

"Franco has made of Spain a vat fermenting with hatred, and if violence now answers violence it is that gross tyrant who is responsible"

The Ape of Hitler by HERBERT READ

THE mass trials of political prisoners in Spain are a symptom of much wider suffering and resentment in that country. The conditions of the workers and peasants are now such that "direct action" of some kind must be attempted by desperate men. Direct action may take many forms, and not the least effective are the non-violent forms—the sit-down-strike, etc. But a fascist dictator does not distinguish between fine points of ethics: where there is no right to strike, no liberty to express an opinion, no freedom of association, a striker is treated as a criminal and handled with the same ruthless violence any other enemy of the State. Violence should be met with Christian fortitude, no doubt, but not in Christian Spain, where blood is thicker than Communion wine. Franco has made of Spain a vat fermenting with hatred, and if violence now answers violence, it is that gross tyrant who is responsible.

It is now thirteen years since that fascist dictatorship was established with foreign aid, over the dead bodies of hundreds of thousands of Spanish democrats. Never for a moment has that dictatorship been accepted by the Spanish people. Imposed by brutal force, it has been resisted and resented by all freedom-loving Spaniards. Inside Spain, those who survived the fascist guns and bombs were driven underground, where secretly but surely they have been gathering force. Outside Spain, thousands of refugees

have been organising themselves and planning for the eventual overthrow of the tyranny. Never for a moment, inside or outside Spain, will the struggle be given up, for the spirit of freedom has this quality—that even if it sinks to a flicker, invisible springs will replenish its light, till it blazes out stronger than ever.

Spain is a land which offers only two possibilities of development: either an economy based on extreme contrasts of wealth, a few capitalists exploiting the masses; or a co-operative economy based on small units (the village or the factory) which would ensure a modest but decent living for all. The natural resources of the country, for internal expansion or for export trade, are not sufficient for a bourgeois economy on the American or British model. That is the economic justification of the anarcho-syndicalist character of the Spanish workers' organisations. A fatted trade-unionism on the British model, muscling-in on a degenerate aristocracy (scions of the house of Citrine!) sitting pretty on central boards of control, dominating hives of busy executives—all this is inconceivable in Spain, where the sun is hot, and men and women live in the intimate gusto of a hard and penurious struggle with the parched earth. This earthy intimacy dominates even a big industrial centre like Barcelona, where there is no sense of a proletariat, or even of a white-collared rootless middle-class; but

always the feeling of a people living in families, inside patios, cafés, workshops, but always as communities, cellular, independent. Fascism has tried to destroy this intimacy, to impose a corporate pattern on it; to merge the cells into a unique State; to destroy independence and individuality. It has not succeeded.

It will never succeed. The fascist fury has a rising tempo. Almost every day there is news of further mass arrests, all over Spain, in Barcelona and La Corunna, in Seville and in Vitoria, without discrimination of rank or religion. Catholics are among them, leaders of the Catholic Youth Organisation—yet Rome shows no public indignation. It is not a question of religion or

of social status: the conscience of a people is outraged, and men are arrested, imprisoned and shot, because their consciences can no longer be stilled.

And what of the conscience of Europe; what of the conscience of America? Obsessed with the fear of the more powerful devil in the East, our politicians and militarists prepare to bargain with the fat little devil in the West for a few acres of his blood-stained land, on which to build their air bases. They offer him dollars lest his fascist régime should crumble and Spain be held, if not by communists, then by some régime not dollar-minded. Better, apparently, a devil in the hand than two devils in the heretical bush; as though all devils did not

come out of the same hell!

We have been complacent too long. At the end of the war, Hitler's fiery little friend could have been brought before the same court of justice that hanged Ribbentrop and tried to hang Goering. Franco does not differ and never has differed, in character, policy or conduct, from these scourges of Europe. One day his vile tyranny will end, as Hitler's ended, as Mussolini's ended, and the friends of liberty throughout the world will rejoice.

Meanwhile, it is our duty to rouse the conscience of the world, to support the oppressed with our sympathy, and to see that our governments break off all relations with this ape of Hitler.

Racial Segregation in South Africa Civil Disobedience to begin next month

DR. Malan's reaction to the South African Supreme Court's decision that his government's Separate Representation of Voters Act is invalid, was that of any prime minister in such a circumstance. He said that:

"Neither Parliament nor the people of South Africa would be prepared to acquiesce in a position where the legislative sovereignty of the people was denied and wherein the judicial authority assumed the right to pass judgment on the exercise of Parliament's legislative powers.

"It is thus clear that the situation which has now arisen is an intolerable one and the Government would be grossly neglecting its duty towards the people and towards a democratically-elected Parliament if steps are not taken to put an end to this confusing and dangerous situation."

There is little doubt that if any other government passed legislation which was shown in the courts to be illegal, the next step the government would take would be to make it so. What the law gives the law can take away. The way in which so elementary a constitutional principle as *habeus corpus* was denied by the Defence Regulations in this country during the last war is an illustration of this.

For this reason, it is pointless to enter into arguments on legal history and the Statute of Westminster, as Dr. Malan's opponents of the United Party are doing.

Did the United Party raise a murmur in 1936 when Gen. Hertzog removed the Africans from the Common Voters' Roll? Or when in 1938, its own Gen. Smuts in coalition with Hertzog attempted to do what Malan is now doing—to place the non-Europeans on a separate voters' roll?

If the opposition in the South African parliament were really concerned over "democracy", would it not have something to say about the fact that the non-

European vote is a farce already, since there are four votes to every hundred non-Europeans under the present quite legal system. (It was pointed out in FREEDOM for 2/6/51 that, "There are 40,000 voters out of the 1,000,000,000 non-Europeans. These figures are kept down by literacy tests, and wage or property requirements. And there is no female non-European franchise. The Europeans, men and women, automatically become voters at 21, notwithstanding whether literate or not, and with no income or property qualification.")

The United Party espouses the cause of the Africans, the Indians and the Coloured people for purely political motives. As Mr. Stanley Uys emphasised in a broadcast last week, both parties are white man's parties, if the National Party stands for racial segregation by statute, the United Party "also believes in segregation, but they want it to be maintained by the forces that are normally at work in this country.

If the non-white peoples are to defeat *apartheid*, quite apart from differentiation in the electoral swindle, they will have to rely upon themselves, and one effect of Malan's uncompromising policy towards them has been to draw them together. Mr. Colin Legum says in the *Observer* (23/3/52): "Previously they had maintained a strict racial exclusiveness, organising themselves into separate African, Indian and Coloured groups. Now three organisations—the African National Congress, the Indian National Congress and the Franchise Action Council—have decided to combine into a united front to resist racial legislation. A Joint Planning Council has been set up to work out a programme of passive resistance.

"The Joint Planning Council set up by these three organisations decided last year to initiate a campaign called 'Defiance of Unjust Laws'. The Council's first step was to present an ultimatum to Dr. Malan, demanding that he should begin to repeal racial discriminatory laws before February 29th, 1952, failing which a passive resistance campaign would be launched. Dr. Malan refused to do as the Council asked, and threatened firm action against the leaders if they carried out their threats.

"This has not deterred them. Plans have been made to inaugurate the struggle next month. All non-Europeans have been called upon to commit breaches of certain discriminatory laws and regulations. Indians and Coloureds will defy the provisions of the Group Areas Act. Africans will defy the Pass Laws and other regulations."

This month the Governor-General of South Africa opened the van Riebeeck Exhibition which celebrates the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape in 1652. The campaign of mass resistance is to begin on April 6th, the day on which the festival ends with a special service dedicated to "western civilisation".

For, as one non-European puts it: "To us this is a time for tears rather than for celebrations."

LABOUR PARTY TIGHTENS DISCIPLINE

Standing Orders re-imposed
IN response to the recent "rebellion" of 57 Bevanites, the Labour Party leaders have succeeded in re-imposing the old standing orders suspended ever since 1945-6. The effect of such an action is to curtail the freedom of individual labour M.P.s to vote as they feel right. Instead, they have to vote as a Party—solid. Only on so-called issues of conscience—religion and temperance issues—are members free to vote as they personally think fit. Many would say that these are not the most burning issues of the day—perhaps if they were, standing orders would be revised to cover them also.

The Labour Party thus demonstrates the drift towards totalitarian conceptions and control within the political parties. The same trend which characterises recent history is also at work within the "democratic" machines of politics.

SYNDICALISM AND BRITISH TRADE UNIONISM

BRITAIN has often been referred to as the home of trade unionism. Whether it is something to be proud of or not, in view of their subsequent development, the pattern of craft unionism throughout the world has been based upon the structures developed through a hundred years of consolidation and decay.

This last word will no doubt seem a little startling to those who regard the trade union movement to-day as not only not decaying but actually more solid and powerful than ever before. And indeed, if we regard money in the bank and a place in the councils of the nation as a sign of health, then the T.U. movement is indeed in fine fettle.

But we do not consider this the criterion of a working-class industrial organisation. Under the last Government, they were a part of that Government, and even under the Government of their traditional enemy they represent a power which the Tories respect, take into account—and use. And the opposition which the T.U.C. is putting up to the new Government's policies is much more traditional than actual.

In point of fact, the British Trade Union movement can go no further. It has realised its ambitions with the nationalisation of the essential industries, with recognition by successive governments of its usefulness in controlling the workers, by the establishment of national wages agreements and contracts and the security of its places on arbitration and joint consultation councils.

MESSERSCHMITT IN SPAIN

German aircraft designer Willy Messerschmitt is carry out experiments in Spain, he says.

—News Chronicle, 22/3/52.

Within the framework of the capitalist State, the unions have gone as far as they can. Indeed, there are many who claim they have gone too far! All those, for example, who have been before Tribunals for Conscientious Objectors have found the trade union member of the Bench the most unsympathetic and hostile—and the same goes for pension boards and the like. The trade union officials seem more anxious to demonstrate their patriotism and respectability than to help those who stand by their principles or who are in need.

This, then, is what we mean by "decay". The Trade Union movement has become static and reactionary and can only degenerate in the same way that the State itself degenerates. For all their outward power and permanence static organisations, no longer live organisms with vital functions to perform, pass into decadence and decay, maintaining themselves through authority and discipline, calling for blind, unthinking loyalty from their followers. It is no longer a trade union movement, but a monument.

This rise and fall was to be expected. It is the classic pattern of all empires, which crumble because they can only maintain themselves by crushing their own source of life. The trade unions' dynamic can only come from the rank and file of the workers—they are the source of power and life. But they are crushed and kept down by their leadership who, jealous of their own positions, cannot tolerate initiative and independence among the rank and file.

Thus it was that, when the South Wales' miners recently began their pro-

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A SONG FOR THE SPANISH ANARCHISTS

The golden lemon is not made
but grows on a green tree:
A strong man and his crystal eyes
is a man born free.

The oxen pass under the yoke
and the blind are led at will
But a man born free has a path of
his own
and a house on the hill.

And men are men who till the land
and women are women who
weave:
Fifty men own the lemon grove
and no man is a slave.

HERBERT READ

NEXT WEEK'S FREEDOM

AS we go to Press before the Protest Meeting against Political Trials in Spain, held last Thursday at the Memorial Hall, the complete report of the speeches will be published in next week's FREEDOM, and will also include the text of the messages received from V. S. Pritchett, E. M. Forster, Lewis Mumford, Benjamin Britten and others who were unable to be on

the platform but who supported the meeting's objectives. This and next week's FREEDOM need to be widely distributed to make known the growing body of opinion against the barbarities of the Franco régime. We are offering copies of these two issues at the special rates of 2/- per dozen, post free. Send your orders now!

THE C.N.T. AS I SAW IT by Fenner Brockway

This article by Fenner Brockway was first published by us in July, 1937, in the journal *Spain and the World*. It is worth reproducing after a lapse of fifteen years and at a time when Franco is attempting to present the workers of the illegal C.N.T. as "bandits and gangsters". It is men of the organisation about which Fenner Brockway wrote so warmly, who were shot by Franco's firing squads, who will shortly be appearing before a military tribunal, and who fill the prisons or languish in exile.

BEFORE I visited Spain I appreciated highly the part played by the C.N.T. (the Anarcho Syndicalist Trade Union Confederation) in the fight against Fascism and for the Social Revolution; but that appreciation has been enormously increased by actual contact with the organisation and first-hand knowledge of its work.

I went to Spain to do what I could to assist the POUM, following the arrest of its leaders and the attempted sup-

pression of its organisation. I expected sympathy from the CNT, but I did not feel I had the right to expect more than general assistance.

After all, the CNT and the POUM have a difference of social philosophy which has been historically divisive. The CNT is Anarchist. The POUM is Marxist. This has led to differences in policy and even to a certain rivalry in agitation and organisation. The POUM has frequently criticised Anarchist tactics and leadership. It has not refrained from seeking to enrol members within the CNT. Under such circumstances it would have been understandable if the CNT had not exerted itself overmuch in the defence of POUM.

But I found no such reservations. To the CNT it was a matter of principle and in the presence of the principle other considerations were forgotten. The POUM had proved the genuineness of its devotion to the anti-Fascist struggle. It had proved its sincerity in defence of the rights of the workers and in preparing the way for the social revolution. It was being unjustly persecuted. That was enough. The CNT did not hesitate for a moment in standing by its side and in demanding justice for it.

There was a fineness about this attitude which commanded admiration. It was expressed not only in words but in deeds. The Barcelona Regional Committee at once placed Comrade Augustin Souchy, secretary of the International Department, at my service as interpreter and adviser. It placed its cars at my disposal and I travelled over 2,000 kilometres in them. The National Committee at Valencia was equally wholehearted in its support. It sent a courageous protest against the suppression of the POUM to the Government. Comrade Vasquez, the National Secretary, delivered an outspoken speech to a vast meeting at Valencia demanding justice for the POUM. The CNT instructed one of its leading members, Comrade Pabon, representative of Saragossa in the Cortes, to act as defending lawyer for the POUM.

This was all done from a sense of proletarian duty to stand for just treatment to another working-class organisation. There were no heroics about this gesture. It was done as a matter of course, as a matter of principle. I could not be other than moved by this evidence of the moral integrity of the CNT.

But I learned to appreciate more than that.

I was impressed by the strength of the CNT. It was unnecessary to tell me that it is the largest and most vital of the working-class organisations in Spain. That was evident on all sides. The large industries were clearly, in the main, in the hands of the CNT—railways, road transport, shipping, engineering, textiles, electricity, building, agriculture. At Valencia the UGT had a greater share of control than in Barcelona; but generally speaking the mass of manual workers belonged to the CNT. The UGT membership was more of the type of "white-collar" worker.

I was impressed by the outward signs of the power of the CNT. At Barcelona it has taken over the premises of the largest capitalist concern of the pre-July days. It is a monumental building, comparable with the vast structure which is the headquarters of the London Passenger Transport Board at St. James's

Park. At Valencia the CNT occupies the palace of a Marquis of the old régime. Both headquarters are hives of organised activities—secretarial, transport, defence, propaganda, organisation, publications, international departments, etc. And these are only the co-ordinating headquarters. Scattered about both cities one saw large buildings occupied by the various Unions—building workers, electrical workers, transport workers, federated in the CNT.

I was impressed by the organisation of the CNT membership for full participation in the war against the Fascists—the appeal to its members to join the fighting forces, the response to the appeal to join the Column of Death to replace a regiment which had been wiped out, the literature and posters issued to stimulate the workers to give their all in the struggle against Franco.

I was immensely impressed by the constructive revolutionary work which is being done by the CNT. Their achievement of workers' control in industry is an inspiration. One could take the examples of the railways or engineering or textiles. There linger in my mind less spectacular examples, but equally significant.

I think of the film institute in Barcelona. An Italian capitalist concern had decided to erect a technical centre for developing and copying films. July 19th came and the Italian capitalists fled. The workers carried on. They completed the building and now it is working in perfect order. It is one of the most beautiful buildings I have ever entered. The technique of its staff—all CNT comrades—is the equal of that to be found anywhere.

I think of a very different example. A small town. There were seventeen barbers' shops. They have united to form a CNT collective. They have taken over a Fascist club. I visited it on a Sunday morning. In the finely panelled hall sat workmen awaiting their turn. In a large club-room the seventeen barbers worked, with an equipment as efficient as you would find in a West London or New York estab-

lishment. It was wonderful to see this example of co-operation.

Most of all I enjoyed my visit to the Agricultural Collective at Segorbe. I must not delay to describe it in detail; but the spirit of the peasants, their enthusiasm, the way they had contributed their stock to the common effort, their pride in it—all was an inspiration.

There are still some Britishers and Americans who regard the Anarchists of Spain as impossible, indisciplined uncontrollable. This is poles away from the truth. The Anarchists of Spain, through the CNT, are doing one of the biggest constructive jobs ever done by the working-class.

At the Front they are fighting Fascism. Behind the Front they are actually constructing the new Workers' Society. They see that the war against Fascism and the carrying through of the Social Revolution are inseparable. Those who have seen and understood what they are doing must honour them and be grateful to them. They are resisting Fascism. They are at the same time creating the New Workers' Order which is the only alternative to Fascism. That is surely the biggest thing now being done by the workers in any part of the world.

The Price of Literature

The deaths of vital magazines have been blamed on to the paper shortage. No "chances" may be taken because paper stocks are low and prices high. That is slightly reasonable, although most discouraging. But the young author who is given economic reasons for the situation which smothers his talent begins to take an interest in economics. He reads the City Notes as well as the book reviews—and discovers that the profits of the Bowater Paper Corporation reached £10,275,000 last year, "almost double those of the previous year," as the *Daily Express* complained: stirred into peculiar criticism, no doubt, by the price of newsprint. The awakening author is also notified that Bowaters will hoard "huge stocks" to prevent any decrease in price. Binders Inveresk Paper Company Limited made £5,149,349, thus trebling their previous year's profit. Those figures represent the price of English Literature.

—Letter in *The Tribune*, 21/3/52.

The Origin of the Spanish C.N.T.

WITH the introduction of the factory system in the nineteenth century, the workers, especially in Catalonia, gathered together to defend their interests and to stand up for their freedom and dignity as men. This produced autonomist and federalist sentiments, repudiation of the absolutist centralised state, stern hatred of the clergy and its grip upon the uneducated population and a most rigid anti-capitalism.

Very many of these workers were militant in the conspiracies following the restoration of absolutism, in the constitutional revolution of Riego, crushed by France and the Holy Alliance; in the anti-Carlist war of the eighteen-thirties, that renewed assault of absolutism which was also an anti-clerical war. As the outcome of these efforts, the workers got at least in 1840, the right to form associations, and from then the Spanish labour movement formally dates.

Built upon such a basis this movement was always sturdy and self-reliant and never had any expectations of the Madrid state, never ceased to promote education as against clerical obscurantism, and never put its trust in transactions with the capitalists. It was based upon free association, early practised co-operation, soon conceived widespread union solidarity by federation, adopted every form of direct action, including the general strike; and it was conscious that only the most thorough changes, social, political, ethical and intellectual, could realise its full aims. For this purpose the Spanish workers sided with all the anti-centralist efforts, conspiracies and insurrections of the federalist republicans, with every frank and outspoken form of socialism which was not statist and authoritarian. Pi y Margall and his famous book *La Reaccion y la Revolucion*, of 1854, the works of Proudhon, and for some, those of

Thomas Paine and Robert Owen, appealed most to the militant workers, whilst many Andalusian peasants were struck by Cabet's Icarian communism. In Madrid alone, political socialism had adherents. Then, late in 1868, after the revolution of September, the ideas of Michael Bakunin became known to the militants of Madrid and Barcelona and were widely accepted as they corresponded so much to the free, anti-authoritarian and anti-religious revolutionary socialism which had animated them for many years.

They were struck by other ideas elaborated in the Swiss (Jura) and the Belgian International and in this spirit the groups founded since the winter of 1868-9, constituted in June 1870 the Spanish Federation of the *International Working-Men's Association*—the largest and longest living component of that international body founded in London in 1864.

From this organisation, hailing back to the first associations of 1840 and what preceded them informally to the C.N.T. to-day, a continuity unquestionably exists. Hundreds of sections of the Spanish federation were in existence in 1874 when, owing to the crushing of the then Spanish Republic, public life became extinct and the International, numbering up to 50,000 members, had to continue as a secret society up to 1881, when it still held some 5,000 irrepressible militants. These renewed its public life in September 1881 in Barcelona as the *Federacion de Trabajadores de la Region Española*, which was driven again to a semi-clandestine existence in 1883 by great persecutions arising from manifestations of Andalusian agrarian discontent. In 1887-88 it was decided to constitute two different units, the *Federacion Española de Resistencia al Capital*, and a loose gathering of the anarchist groups of all shades of opinion, the *Organizacion Anarquista de la Region Española*. This worked for several years, the period of the vehement First-of-May demonstrations with ensuing strikes of 1890 and 1891. Then, after 1892, the greatest persecution was suffered, culminating in the Monjuich executions of 1896-97. This greatly diminished the contact of all the trade sections and anarchist groups but did not destroy the local units, and when the great storm had blown over the *Federacion de Trabajadores de la Region Española* was reconstituted in Madrid by delegates of some 52,000 members.

This federation, which can be traced until the winter of 1905-6 (owing to the unequal development in different regions, to persecutions and perhaps principally to the great revival of the Barcelona and the Catalan movement after 1900), lost its grip on the Spanish movement and a real new start was made in Barcelona in 1907 when the *Solidaridad Obrera* (Workers' Solidarity) was founded by many of the old trade societies, anarchist and socialist, at first nominally a central body, but gradually permeated by conscious anarchists and some adepts of French revolutionary syndicalism. A constitutive congress was held in Barcelona in September, 1908, but the violent protest against the embarkation of soldiers for Africa, leading to the week of general strike and armed defence against repression in July 1909 and to the legal murder of Francisco Ferrer, delayed the work of organisation, and only by the congress held in the autumn of 1910 and definitely by that held in Barcelona, in September 1911, could the organisation be extended over the whole of Spain, and the present *Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo* (National Confederation of Labour) formally founded.

COMMENT

Malatesta and Metaphysics

MALATESTA's essay on Kropotkin, which appeared in *FREEDOM* last January, is a piece of writing which bears re-reading and re-consideration, not only for its very valid criticism of Kropotkin's optimism, but also for its relevance to anarchism in general and to certain notions which cling obstinately and—it seems to me—rather inconsistently to the fringe of anarchist beliefs. As an article, it certainly reveals the breadth and balance of Malatesta's outlook, and it makes one suspect that there is a vast amount of excellent, down-to-earth, realistic thinking which has so far been inaccessible to those of us who cannot read Italian. So far as Malatesta the man is concerned, one has only to study the records of the early days of the movement—the '70s and '80s, to see how he and Reclus stood out, even among men like Kropotkin and Guillaume, for their calmness and fairness and consistency.

The point that seems to me so worth stressing in Malatesta's essay is his indication of the illogicality of Kropotkin's notion of mechanistic determinism. Actually, this idea is a secularisation of the Calvinist idea of predestination and election, translated into scientific or philosophical terms, and it crops up often enough in anarchist writings to be worth discussing. Godwin called it *necessity*, and used it extensively in *Political Justice*; it appears again in a positivistic guise in Bakunin, and reappears in Kropotkin. In all these people you will find those delightful speculations about the dagger being as responsible as the murderer (Godwin) or about the fact that, if one could become omniscient, one would be able to trace, through causes beginning far back in time, every minute action and development in a person's life (Bakunin). Yet the odd thing, as Malatesta points out, is that the very people who preach these doctrines should be the strongest advo-

cates of personal action. How, one wonders, can they possibly answer the man who says: "Why worry? Why do anything? In fact how do anything, since my mechanically determined fate is mapped out for me?"

Mechanical determinism, in fact, is astrology by a scientific jargon. And it is, like solipsism, one of those theories which show that even logic has its weaknesses when viewed in the light of actual life. The solipsist says: "All I know are the impressions on my mind. And for that reason, why should I suppose that anything exists except the mind and its impressions? Why should I recognise the world outside me as anything but an illusion?" Logically, his case is irrefutable. We can only know the images which our mind produces. Yet few of us really believe this irrefutable logic, and even the solipsist acts as if the meat he is putting in his mouth were real meat.

The same applies to mechanistic determinism. It is possible to prove it logically without a hitch. There is a case, once again an irrefutable case, for saying that the chain of cause and effect is endless and inevitable. But nobody acts as if it were—not even the determinist. Godwin himself recognised this in his later life, and granted that, though he still held by necessity, for practical purposes one had to make a pragmatical assumption of its non-existence. What the determinists fail to realise, in my opinion, is that each combination in the chain of cause and effect has a quality of its own which is more than the mere sum of preceding causes. There is, as the Bergsonians might say, an emergent quality, which sometimes one may call Will, and it is Will which operates in the process of choice and hence builds responsibility and progress.

I have no intention of wallowing deeper into the metaphysical mire, and prefer to return to the point that, if we really recognise mechanical determinism, we may as well put up the shutters and wait for death. In reality, though some anarchists may theorise about determinism, the whole of the anarchist belief in freedom stems from a practical rejection of any rigid doctrine of necessity.

One of the implications of determinism is the rejection of responsibility—again this was pointed out by Malatesta. This, I think, emerged very largely from a rejection of the Christian doctrine of Free Will, which was intimately linked with the other doctrine on the Fall and the primordial sinfulness of man. And

there is no doubt that out of determinism there did emerge a largely valid argument about men's lives being so conditioned by external circumstances that they could not be held to blame for their so-called criminal actions.

But, if we push this argument too far, we come back to the futility of trying to change matters, since all is determined from ages ago, and nothing we can do will alter it. Or we reach that other delightful logical absurdity, that all we do is done, not because we are free or want to be free—we are only kidding ourselves about that—but because we are compelled to willy-nilly by the causes and effects which have produced us and which propel us through the detailed pattern of our fore-ordained fate. And that is secular Calvinism once again.

Mechanical determinism, in fact, is a religious notion, just as much as Predestination. The men of the nineteenth century, even when they rejected orthodox religion, were for the most part so soaked in its influence that they could not bear a vacuum in their ideas. And, if they could not know everything that was in the world around them, they had at least to make a convincing system—just like the parson across the road—by which the mythical omniscient man could perform these marvellous astrological tasks of tracing our destinies to the end of eternity and beyond. They could not admit that there are some parts of the universe which will always remain in the shadow that human logic cannot grasp all its mysteries, cannot even plumb all the depths of our own personalities.

In these matters it is often much sounder to accept how we act rather than how we think. And in reality we act as though the Will existed as a partially independent and free faculty, we accept responsibility, at least to a very large degree. We would not grant the tyrant's plea of determinism as an excuse for his conduct, we do not even exonerate our own comrades from all responsibility for their actions and thoughts. And if we really believe in freedom, we must accept this pragmatic logic of our actions and reject the spacious intellectual logic of inevitability—whether inevitability of progress or decline, or any other inevitability. There are times, as we know, when the pressure of events bears down all men's wills. But there are other times, we know just as well in our hearts, when the will is free and acts in its turn upon the events.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

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THE POLICE STATE

THE events in Spain recounted in this issue, and forming the subject of a protest meeting on Thursday, March 27th, are not isolated. They are part of an easily discernible general trend in contemporary history. It is of great importance that their trend should in fact be widely discerned, discussed and understood—so that the individual who reaps the harvest of it can squarely set himself against it.

The present situation begins with the theoretical split between the Marxist socialists and the anarchists eighty years ago. Small sects then, no doubt. But the doctrine that the organisation, the party, the theory, is more important than the individual which is basic to Marxism (though, no doubt, it has earlier roots) has played its part in shaping history.

It sapped the war-resistance of the Second International in 1914. But it also shaped the course of the Russian Revolution of 1917, through the extreme authoritarianism of Lenin.

It also shaped the policy of Lenin's former disciple, Mussolini, and of his more powerful successor, Hitler. If Lenin created the first modern police state, his other follower, Stalin has carried it to the ultimate lengths.

But the apparent opponents of Hitler and Stalin—we are asked to forget that Britain and America at various times looked with a favourable eye on both these criminals—have also fully learned the lessons of authoritarianism. The decay of civil liberty in this country, with the gradual attenuation of the safeguards of individual freedom: the grotesque justice of the United States: the propping of corrupt reactionary dictatorships, whether in Greece or Korea—all these testify to the same process.

In 1936, Spain fell under the trend towards the authoritarian police state. But whereas the peoples of Europe had been tamed by parliamentarianism or by Marxist authoritarianism and had offered but little resistance, the people of Spain with their long history of anarchist thought and action, immediately offered a determined resistance.

Many younger people to-day may not realise just how determined that resistance was. Like the people of other nations, they were unarmed. The governments of France, Britain and America, stood by and refused the assistance which they normally accord only too readily when a government is attacked by its subjects. The governments of Germany and Italy supported Franco to the full.

Yet for nearly three years, the Spanish people held out, only to be crushed finally while the world looked on. They fell under a dictatorship as brutal, and more corrupt, than those of Hitler and Mussolini. But in Spain resistance has never ceased. It is not the Russian financed, politically orientated "resistance" which we have come to know well in other countries. It springs from the tradition of Spanish Anarchism, long accustomed to working underground.

The history of Spanish resistance is the only large-scale resistance to the basic authoritarian trend of our time. No possible arguments of expediency or "fear of communism" should permit the struggle of the Spanish people against Franco to be further hampered and prolonged by western indifference or Anglo-American propping of a corrupt, brutal régime.

Greek Treason Trials

EIGHT CONDEMNED TO DEATH

THE prosecution to-day demanded the death sentence for 12, life imprisonment for 11 and acquittal for 6 of the 21 men and 8 women charged before a permanent court-martial here, with espionage and high treason." So opened an Associated Press despatch from Athens on Feb. 27th. Eight of the accused were sentenced to death.

Seven years ago, the Greek Communists supplied by Russia, attempted to seize power in Greece. The "official" Greek Government, backed and financed by America, successfully defeated this attempt. The strength of the Communists (partly Russian backing and partly the real grievances and miseries of the Greek people), is such that the government is continually afraid of them. It therefore maintains vast concentration camps where suspects are kept for years ("out of five thousand men detained as suspects

in 1949, only four hundred were then considered hardened Communists . . . two years later, nearly three thousand were still interned . . ."—from a report in the *Manchester Guardian*. Very few are ever brought to trial.

International diplomacy forgets these men. The U.S. Government recently offered advice to the Greek Government when the question of reintroducing proportional representation was under discussion. They were curtly snubbed for "interfering". Neither the U.S. nor the British risk snubs for "interfering" in the question of concentration camps or permanent courts-martial for trying treason cases.

Thirty-six Labour M.P.s cable the King of Greece, asking him to stop the execution of those recently condemned. The Greek Government no doubt treats such a protest as mere Communist-inspired tactics.

Americans Protest Against Malan's Laws

THE race segregation laws championed by Dr. Malan, Prime Minister of South Africa, have provoked a movement of protest in America, and an organisation called "Americans for South African Resistance," has been formed. This body is sponsored by left-wing churchmen, by bodies working for racial equality and by militant war resisters.

A correspondent in New York writes:

Spurring Americans for South African Resistance to act has been a recent communication from South Africa which gives details, up to now unpublished in the American press, of the reply of Dr. D. F. Malan, Prime Minister, to the manifesto issued by the joint congresses of the South African non-European populations. The manifesto stated that "all people . . . irrespective of the colour of their skin who have made South Africa their home, and who believe in the principles of democracy and the equality of Man, are South Africans." It goes on to say that the proposed civil disobedience campaign "is not directed against any race or national group. It is against the unjust laws which keep in perpetual subjection and misery vast sections of the population. It is for the transformation of conditions which will restore human dignity, equality and freedom to every South African." As previously reported in the American press, Dr. Malan answered the manifesto with the threat that, "Should you adhere to your expressed intention of embarking on a campaign of defiance and disobedience to the Government, and should you in the implementation thereof incite the Bantu population to defy law and order, the Government will make full use of the machinery at its disposal to quell any disturbance and, thereafter, deal adequately with those responsible for initiating subversive activities of any nature whatsoever." There were other sections of his reply, however, reported by the South African Press Association despatch of January 30th, 1952, which have not yet been reported in American newspapers. Here are some of the more pertinent statements made by Dr. Malan: "The first point which stands out clearly in your

letter (the manifesto of the congresses) is that your organisation maintains that since 1912, although no Government in the past has ever been able to consider this, the objective has been the abolition of all differentiation laws . . . It now demands such abolition as well as consequent direct representation in Parliament, provincial and municipal councils in all provinces and in all councils of State as an inherent right.

"It is self-contradictory to claim as an inherent right of the Bantu, who differ in many ways from the Europeans, that they should be regarded as not different, especially when it is borne in mind that these differences are permanent and not man-made.

"If this is a matter of indifference to you and if you do not value your racial characteristics, you cannot, in any case, dispute the Europeans' right which, in this case, is definitely an inherent right, to take the opposite view and to adopt the necessary measures to preserve their identity as a separate community.

"The Government has no intention of repealing the long-existing laws differentiating between European and Bantu . . ."

In commenting upon Dr. Malan's reply, one of the organisers of the American protest movement, Dr. Trigg, stated: "The South African Government has made it all too clear that the non-European populations must set themselves to end the persecution and misery to which they have been too long subjected. It is highly significant and encouraging that these people have decided to adopt the Gandhian technique of non-violent resistance which may point the way for all peoples to resist tyranny."

A mass meeting and a demonstration before the South African Consulate will be held in New York City on April 6th—the date when the non-European populations of South Africa will begin their non-violent civil disobedience campaign against the segregation laws of that country.

MANKIND IS ONE

Selections from FREEDOM.

Volume I. 1951

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WITH few exceptions, the tapping of telephone and the opening of letters in the mails are illegal practices. Yet everyone knows that the police, not only behind the Iron Curtain but on this side of the Curtain as well, use these methods of obtaining information both in criminal as well as in political cases. Every so often in America the matter is raised, but sometimes also to the effect that the police should be allowed to use information obtained in this way as evidence in open Court!

With the excuse that they must root out spies and saboteurs, it is to be expected that within the next few years telephone tapping and letter opening will be accepted open practices. Already in Sweden, an Emergency Powers Bill was passed three weeks ago which, according to *Reuters*, "authorised the security police to open letters and tap telephone calls from persons suspected of espionage or sabotage. Whenever the police do so, however, they must report their action to the court immediately. The court is empowered to rescind their action."

"The Bill also authorises the police to

CRISIS IN FRANCE

IN spite of the political expediency that has driven the freethinking French bourgeoisie back to the Catholic Church they once persecuted, sufficient Voltairinism still exists amongst them to make them smile cynically at a story, for instance, like that of the poor peasants who, although adversity had destroyed their belief in God, still went on worshipping St. Francis, who had always been a friend to the village and could still be relied upon even when the Bon Dieu himself had ceased to exist.

Nevertheless, the attitude of the French bourgeoisie itself has been curiously similar in the last years. For although adversity has quite destroyed belief in government, there still exists a nostalgia for preserving the Republic. The political crises of post-war years have left France without a Cabinet for weeks on end. This may not prove to anybody that life can go on without government, but it simply demonstrated the worthlessness of a Cabinet, at all events. The majority of French opinion nevertheless favours democratic methods of rule, but they are trying to retain such methods in spite of their own deep conviction that government is utterly useless.

That this also is the conviction of the bourgeoisie is shown by an infallible factor: that they will not pay their taxes. They more than anybody require a government for its bald, plain, essential function: the preservation of property against opponents from outside and within the country. But they are so unconvinced of any other necessity of government that they will descend to any trickery rather than pay their taxes. No matter how punctiliously merchants comply with their obligations, no matter how scrupulously businessmen build a reputation for paying their debts, no matter how honourable payment of even bets and wagers may be considered by the well-to-do, nobody wants to pay the government. As Emerson remarked, this is the final satire upon government, that men pay taxes least willingly of all their debts. They believe they get their money's worth anywhere but from the government. This the French bourgeoisie has carried to its logical conclusion, and they not only do not have the dread of "disgrace" that proceedings bring upon their English prototypes, but regard it as somewhat foolish and imprudent to yield anything to the State unless they must.

The determination not to give way to the State so far as personal interest is concerned has crippled French economy. But what has the French bourgeoisie lost? Had he co-operated with the government and given up all that was demanded in taxation, the State would merely, like the British State, have demanded more and yet more, and it would have all been swallowed up in an abyss. In this country, everybody has scorned to avoid such obligations. Tax-cheating and desertion are considered dishonourable crimes, while to break a government regulation, which at some time might insist on coupons being given up and at another time not, is quite seriously thought quite shameful. A new code of morality has been built up to suit the exigencies of the politicians, and all that we have got for it is just the same crisis as France.

As all the sacrifices have gone down the abyss of war preparations, however

ROUND THE BEND

The rule that Hungarians may go eighteen miles from Hyde Park Corner, and Bulgarians twenty-five miles, while Russians have a special corridor in Kent, sounds as though it were the result of collaboration between Dean Swift and George Orwell.

—*The Observer*, 16/3/52.

FREEDOM FROM SNOOPERS

detain an espionage or sabotage suspect for thirty days, instead of five days as at present, before bringing the suspect before a magistrate. It was passed by 125 votes to 31 in the Lower Chamber after the Upper Chamber had accepted it the previous day."

The "safeguards" appear farcical, more so since the Bill only legalises what has obviously been a regular, if illegal, practice in the past.

Last month, in the House of Commons, questions were put to the Postmaster General about the number of postal packages that had been opened in the post offices in Northern Ireland for the purpose of examination of their contents by police officers since November 1st, and how many of these packages were opened to exercise a political censorship of their contents.

The Postmaster-General's reply was as follows: "I assume the question refers to packages opened under the Royal prerogative. I have no information of the reason for the exercise of this power and am advised it would not be in the public interest to disclose the extent to which it takes place."

much or however little one makes has not affected the issue.

The presence of a few hundred Communist Deputies in the Palais-Bourbon, which constitutes the main reason why talk of federation remains in the realm of airy-fairy debating in England, is a bulwark against French financial collapse. They are the real saviours of French capitalism, for their presence is a guarantee of American aid when things get too bad, and many English Conservatives—feeling their own seats less in danger—might like to see a few in Westminster, too. There is such a thing as being too reliable an ally.

Is it possible to hearken back to a story that might have been written by Prosper Mérimée in the days when Britannia ruled the waves, Frenchmen occasionally declined to be ruled because of notions of liberty, and Spanish banditry was an honourable profession, far from being the last excuse of a tyrant?

A party of French and English ladies and gentlemen was halted by bandits in the wild hills of the country of Carmen. True caballeros, the bandits declined to search the ladies, trusting them to give over all the jewellery they had upon them. The English ladies naturally gave up all their possessions, and were most indignant to find that one of the French ladies had hidden all her husband's valuables in her bosom. "Really," they declared, "How can you expect them to be honest with us when you do things like that?" Later on, when the men were being taken away captive, the Frenchmen struggled and protested; screaming and shouting in a most un-English manner, and some of them managed to escape. The English gentlemen, having given their word not to escape, quietly submitted to having their throats cut in a manner befitting their traditions and all that, don't y' know.

On this side of the Channel it does sound rather undignified how the French captives are kicking and struggling, as manifested by these recurrent crises. But on the whole I think that posterity may agree we over here are being a little too accommodating with the banditos.

INTERNATIONALIST.

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Should Napalm be Outlawed?

A FURIOUS correspondence has recently been running in the *Manchester Guardian* which shows that ethical questions in regard to war still have the power to arouse controversy. It also shows from what unexpectedly small beginnings such controversies can arise, and how much the element of hazard plays in drawing public attention to what goes on.

Mr. René Cutforth, the B.B.C.'s reporter in Korea, has written a book in which he has focused attention on the realities of the Korean background: the icy north-west wind, ceaselessly blowing from Siberia, and the endless columns of hopeless refugees. But he also gives a brief description of a Korean civilian blinded and horribly burned by a napalm jellied petrol bomb. This brief half-page so horrifies the imagination that almost all reviewers have quoted it, and it has suddenly woken people up to the fact that jellied petrol bombs exist.

Shocked

Many correspondent wrote that the napalm bomb should be outlawed, whereupon the *Manchester Guardian* devoted another editorial to the question—only to raise still more protests. The *M.G.* took a strictly practical line:

"Where does one draw the line between high explosive and napalm? High explosive kills and maims people horribly. That, unhappily, is what makes it an effective weapon of war. Napalm is no different, except in degree... But for that reason, are our troops to be denied the use of either weapon?"

The leader writer then goes on to explain that napalm may well have had a critical effect in stemming the Chinese intervention 15 months ago. And finally asks whether, in the event of the use of napalm in Europe, our medical defences are adequate.

This editorial provoked a storm of adverse comment. Yet it had only very briefly surveyed the actual problems created by any effective technique in war. Many of the pious exclamations should have been made years and years ago. Mr. Cutforth himself wrote to say that in fact death by napalm was probably more merciful and swift than by flame-throwers; and to make a plea that it was unrealistic to pick and choose particular war techniques for condemnation—"war itself is the enemy."

Welcome Protests

It is easy to say that such protests are illogical, or late in coming, or don't go far enough. The fact is that they represent at least a realisation of what the war in Korea means and a revulsion from its methods. That is not negligible, and such protests should be welcome. Furthermore, several correspondents point to a certain moral blunting of the *Manchester Guardian's* outlook. The *Manchester Guardian* vigorously supported the liberal leader, Campbell-Bannerman, 50 years ago, when he denounced "farm-burning" in the Boer war. In fact, even in recent wars, high policy has in general refrained from using all and every weapon—it is this that gave the shock of horrified surprise to the use of atom bombs against Japan. Nor is it entirely expediency that restrains the use of bacteriological warfare. That there are chiefs of staff who would cheerfully employ these methods is almost certainly true: but the pressure of general opinion still exerts some effect.

Yet the expedient necessities of modern war, as discussed by the *Manchester Guardian*, clearly sap that moral outlook, and the readers of that paper were clearly shocked

by evidence of a certain moral deterioration. In the same way, public opinion has gradually given way before mass-bombing, high explosive bombs, the oil bombs used against German cities, "directed" missiles, and now the super-heated jellied petrol bombs, napalm.

"War itself is the enemy," undoubtedly. But one should not sneer at a public conscience emotionally aroused against particular horror weapons. Any realisation of an imaginative kind of what war actually involves is a step towards the final refusal to use war—a refusal, ultimately, that must come from the individual himself.

Syndicalism and British Trade Unionism

Continued from p. 1

test movement against the Tories' economies, the T.U. leaders had to stamp on it and assert their monopoly of right to deal with the affairs of the miners. The men themselves must remain supine and helpless, while their accredited leaders negotiate for them.

This is the direct cause of the loss of vitality and responsibility in the labour movement.

How all this contrasts with the possibilities of Anarcho-Syndicalism. This movement—which can remain a movement because it does not cut off its source of energy—has evolved through years of working-class struggle means to deal with the problems of leadership, rank and file control and responsibility which were never properly faced up to by the unions.

Anarcho-syndicalism, of course, has a totally different aim from that of trade unionism. The latter is content to remain representative of the workers in a capitalist society—a permanent wage-bargaining institution. The syndicalists, on the other hand, have as their aim the ending of capitalist society altogether—and not its replacement by a "workers' State" (that aberration of Marxist thought)—but the establishment of a State-less and moneyless society, in which the production and distribution of real wealth is carried on directly under workers' control for the benefit of society as a whole.

The syndicalists have dealt with the problems of leadership and organisation, and have evolved a means of co-ordination without centralisation, of organisation without officialdom.

Syndicalism has the double function of fighting the day-to-day issues to defend and improve living standards in existing society and of providing the economic framework for a free society.

By placing responsibility and initiative in the hands of the rank and file, syndicalist organisation can retain the vitality that inevitably withers under centralised authority.

The British working-class, first in the field with trade unionism, as a hoped-for answer to capitalism, should not be too proud to look to Spain for its answer to statism. The Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement, by its tenacity under persecution and its achievements in revolution, has set an example to the world's workers which it would pay them to follow.

They have nothing to lose but a mound of decaying matter in a world hell-bent for destruction.

P.S.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Another Error of Taste?

IN his perceptive "Remarks on an Error of Taste" (FREEDOM, 29/12/51), dealing with the *Colliers'* magazine special number on "the War we did not want," André Prudhonmeaux wrote: "On the day when television is mounted in the gutter to give us the spectacle of a slater falling off the roof, something irreparable will be broken in the world. For from this point to that of provoking his fall is only an infinite psychological distance—that which separates the desire from the action. It is thus scandalous when an illustrated magazine, having exhausted the exploitation of the past, the present, and the imagination, turns to the terrors and slaughter of the future to make a sensational spectacle and extracts from tomorrow's carnage a sort of sinister entertainment."

We have, in fact, reached the first stage. The American press published the following U.P. report from Cincinnati (4/3/52):

"Thousands of television viewers witnessed an unscheduled life-and-death drama to-day when TV cameras focused on a 26-year-old Negro labourer who for two hours threatened to jump from a 47th floor ledge.

"Robert M. Jones, unemployed, had perched on a ledge adjoining the observation tower of the Carew Tower, a downtown office building, constantly repeating: 'I got troubles...'

"Cameras of two local stations, WLWT and WCOP, caught the real-life drama and carried it into the living-room of viewers as far away as Dayton and Columbus. The cameras were trained from windows of the tower and from the observation platform itself."

What a terrible commentary on the American idea of living-room entertainment!

London, March 24.

R.

The Lesser Evil

IN Willy Fritzenkotter's letter, "The Lesser Evil" and the "Third Front" (FREEDOM, 1/3/52) he writes: "The well-known Belgian anarchist, G. Ernestan, has written in anarchist newspapers, 'The rearmament of Western Europe is necessary, and the victory of the West in case of war is desirable; let us be frankly and sincerely with Truman.'"

Since I have never written these words, I can only assume that your correspondent is attempting to summarise the views I put forward in an article entitled "Il Problema della Guerra" (The Problem of War), published last August in the review *Volontà* of Naples.

I wish to state that the alleged quotation betrays my thought on the subject. To prove this I do not propose to ask you to publish in full the article in question, but will limit myself to stating that:

(1) I do not support rearmament, nor Truman, nor war. I state that the whole world is rearming, that it will in all probability lead to war which will end in the victory or defeat of Stalinist Imperialism.

(2) In the event of a victory for State Totalitarianism of the Stalinist variety,

I just cannot believe in a possible survival of the libertarian movement and in the possibility of transmitting to anybody the "flame" referred to by Comrade Fritzenkotter, since I do not believe in the value of a non-violent resistance to Stalinist violence.

(3) In the event of the defeat of Stalinist Imperialism, I have no illusions as to the worth of the conquerors, but I think there would remain possibilities for survival and hope of progress for the libertarian ideal and movement.

(4) In conclusion, therefore, I think that it is in the interest of libertarians to do all they can to prevent the triumph of the armed forces of Stalinism. And even the risk of death is to be preferred to certain slavery.

(5) These are simply declarations of principles the practical application of which must be governed by the specific conditions in which each libertarian militant finds himself.

Brussels, March 8. G. ERNESTAN.

{Our correspondent is splitting hairs. He says that Willy Fritzenkotter misrepresents him when he accuses him of advocating the rearmament of Western Europe. It is true he states that he does not "support rearmament" but he then goes on to say that (a) he does not believe in the value of non-violent resistance to Stalinist violence and (b) that it is "in the interests of libertarians to do all they can to prevent the triumph of the armed forces of Stalinism". Obviously in that case the only answer to an armed Russia is an armed West. He cannot escape such a position. We do not share his position and just as FREEDOM took up a position in opposition to the pro-war minority led by Kropotkin in World War I, and by Rocker in World War II, so do we declare ourselves in complete opposition to those "anarchists" who in choosing between the lesser and greater evils are prepared to support World War III.—EDITORS.]

considered by the administration in his dismissal. The University has been shamefully dishonest in trying to excuse itself on other grounds. But then, what can you expect from a State-supported university? As anarchists we cannot agree with Wiggins' political philosophy, but we cannot help but view with apprehension this symptom of an all-too-evident deterioration of free thought and speech in the U.S.

Minneapolis, March 8. M.A.

"While there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

—EUGENE DEBS

CONSCIOUS EGOISM

IN reading the interesting summary of Max Stirner's book, and the remarks on "Conscious Egoism" which are so absolutely germane to the cause of anarchism, I linked them up very closely with your German correspondent's statement in the same issue: "We will never come to an anarchist revolution, until a revolution has taken place in people's minds." It is the mentality which is a conscious mentality, and which knows what it is working for, and how it is working, which creates the revolutionary attitude and the real egoistic attitude, not aiming at power for the sake of power, but desiring it, to justify the potentialities of man and his authority to use them. I quote two passages from Stirner's book: "Look upon yourself as more powerful than they declare you are, and you have more power..." and "I am not an ego along with other egos, but the sole ego: I am unique. Hence my wants and my deeds are unique... I take everything as my own."

This, surely, is the revolution in Man's mind.

Putney. EPHRAIMA ANATOLE.

An Acknowledgment

The Glasgow Anarchist Group wish to thank those sympathisers attending the meeting in Central Hall on March 9th, who contributed the sum of £4 10s. 0d. to the funds being raised in connection with the case of the Spanish Anarchists under sentence of death in Spain. The money has been forwarded to the Committee in France.

Special Appeal

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GIFT OF BOOKS—Stroud: M.K.
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Anarchism

FOR those readers who may be new to the ideas of Anarchism, we offer the following very brief summary of its main tenets, pointing out that the word "Anarchy" does not mean "chaos", but simply "without government".

Anarchists Oppose:

CAPITALISM: i.e., the economic system wherein ownership or control of the means of production is in the hands of the few—whether private ownership or a nationalised board—and the majority are employed merely as wage-slaves, and the motive for production is not the need of the community, but profit.

NATIONALISM: the natural outcome of patriotism, both irrational creeds which divide peoples against each other and make them easy prey for

MILITARISM: the cult of the glorification of regimentation and imposed discipline, especially through the armed forces, the main function of which is to breed obedience to authority and preparation for

WAR: it is useless to imagine that peace can be preserved by preparation for war, or that the total wars of modern times can be either just or justified. War is a permanent feature of governmental, capitalist society, and will not disappear until that form of society disappears.

THE STATE: which is the permanent structure of authority over the community, and wields its power through the armed forces, the police, the legal and prison systems as the various ministries of government, and co-operates with the Church in denial of mental, physical and material freedom.

Anarchists Propose:

FREE ACCESS for all to the means of production and distribution. Industry should be organised on the basis of equality for all concerned in it, through

WORKERS' CONTROL, and the guiding principle should be: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

FREE CONSUMPTION, resulting from the abolition of money and the wages system (by the use of which workers are robbed of the fruits of their labours) should be regarded as the right of all—unconditionally. Modern technology should be applied to the problems of satisfying the needs of the community and not be harnessed to destructive ends.

PEACE can only be achieved by the creation of a real INTERNATIONALISM of outlook by the peoples of the world, over-riding national boundaries and abolishing their national States. This entails

SOCIAL REVOLUTION, which should produce violence only if national states use force to defend the old order of society which is so obviously suicidal. This revolution can only be brought about by the direct action of those who wish it: the power structure of society cannot be altered by giving power to different individuals in the vain hope of their remaining uncorrupted.

THE FREE SOCIETY, or co-operative commonwealth; i.e., that form of society based upon liberty and justice and incorporating the principles outlined above. Municipal affairs organised through local communes: no centralised authority, no law. With the abolition of private property and compulsive morality, no criminals. Freedom.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP OPEN AIR MEETINGS

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HYDE PARK
Every Sunday at 3.30 p.m.
TOWER HILL
Every Friday at 12.45 p.m.
MANETTE STREET
(by Foyle's, Charing Cross Road)
Every Saturday at 4.30 p.m.

INDOOR MEETINGS

at the
PORCUPINE, Charing Cross Rd.
(next Leicester Sq. Underground Station)
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
MARCH 30—Margery Mitchell on
THE CAPACITY FOR CHOICE

NORTH-EAST LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS IN EAST HAM

Alternate Wednesdays
at 7.30
APRIL 2—Round Table Discussion
THE MAKING OF FREE MEN
Enquiries c/o Freedom Press

WEST LONDON

A Group has been formed in West London and any comrades interested in working with it are invited to contact—
C. Brasnett, 79 Warwick Ave., W.9

LIVERPOOL

DISCUSSION MEETINGS at
101 Upper Parliament Street,
Liverpool, 8
Every Sunday at 8 p.m.

GLASGOW

INDOOR MEETINGS at
Central Halls, Bath Street
Every Sunday at 7 p.m.
With John Gaffney, Frank Leech,
Jane Strachan, Eddie Shaw

MIDDLESBROUGH

Anyone interested in forming a group in this area is asked to communicate with D. C. Wilson, 3 Norman Terrace, South Bank, Middlesbrough.

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