ST. ANNE'S CHURCH HALL, SALUSBURY ROAD, LONDON, N.W.6.

For details, please write to me at: 285, Goldhawk Road, Hammersmith, W.12. ERICA ZUCKERMANN.

CHARLES MARTIN

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is that the present cold war benefits the ruling class, and leads to a consolidation of its power. Temporarily this may well be so, but it seems fairly clear that it is a very dangerous expedient, that is likely to recoil on the heads of those who have adopted it.

In present conditions, and so far as we can see for a long time to come, war is, and will remain, a suicidal policy if embarked on on a large scale. But both sides have to be armed to the teeth with the latest weapons if the balance of power is to be maintained. These weapons have to be ready to go off at the slightest warning, since both sides are continually developing "improved" methods of attack. In consequence a situation could arise where a weapon could be discharged by mistake, and the damage would be done before it could be stopped.

This is where the question of lunacy comes in. It seems to me that, however enjoyable power may be, it is difficult to imagine a person, whom one could regard as "sane" in any conceivable sense, who would be prepared to pay such a high price for it. The nearest thing one can imagine to this sort of mentality is that of the racing motorist or the wall-of-death rider. Of course this recklessness is not confined to the ruling class. It is widespread in the population. Individually tyrants have little power. Their power rests on the support of cliques, and on the consent of the governed, so that the present world situation may be regarded as reflecting a sort of mass psychosis. The only sane people are those who protest and resist. (Of course I would not claim complete immunity from the general insanity for anybody. It is a matter of degree).

To underestimate one's opponent is a mistake, but it is not much better to

over-estimate him. Judging by the behaviour of different ruling groups throughout human history, rulers differ little from the rest of the population. Sometimes they behave cleverly, at other times stupidly. They are not supermen. They are as liable to be moved by envy, fear, petty resentments and so on as anyone else. They are as taboo-ridden as the population they govern. They are neurotic, superstitious and sometimes mad. They plot against each other, betray each other, trick each other, or imagine that they have succeeded in tricking each other. When the next war comes, though both sides have been getting ready for it for a long time, it is quite likely that it will be blundered into at a moment when nobody wants it. This is quite as probable as that "The Day" will be fixed, and everything prepared.

I have in my mind a list of examples of the blunders of different ruling classes during recent centuries. Of wars that began "by accident", though never without both sides having been in a state of readiness for some time beforehand, even though the preparations were often ill-done. But I don't think it is worth going into details. Anybody who is interested can find these matters out for himself.

It is evident from the article reprinted from *Liberation* in the same issue of FREEDOM that a large number of highly intelligent men, who consider themselves "realists", are prepared to lend themselves to a near-supernaturalistic cult of power and violence. These people are not of course realistic in their approach to the world but mystical. A person who sees the world realistically would realise that war will benefit no one, not even the rulers in their space stations. The invocation to the warrior of ancient times makes it plain that this is a modern war-cult. Obviously in modern civilisation no one would get very far by beating a tom-tom and brandishing a spear. Religions have to adjust themselves to the times. The efforts of some Nazis to revive the old Teutonic gods were doomed to failure in a modern urban civilisation. One can draw one's inspiration from the past, but one cannot revive it exactly as it was.

Can anyone believe that people who talk in terms of "megadeaths", and try to work out how many people can be killed without their country being des-

SF

SIR,

If I might get a final word in before the editors, in their well-known authoritarian manner, declare this correspondence closed, I'd like to give a definition of science fiction that has appeared in this month's Penguin Science Fiction anthology edited by Brian Aldiss.

"Science Fiction", he says, "is anything that has not happened; it may be something that is very likely to happen, or something that is very unlikely to happen. In either case the author must try to persuade you that it could happen. If he does not make this attempt then he is probably writing fantasy rather than SF. George Orwell's 'Animal Farm' is fantasy, whereas his '1984' is S.F."

Yours, etc.,
J. M. PILGRIM.

For whom the (Muffin) Bell Tolls

DEAR FRIENDS,

"... science is primarily about truth, and therefore ought to be intrinsically disinterested, whereas Government is about power, and is therefore intrinsically motivated by the desire of it."

Is the marriage between Government and science—economically and politically inescapable—fundamentally corrupting; corrupting to science because it turns what should be a liberating and constructive force into a destructive influence perhaps at the service of tyranny; corrupting to Government because it places in its grasp irresistible power which the masses can neither control nor begin to understand? No one could claim today that the question has been solved.

Thus Lord Hailsham, Minister for Science, delivering the Fawley Lecture at Southampton University, Thursday, Nov. 10th, and reported in the *Southern Evening Echo* (Southampton).

The emphasis is my own—comment is needless.
Southampton, Nov. 12. B.C.

troyed, how much cancer in the population is "tolerable" and all the rest of it, can anyone believe that such people are sane? If they are sane then the word has no meaning. Perhaps we are really disputing the meaning of this word.

What would be interesting and valuable would be to know why power and war are so attractive to so many people. If we could get at the roots of this problem we would be on the way to a free society.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

CENTRAL MEETINGS

meetings to be held at
The Two Brewers,
40 Monmouth Street, WC2
(Leicester Square Tube)
Sundays at 7.30 p.m.

NOV 19 Ian Leslie:
Subject to be announced
NOV 26 To be announced

DEC 3 Bob McKean: Anarchism: the Missing Link.

Hyde Park Meetings

Every Sunday at 3.30 (if fine)

OFF-CENTRE

DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middx.

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Dorothy Barasi's, 45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green, N.2.

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellery Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

3rd Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

Last Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Laurens and Celia Otter's, 57 Ladbroke Road, W.11.

JAZZ CLUB

New season's meetings will be held at 4 Albert Street Mornington Crescent NW1 at approximately monthly intervals.
Friday November 17: Jack Stephenson on The Trumpet (Part II)

Committee of 100

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COLIN WARD.

27 Nov Psychology of violence and of non-violence
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