

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Those who are lacking in good will or who remain adolescent, are never free under any form of society."
SIMONE WEIL

FRENCH IMPERIALISM AT WORK

REPRESSION IN MOROCCO

THE Russians face a serious food crisis in East Germany and discontent in Czechoslovakia. The Americans have the war in Korea on their hands: the British, Colonial problems in Kenya as well as the guerrilla war in Malaya. French imperialism also faces problems in Indo-China and the more recent flare-up in Tunisia and Morocco.

French imperialism in North Africa has been the subject of discussion by the United Nations. Both the British and the French have insisted (as they also did over South Africa's internal policies) that the United Nations has no competence in such matters. The British and French colonial empires contain many well-educated and capable opponents, and many African and Arab groupings are available who seek to use the United Nations for their purposes. Such activity is not at all the kind of thing the great powers had in mind when they created this successor to the League of Nations, and the Imperialist powers are certainly unwilling to permit such anti-imperialist propaganda activity.

The United States does not vote against such discussions, perhaps because its own colonial possessions are amongst scattered islands with no effective political voice. Neither the U.S.A. nor the U.S.S.R. objects to the embarrassment of other great Colonial Powers.

FIRST ARRESTS OF WHITES IN S. AFRICAN CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

SEVEN Europeans were arrested at Johannesburg to-day for taking part in the "defiance of unjust laws" campaign. They entered Germiston, an African location near Johannesburg, and held a meeting of Africans in contravention of an order promulgated ten days ago. The arrested Europeans are:

Mr. Patrick Duncan, son of a former Governor-General of South Africa; Miss Freda Troup, author of *In the Face of Fear*, a book about the Rev. Michael Scott; Miss Bettie du Toit, a trade union official; Dr. Cohen, a dentist; Mrs. Margaret Holt, a social science student; Mrs. Selma Stamelman, an anthropologist; and Mr. Syd Shall, a medical student.

The Europeans, who are the first White people to be arrested in the defiance campaign, were accompanied by fourteen Africans and eighteen Indians, including Manilal Gandhi, second son of Mahatma Gandhi. Fourteen overseas and local pressmen were arrested at the same time for being in the location without a permit but were released.

—Manchester Guardian, 8/12/52.

British newspaper readers are led to associate the Russians with walking out of the General Assembly, but this time it was France's turn, and the French representative will be absent while discussion on Tunisia proceeds.

Repression in Morocco

Discontent has reached a high level in French Morocco and is being assiduously fanned by both the Nationalists and the Communists. They have replied by instituting a formidable repression. Trade Unions have been terrorised, summary "justice" meted out to those engaged in "subversive" activity and concentration camps set up. A former Tunisian Minister of Justice, in a memorandum to

the United Nations points to "the executions, destruction of property, the re-establishment of concentration camps, and attempts on the lives of nationalist leaders." Even the *Times* reports that in Paris it is felt that repression at this level cannot be maintained.

Once again, therefore, we have the spectacle of a colonial power, this time France, facing the crisis in Imperialism with all the old, familiar and horrible apparatus of repression. The native politicians, the nationalists, and the Communist dupes of Moscow, meanwhile stir up the situation to suit their own political ends. Amongst all this, the colonial peoples suffer untold misery.

VIOLENCE & THE LAW

THE case of Craig and Bentley has again shown aspects of contemporary society which FREEDOM has several times discussed in the past. There is the violent crime on the part of very young persons. There is open and self-righteous vindictiveness on the part of the Bench. And there is an unwholesome moralistic fascination shown by the public at large and well pandered to by the Press.

Bentley cannot read and has been in trouble with the police before. This means that his education has been a failure, and that the legal machinery wholly failed to understand and remedy the social problem he presented when he was in its hands before. The man in the street is altogether too free with such terms as "a bad lot", "a criminal type". It cannot be pointed out too often that when anti-social acts are persisted in, those who have to deal with their first manifestations are in large part responsible. The individual's failure is also society's failure, and the law's failure. The law, in Bentley's case, has made its final confession of failure in passing the death sentence on him.

Influence of Environment

What of Craig? Those who think that violent crime is "caused by" poverty, or parental indulgence, or parental severity will not find much material here. Craig was the youngest of a family of eight seemingly quite normal children of a normal middle-class home. Yet his brother, aged 26, has been sentenced to twelve years imprisonment for armed robbery, Craig himself for murder. It seems a most unfortunate circumstance—in the event—that the father was an ex-army

man with a good record and a special aptitude with firearms. Yet one can hardly say that everyone who competes at Bisley is training up criminals.

The possession of firearms converts simple robbery into severe crime. At a time of hysterical preoccupation with weapons of violence, such severe crime is visited with disproportionately severe sentences. But training in the use of arms does not come mainly from Bisley competitors like Craig's father: it comes from the State, and if the use and knowledge of firearms by the young is undesirable then the cadet and military training of the young ought to be the first thing to go. Comics and strips and detective stories ought to be discouraged vigorously instead of demanded by the public, and admiration for prowess in deeds of adventure ought to be supplanted by admiration for more social virtues. There can be no doubt that many of the tendencies shown by young people convicted of violent crime are implanted there and nourished by newspapers, stories and films, as well as general acclamation of such tendencies—except in the scapegoats who fall victims of the law.

To return to the family background: it is possible to do no more than say that the unfortunate history of the two brothers, Christopher and Niven, shows that beneath the surface of apparently normal family life, lie tensions and tendencies of a most disruptive character. People are too fond of looking for abnormal aspects in the environment of delinquents. It is time we began to look with less complacency on "normal" family life and the social tensions in our society as a whole.

The Vindictiveness of Law

The part played by the law in this case is revealing. Craig's brother receives a savage sentence—no other words describe 12 years imprisonment on a man of 26. Such sentences to-day are openly proclaimed from the Bench as being vindictive. "I am going to make an example of you," is frequently heard from judges, despite the intrinsic injustice of severity on an individual as a warning to the rest. Sentencing Craig's other associate, the 16-year-old Norman Parsley, Lord Goddard said, "I and other judges will do our best to let young men know what will happen to them if they do this sort of thing." The law is supposed not to be retributive or vengeful in character. Who can read the

Pit Winders' Strike

What DID Horner Say?

THE degree of doublethink necessary for a trade union leader to-day must be considerable. But for one whose union job conflicts with the line of his political party, it must almost amount to schizophrenia.

Not that we need have any sympathy with them on that account. It is an occupational risk no worse than that faced daily by the men who do the real work. And for those Communists who gain high office in the unions, we can have only contempt when the needs of their job lead them into positions which embarrass them from a political point of view.

Such is the position at the moment of Arthur Horner, Stalinist secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, who, it was reported, has appealed for blacklegs to break the present strike of winding engineers in Yorkshire.

This is bound to be an unpopular strike among the other grades of mine-workers in Yorkshire. The winding men are, of course, essential to the working of the pit, and their coming out on strike this week is badly affecting the "bull week" before Christmas for all the other workers in the pits where they are out. In the week just before any holiday, miners usually belt into the work particularly hard in order to make, on their piecework rates, something extra to spend over the holiday.

For many miners, therefore, it must seem sheer cussedness on the part of the winders to choose this week for their strike. Spokesmen for the Yorkshire Winding Enginemen's Association, who are calling the strike, say, however, that negotiations for a 3s. a shift increase have been dragging on for months, and they are too fed up to wait any longer. At a meeting at Doncaster last Sunday, a secret ballot showed that the members wanted a strike, by 408 votes to 39.

The Enginemen's Association is affiliated to the N.U.M., and the National Executive has denounced the strike, going so far as to appeal for volunteers to come in and work the pit engines. And Arthur Horner, as General Secretary, is reported to have appealed for volunteers from Northumberland and Durham to come into Yorkshire to replace the strikers.

This appeal was strongly denounced in a statement made by Mr. Horace Woodall, president of the Yorkshire winders, after Sunday's meeting. "The dignity of workmen has never been so blatantly outraged as it was by Mr. Horner's letter," he said.

No response seems to have been forthcoming, however, which would indicate that the Northumberland and Durham miners have a better sense of working-class solidarity than Communist Arthur Horner.

But, realising that he has got himself into rather a mess, Horner is now denying that he made the appeal. He is saying that a letter he wrote on December 8th was misinterpreted! It must have been a very strange letter, written a week before the strike was due to start, that could be interpreted as a call for blacklegs, if in fact it wasn't!

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Learned Ignorance

"Learned ignorance"—the phrase is William Blake's—in the law has been clearly exhibited—again by the Lord Chief Justice—in a recent case. Sentencing two brothers named Cowell, Lord Goddard expounded the virtues of "a good larruping". "What they need is someone who would give them a thundering good beating. I suppose they were brought up to be treated like little darlings and tucked up in bed at night." We may perhaps pass over the bad taste

THE VIENNA PEACE CONGRESS

THE "Peoples Congress for Peace" has, not unexpectedly, been loudly acclaimed by Moscow Radio, which has enthusiastically commented on it as a bringing together of men and women of the most varied political and religious beliefs and of all nationalities, people drawn together by their desire for peace.

It is not for us to doubt the sincerity of many who have made a pilgrimage to Vienna in the hope of helping to achieve a world based on co-operation rather than on fear and distrust; the dark days of 1943 are behind and the leaders of the Communist Parties and Peace Committees now coo their messages of goodwill, forgetting their militaristic hymns of hate of less than a decade ago.

But if we no longer hear the Communist yell of "Pacifists are Fascists", the echo sometimes comes from the other side of the "Iron Curtain".

The Hungarian Communist Party organ, *Szabad Nep*, told us on July 30: :

"Pacifism has as much prospect of securing peace as the ostrich with its head in the sand has of escaping

danger or defeating his enemies . . . Pacifism's aim is to deprive us of our arms . . . Pacifism and the fight against war cannot be co-ordinated."

Alexei Cepicka, the Czechoslovak Minister of War, is quoted in *Rude Pravda* (Sept. 10):

"The Peace Front neither has nor could have anything in common with organisations which glorify peace or sects whose members refuse to fight."

Even more forceful is the comment of *Magyar Nemzet*, the Hungarian Communist daily, which recently declared: "We cannot tolerate symptoms of detrimental pacifism within the Peace Front."

It would seem that the people who are sincere in their fight for peace and who have Communists for their bed-fellows are due for a rude awakening. It is for them to enquire about the militarisation of the youth in the Communist countries.

The Anarchists are not to be trapped into campaigning for a Big Five Pact. We have seen the futility of these "scraps of paper"; to us the struggle against war is a struggle against all governments, the two are indivisible.
COLIN QUAYLE.

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VIEWPOINT:

"Of course, if it came to the point where either I went into the army or I got put up against a wall and shot, I'd go into the army."
 How shocking! My respectable audience, shocked until it should be bored with being shocked, by my advocating resistance to conscription by all practical means, respectable or otherwise is now so shocked that for the first time it forgets how respectable it is and voices its horror in a horrified whisper, "You won't even die for your cause!"
 Of course I won't, I'm an anarchist.

If there is an anarchist maxim, a single belief from which the whole of anarchism is derived, it is the idea that there is nothing more important than the individual person. All the institutions against which anarchists have struggled, God, the State, property, the cult of leaders, have this in common; that they suppress and hinder the development and expression of individual personalities. Voluntary co-operation, with which anarchists hope the boss system will be replaced, means co-operation between individuals for the benefit of individuals. Anarchy cannot survive where people are ready to give up their personal power, and there can be no place in anarchy for self-negation, or self-abasement before anything.

Martyrdom, by which I mean the act of dying, or in a lesser degree suffering,

NOTICE

The Exhibition of Ceylonese Paintings (reviewed last week) has been extended until December 23.

REVIEW

A NEW LITERARY MAGAZINE

PERSPECTIVES, No. 1. (Hamish Hamilton. 2/6, quarterly.)

PERSPECTIVES is an ambitious magazine, sponsored by the Ford Foundation and conducted by a group of editors led by James Laughlin, which sets out to exhibit American culture to the world. Owing to the fact of wealthy patronage, it has a rather unfair head on other literary magazines, and so far as quantity is concerned, it presents the weightiest half-crownsworth of literary material we have seen for many a year—almost two hundred pages, complete with colour prints and photographs.

One thing that must be said at the outset is that the present issue—and a glance at the list of future guest editors makes one doubt whether there will be a change of policy later on—does not attempt to ram America down one's throat. The material is presented fairly, to be judged on its own merit, with no obtrusive salesmanship, and the editorial policy certainly seems to aim at a departure from the discrimination which at times seems to be developing into a norm of American life, if one can judge from the declaration that:

"... the editors are pledged to a policy which will keep the pages of *Perspective* free of propaganda or political pressure. Its sponsors believe in the principle of the freedom of artistic expression. They also believe in the right of others to decide for

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How Not to be a Martyr

willingly for some cause, some god, country, leader, ideal or what you will, is an act of complete self-negation. A martyr, by being a martyr, proves that he has lost all desire to develop and express the personality that is his, but wishes only that the cause (whatever it is) should be developed and expressed. He has demonstrated his belief that the cause is more important than his individual personality.

Whatever you think about martyrs, you cannot, if you are an anarchist, agree with them. Martyrs all believe that something is greater than the individual person; anarchism derives from the belief that nothing is.

Remember that I have used the word "willingly" in my definition of martyrdom. To risk death and suffering in the attempt to achieve something is not martyrdom, even if one does in fact die or suffer. The mountaineer who is killed by a fall, the explorer who dies of exposure, and the research chemist who blows himself up, are not martyrs precisely because they did not intend to die. They willingly risked death, but when you risk something happening, the last thing you want is that it should happen. The Christian in Shaw's *Androcles* who is eaten by a lion running away from the arena is no martyr, precisely because he is not willing to die.

Those who lay down their lives to save their friends are not martyrs either. They die to avoid a friendless life and to gratify the love they feel for their friends, and I think most Christians would agree with me in doubting the authenticity of those who become "martyrs" in the conscious hope of heavenly reward or posthumous glory.

Only those are truly martyrs who die (or suffer) willingly that the cause might prosper. My Sunday-school teacher used to tell us the story of some artist who produced an inimitable red paint, mystifying his fellow artists until he died of anaemia and it was discovered that "the wonderful red paint was his own life's blood". A man to be revered, my Sunday-school teacher told us, for his selfless devotion to the cause of red paint production. This classical martyr is, I gather, fictitious, but genuine historical martyrs are not rare.

We have all come across enough Catholic propaganda to know that Catholicism recognises a whole horde of martyrs, some no doubt non-existent, some not martyrs within the present definition, but many of them true martyrs within the present definition, but many of them true martyrs for Christ who died without a thought for themselves. The free churches have also had a crop of martyrs whose histories were well known to my Sunday-school teacher.

Less well known are members of the ancient Assassins society who killed themselves at a sign from their chief to show some visiting emissary what a well-disciplined body of men the Assassins were. And less often mentioned are Emily Davidson who died under a horse to prove that women were worthy of the vote, and the pilots of manned bombs (suicide planes) who blew themselves up to aid the Japanese war effort.

The anarchist "Chicago Martyrs" of 1887 cannot, I am glad to say, properly be called martyrs. They probably consoled themselves with the thought that their deaths, if they came, would benefit the anarchist movement, but the evidence shows that they would all have preferred not to die. Albert Parsons hoped to be acquitted by the law (his thirteen-hour speech after conviction was a carefully worded argument that the case should be moved to another court), and those who had not such hope would probably have taken any reasonable opportunity to escape. I have heard that Parsons refused the offer of release for himself when it was found he had not been in Chicago at the time of the alleged outrage, but surely this is further evidence of his erroneous faith in American justice. He probably thought by his refusal, to force a retrial, thereby securing the release of his comrades who were no more guilty than he. I am also aware that Neebe claimed, when all but he were convicted of murder, to be sorry not to be sentenced with the others. But I think I am justified in dismissing this as a false claim made for the sake of effect. (I could have said the same thing myself.)

The Chicago martyrs would have preferred life for themselves to death for the movement; therefore they were not

authentic martyrs. Neither, for the same reason were Sacco and Vanzetti, or the many anarchists eliminated in Spain.

I do not claim that "genuine" martyrs have never existed among anarchists. Martyr assassins were fairly common among the Pan-Slavists (one of whom shot the Austrian Archduke at the start of the First World War) and they seem to have been the chief product of the Social Revolutionary party in Russia. And a few misguided "anarchists" may have been prepared to martyr themselves in a similar way during the "propaganda of the deed" period.

I call them misguided because if they had any real understanding of anarchism they would have seen how completely illogical is the idea of a genuine anarchist martyr. Anarchism is a conception of society based completely on the idea of the importance of the individual; martyrdom involves the complete negation of the individual. The two things exclude each other.

And if it were logical that an anarchist should martyr himself where would be the advantage to the movement from such action? Martyrdom is quite beneficial to a movement requiring followers. The already-converted have the example before them of someone who gave his or her all for the movement, and people like my Sunday-school teacher, with an unhealthy respect for martyrs as such, must be moved at least to tolerate, perhaps to follow, any movement capable of commanding such abysmal loyalty.

But the anarchist movement can make no use of followers, for there is no

Why We Fight Wars

"WE are the kind of people who have got the world into the mess it is now in. We are the kind of people, as all our ancestors have been, who fight each other enthusiastically every 15 or 20 years. . . . Until quite recently the fact was of relatively little importance. When people used to fight each other ordinarily a few thousand or occasionally a few million people were killed. Times have changed. . . . The new and efficient methods of killing . . . have produced a situation where . . . it is quite clear now that warfare and suicide are synonymous terms.

"Can we identify the reasons why we fight wars . . . ? Many of them are easy to list—prejudice, isolationism, the ability emotionally and uncritically to believe unreasonable things, excessive desire for material

sense in being a shepherd unless one intends to fleece the sheep, and followers can make no use of anarchism, for it gives no reassuring promises and displays of power, but only keeps nagging at you not to be a follower. So the anarchist movement needs to attract not the weaklings who are to be possessed and used by it, but self-reliant, important individuals, capable of using the movement to express their own individuality.

Only important individuals are appropriate to a movement based on individual importance. And surely important, self-reliant individuals cannot be attracted by martyrs, or any cause demand the complete self-surrender that martyrdom implies. Anarchists seek to make all individuals important to themselves, strong enough to take responsibility for themselves. Stories extolling martyrs, whoever tells them, are good propaganda for self-negation and weakness.

It was logical and useful to the Nazis to claim Hörst Wessel as a martyr for Nazism, whether he was or not, and equally sensible of the church to claim Joan of Arc as a martyr for the Church, whether she was or not. But for anarchists to claim the Chicago "martyrs", Sacco and Vanzetti or any other anarchists as genuine, self-surrendering martyrs for anarchism would be ludicrous and harmful.

By all means let us mention the names of the anarchists who have been killed and made to suffer by those to whom they were dangerous, but let us at the same time stress that no anarchist ever acquiesced in his own murder. The so-called "anarchist martyrs" never died like real martyrs, with glad hearts and fanatically shining eyes, but always like individuals struggling with all their power, not to die. D.R.

**Lessons of the Spanish Revolution—23
Conclusions: Anarchists & the Cult of the Leader**

"It appears a fatality that only small minorities are capable of remaining faithful to their principles and ideals. When a minority of chosen, self-sacrificing and militant people is transformed into a mass, when it is converted into an organisation of thousands and hundreds of thousands of militants, then, by reason of the very necessities of its administration, it inevitably falls into the hands of a bureaucracy, which operates more and more according to its own interests, without necessarily representing those of the founders, of the standard-bearers of that organisation in its origins.

"Is it that there is no way of avoiding this vicious circle? Efforts are made for some years, or some generations to create a powerful instrument for the progressive social struggle. When we believe it to be ready, its strength increased by unending sacrifices, and when the enemy cannot destroy it by continuous persecutions, terror and the shedding of blood, that instrument in the hands of the bureaucracy arisen in its midst, becomes almost the enemy of its former ideals, or at least an obstacle for the achievement of the very objectives to which it owes its existence.

"If one studies the path followed by the large working-class organisations in all countries, of all parties and revolutionary movements, one always notices the moral and ideological gulf separating the original groups from the functionaries who have benefited by the efforts and sacrifices of others before them."

In these words of Santillan, from his much-quoted book, are contained the most important problems facing revolutionary movements: how to prevent the growth of a leadership and avoid the corruption of power. For though in its constitution the C.N.T. rejects the ideas of leadership, and provides safeguards in its constitution to prevent the growth of a powerful bureaucracy, in reality it did not succeed in protecting itself from this disease which always, sooner or later, destroys the revolutionary aspirations of any movement. In the course of this study we have been particularly critical in our references to the actions and utterances of the leaders of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., and have perhaps minimised the responsibility of the rank and file members in allowing such a situation to arise. The most militant members, absorbed in the tasks of the social revolution, or fighting in the workers' militias, were unable to play an active part in matters concerning the organisation, and tended to leave policy decisions to those who from the first

day assumed the rôle of the Executive. Undoubtedly it was a mistake but one which reflects more on those who took advantage of it than on those who committed it. And it is for this reason that we have directed our major criticisms at those men and women faced with this situation who, instead of ensuring that the organisation would be in a position to express its decisions collectively, took upon themselves the rôle of leaders and the responsibility for decisions made in the name of the movement.

Too much evidence to the contrary prevents one from accepting the view that the leaders of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. as a whole (and including those who held high positions in the institutions of State as well as in the army) looked upon their positions of power with embarrassment or found the situation distasteful, though we believe that many of them had illusions about their ability to accept such positions without suffering the consequences. We think it a cardinal mistake to ever believe that anarchists or revolutionaries in positions of power are less susceptible to its corrupting effects than anyone else in similar positions.

In the first place, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Press did all in its power to encourage this cult of the leader. Their newspapers and periodicals abound with photographs of the leaders in dramatic postures before the microphone, or dressed up in their smart uniforms denoting their ranks of Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, etc. At the same time a process of deification took place, not only of the dead such as Durruti and Ascaso but of the living as well. In the C.N.T.-F.A.I. *Boletín de Información* (No. 347, Barcelona 27/8/1937) the front page is devoted to a profile of *Un Hombre: Garcia Oliver* which begins in these terms: "No one can doubt the dynamism of that fighter and organiser, comrade Garcia Oliver."

"Men like this comrade must occupy prominent and responsible positions, from which they can communicate to their brothers, their own courage and energy. And we would even say: their strategy.

"His dynamism, linked with his temerity, would be an invincible line of bayonets (*valladar*) against fascism. What is more, we would see the combatants recover that spirit of sacrifice which made them rise, facing the perils of an unequal struggle, with bared chests.

"Men, carried forward by a symbol, die smiling; thus died our militiamen and thus will die the men, soldiers to-day of the popular army, inspired (*plasmados*) by

the spirit of comrade Garcia Oliver." References are also made to his "creative genius" and comparisons drawn with "that other great figure, our immortal Durruti who rises from his tomb and cries, 'Forward!'"

This unbelievable mystical demagoguery is not an isolated example. The Confederal Press of the period provides us with hundreds of examples more. What is equally serious is that people such as Garcia Oliver obviously thought of themselves in these exalted terms, as is evidenced, for instance, by the broadcast speech he made at the time of the May Days in Barcelona: "... You know me sufficiently to understand that in these moments I work through the impulse of my freest (*liberrima*) will, because you know me well enough to be convinced that no one, neither before nor now, nor in the future, no one will succeed in drawing from my lips a statement which is not felt by me. Yes, having said this I must declare: All who have died to-day are my brothers; I kneel before them and I kiss them all equally. *Salud!* comrade workers of Catalonia." (Peirats; Vol. 2.)

The Press, the Radio and the public platform can be both the weapons for man's emancipation as well as for his subjection. They are always dangerous when monopolised by a few people. It is significant that most of the oratorical giants in Spain have become the reformists, the revisionists and the politicians of the revolutionary movement. The process of disintegration was only halted by the victory of Franco. Even so, the effects are still visible in the Spanish revolutionaries in exile among whom the collaborationist, interventionist ideas have divided the movement into two opposing camps, bitterly hostile towards one another.

It goes without saying that an organisation which encourages the cult of the leader, the "inspired genius", cannot encourage the sense of responsibility among its members, which is fundamental to the integrity of any organisation. As we have pointed out elsewhere in this study, it was fortunate that large numbers of the workers in the C.N.T. were not hypnotised by these supermen. But they were nevertheless unable, in the deteriorating economic and political situation, to restore the revolutionary movement to its traditional position. Too many "leading militants" were occupying positions of power—and we must stress the fact that they were important positions. In 1938, for instance, David Antona, who was Regional Secretary of the C.N.T. of the Centre, was appointed Governor of the Province of Ciudad Libre (formerly Ciudad Real), and one reads of the guerrilla fighter, Jover, chief of the 28th Division in the reorganised "popular Army" being embraced by

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ENERGY & APATHY

IN human life on any plane many problems, many activities present themselves and human beings respond in different ways to their situation. Broadly, one may distinguish two main types of response however. There are those who, with a ranging energetic outlook, treat these problems as a challenge and go out to meet them, seeking to make human life a matter of satisfaction and achievement. The other approach is cautious, as though unwilling to grasp the opportunities and hazards offered, and, in the event, often adapting human existence to the exigencies of environment without seeking to modify that environment.

In the world of politics the former approach is that of reformers and revolutionists, the latter of more conservative, apathetic trends. Of course, such a broad generalising description fits only people in general. Politicians may often choose their label to suit self-interest, so that one often finds energetic militant conservatives and apathetic feeble reformers. What we are here concerned with is more a mental and emotional response to the problems of human life.

The introduction of the profession of politics, actually, modifies the whole question of response to environment, for politics immediately becomes an end in itself. It is not simply a question of how "we" shall solve the problems which face our town, our country: but how we shall secure the political power to be in a position to consider those problems. The question of securing power comes first, the world's—or the village's—problems are deferred till that matter is achieved. And, of course, once in power much energy is required to deal with the question of remaining in power.

Politics thus puts off the real problems of life to a secondary position and so tends to diminish the sense of their urgency. This is no doubt why politics of any shade tends to be conservative in effect.

But there is another powerful effect which politics exerts in the same direction. The whole posing of the problem of political power implies that some people are going to administer affairs: the rest are mere spectators whose active rôle is cast for them by the politicians in power. And the rest are, of course, the huge majority. Now a man may have an energetic outlook and may seek to modify environment for the better solution of human problems. But if he never has the opportunity to tackle such problems because initiative lies with the politicians and he is merely one of "the rest", his energy will be blunted and turned to apathy. If his desire to take an active rôle in affairs leads him to seek to join the ranks of the politicians, he will, as we have already seen, have to turn from immediate urgent, human problems, to that of seeking power. And when he has got power, his energy is partly drawn off by the necessity to retain power but is also canalized by such processes as party loyalty or, what is much the same thing, party discipline. Little enough is left for the basic problems which may originally have stimulated his ardour. Once again the defeat of his human impulses will tend to produce apathy rather than energy.

Anarchists see politics, therefore, as an undesirable secondary activity which has a natural tendency towards conservatism, which defeats such good intentions as politicians possess, and which ensures that the

energies of the main mass of people is wholly untapped so that they are left with no active part to play in human affairs. Political organisation and methods thus provide a great barrier to any attempt to change things or to tackle even the most urgent and outstanding problems of human life.

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The results of the election plunged the Liberals and the Left into a deep gloom. It was not felt really that Stevenson could "save" us but rather that Ike would speed up the process of destruction. As time wears on though we realise that in practice both candidates are closer to the established path than all their oratory would lead us to believe, so that it now appears probable that Ike will make no drastic or immediate changes, in foreign policy at least.

Admittedly this is only a feeling, but it is based on the terrible logic of the increasingly stratified society. This does not really mean things will not get worse, but only that Eisenhower will worsen them in approximately the same way anyone would. It is remarkable how schizophrenically this "little war" can be carried out in comparative encapsulation and isolation (emotionally, anyway) from the vast still happy-go-lucky American society. But in the background there is, of course, the basic anxiety, violence and ideological disintegration going on and lurking, lurking.

POGROM IN PRAGUE

I SHOULD like to put forward an alternative view to that expressed in your issue of December 6th, on the subject of the Prague Trials. The chief revelation in these carefully rehearsed dramas, namely the vitriolic anti-Zionist propaganda, should not be interpreted as an excuse for anti-Semitism, but should be literally interpreted.

The Soviet Union, who obviously ordered these trials has had a long record of dislike of Zionism. After the strange wooing of the infant State of Israel, the attitude has now re-appeared true to type. The reason is not far to seek. The authoritarian state views with suspicion those individuals who do not concentrate their whole mind in adoration of their country's rules but who look partly to another authority. Russia, for this reason, has never been happy about religious toleration and it has never been more than half-hearted, with constant vigilance. The same goes for Yugoslavia, the ultra-Marxist State.

In exactly the same way, the Communist régime will not tolerate those who look to Israel as their natural home, however distantly. It is "bourgeois nationalism" of the worst sort. And certainly not all Jews are Zionists. Even though the charges are preposterous to Western minds, they serve as a useful warning to the peoples of Communist Europe not to harbour any thoughts sympathetic to Zionism.

The effect of all this on the British Communist Party may well be disastrous. Thornton Heath. P. J. HITCH.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Letter from America

There are ominous whispers of a recession this spring or summer due to the levelling off of "defence" spending. One hardly sees how the State could let this get very serious. No doubt a new crisis will automatically arise to fill in the gap and one gets the feeling that some of these things do work almost automatically, that is are the product of several conflicting wills, but not anyone's particular will. One is reminded of the acts of firecracker-makers: (mostly in Ohio) in children's comic book mags around the fourth of July. They are literally smuggled into N.Y.C. Of course, the manufacturers only make them (and sell them for a profit), they do not blind or maim the children. Oh, no! Yet when statistics show 75% of the inmates of homes for the blind to be firecracker victims, one wonders at the virtues of home industry.

It is interesting I think that a process analogous to the Bolshevik-eating of Bolshevism now appears to have also become a permanent institution in American society: viz., each administration indicts the previous and is in turn indicted for graft, favouritism, association with the underworld and various plain and fancy kinds of cheating and thievery. It has become hilarious in N.Y.C. in the past few weeks with Murphy, Love and Levy and O'Dwyer: prosecutions of Hiss, of the Rosenbergs and of ordinary racketeers and criminals being definitely linked as personal friends of Costello and Luchese (top pin racketeers). The sale of judgeships has also been revealed and proved most entertaining. Alas, the slogan seems to have been reversed now to: "Judge, so that ye be not judged." The older one still seems better.

Television is wreaking a somewhat horrible revolution in American life with theatres (movies) closing, restaurant business falling, transit lines running into

deficits and no doubt opticians' businesses booming. For every good show on TV there seems to be about 5,000,000 bad ones. None of the educational stations have been set up yet.

Thus America continues making its little capitalist firecrackers. And if someone gets killed, well, what the hell were those Koreans doing in Korea in the first place? J.G.

S. AFRICA

"R.M." in the column "Round the Meetings" in the edition of FREEDOM dated 29/11/52, has made two errors: one of fact, one of interpretation. There is no party as the Unity Party in South Africa. There is an organisation known as the Non-European Unity Movement only. This organisation is not a political party in the usual sense; it has no leadership that is constant like a party leadership: it is a mass movement with affiliation from all political, social, economic bodies (such as tennis clubs, football associations, Civic Rights organisations, etc.) which subscribe to the idea of a unity of all oppressed in South Africa and a struggle through all the existing bodies for democracy in South Africa. The people decide whether they struggle or not; that is why no person can claim leadership in this movement. London, Nov. 29. R. W. GOOL.

R.M. replies:

I ACCEPT our correspondent's correction on the title of the Unity Movement, but would point out that the speaker at the meeting referred to gave

no indication that the Unity Movement was affiliated to "all political, social and economic bodies".

I am, however, glad to read that the struggle in South Africa is being fought out on the tennis courts as well as in the Law Courts, because the main activity of the movement, according to the speaker, was the supplying of lawyers to defend non-Europeans in court cases. This is all right as far as it goes, but hardly constitutes mass action.

Our correspondent says that all political bodies are affiliated to the Unity Movement. Even allowing "all" to be a slight exaggeration, we have had some experience of these affiliated bodies. All political parties are out for leadership and power, and whenever they have a "united front" it degenerates into a struggle for control, and their professed aims are forgotten as each party intrigues for its own ends.

There are conflicting reports from individual South Africans, some of them contradicting the observations made by our correspondent. Until such time, therefore, as conclusive facts are available, further comment will only add to the confusion.

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution—23

Continued from p. 2

Premier Negrin "in front of the acclaiming soldiers" and promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

It would make a revealing study if the historiographer of the C.N.T. were to compile a list of the members of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. who during those years accepted positions of power in the reconstituted State and Government, and alongside each name indicated the present political affiliation or point of view of the persons concerned. We believe (with the Spanish journalist, who recently suggested that a psychological study of the Spanish struggle should be attempted), that such a document would be of great interest and provide one of the most important lessons to be learned from the social upheaval that took place during 1936-39. It would certainly be a warning to future revolutionary movements, and a further confirmation of the rightness of anarchist theory regarding the corrupting effect of authority and power.

We recall once having replied to a correspondent that the only people whom we thought would not misuse power were those who would refuse it. This view has been strengthened in us by the study of the Spanish Revolution, and confirmed by reading a short statement made by the Italian Anarchist, Errico Malatesta, shortly after his return to Italy after the First World War. The reception he received from the Italian workers was overwhelming, and many anarchists joined with the workers in an attempt to create a myth around this little man whose modesty was only equalled by his humanity. Malatesta, they said, had only to give the word and the revolution would take place in Italy. To which Malatesta replied in the journal *Volontà* (January, 1920): *Grazie, Ma Basta* (Thank you, but Enough):

"I am in Italy as a result of the efforts of comrades and friends, and I thank them for having made it possible for me to bring the contribution of my work to the common cause.

"It pains me that my modest abilities will not permit me to do as much as I should wish and as much as is expected of me; in any case I will work with all the loyalty and enthusiasm that I carry in my heart.

"May I now be allowed to make an observation, a criticism of the action of the comrades in my regard.

"During the agitation that took place for my return, and during these first days since my return to Italy, things have been done and said which offend my modesty and my sense of proportion.

"The comrades should remember that the hyperbole is a rhetorical figure of speech which should not be abused. They should above all remember that the exaltation of a man is politically a dangerous thing and morally unhealthy as much for he who is exalted as for those who do the exalting.

"And then I am so made that I find hand-clapping

and cheering unpleasant, tending to paralyse me rather than encourage me to work.

"I want to be a comrade among comrades, and if I have the misfortune of being older than others [Malatesta was then 68] I cannot be pleased at being continually reminded of this by the deference and attentions which the comrades inflict on me.

"Do we understand one another?"

With these simple words of Malatesta we pay tribute to the thousands of nameless men and women who worked unceasingly for a more just, a freer and happier Spain during those momentous years; whose efforts and thoughts are nowhere recorded individually, but who, collectively, made the Spanish Revolution, in spite of its political enemies, one of the most significant and important landmarks in man's perennial struggle for freedom and justice. V.R.

THE END.

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ONE of the lessons to be drawn from the experiences of the Euston workers and the creation of their Mutual Aid Society, which we discussed last week, is that it presents an answer to the question as to whether revolutionaries can work inside the unions.

Not that I am pretending, as I said before, that the Euston workers are consciously revolutionary. The action they took was a rebellion against union dictatorship, but they have not shown—yet—a revolutionary attitude to society in general. But that only makes their experience all the more significant in this respect.

Jack Rice was a man of some thirty years' experience in the National Union of Railwaymen. He knew the rules, the procedure, how to use them and, no doubt, how to get around them. When, however, the executive really set out to steamroller him, he found that all his knowledge and experience was of no avail against the dead weight of the official bloc, and that, however "democratic" the rules may have been, when he tried to use them he found that they could be changed or ignored when it suited the Executive.

And he was not fighting for a change in the rules, or a change in attitude on the part of the leaders; he was not trying to make the NUR a revolutionary organisation; he was not trying to alter anything, he was simply trying to get the Executive to recognise its own rules! And he was forced to resign.

How much less likely of success, therefore, would be those who were consciously trying to change the nature of a union. The discipline which a modern union exerts over its members is not there for nothing, and one of its chief reasons is to protect the union from its own membership—or, to be more accurate, protect the union leadership from its own membership.

The Euston story is an extreme case. But an extreme case of what? Surely of the division between the rank-and-file and the leadership which in fact to-day exists in every union in the country—except perhaps the very smallest craftsmen's unions. In most cases this division is expressed only in the unofficial actions which are constantly occurring throughout industry. In most cases the workers are quite content to use their unofficial weapons more to force the union officials to take action than to force the boss to accept their demands. It is often easier to do the latter than the former! And usually, these unofficial actions are taken only after a long and frustrating delay while the workers have been trying to get the union to take up their grievances.

But in most instances the machinery of the union is against them. A resolution may be passed at Branch level—and then never get any further, simply because at District level the "responsible" official squashes it. Or, it may never be allowed to be discussed at Branch level because of a directive from the Executive. It has been said that Branch secretaries in the Transport & General Workers' Union get their instructions from Arthur Deakin himself, and only

motions or resolutions that coincide with what Arthur wants discussed are allowed to go through.

When grievances pile up, however, sooner or later something has to go, and it is usually discipline. But because there is no way in which the union can be made to move, the workers take action outside of the official machinery. They resort to direct action, knowing full well that in doing so they are not only going to have to fight the boss, but their "own" union officials as well.

These actions are never revolutionary in aim, and are rarely even social in character, by which I mean that they rarely have any principle at stake—they are mostly to back up some wage demand, or to have some grievance righted. The nearest they get to having any social character is when they are acting in sympathy with other workers.

Nevertheless, in these actions—and they are going on all day and every day in one part of the country or another—we see the working-class clinging to the traditional methods of struggle to which can be attributed all the social and economic advances that have been made by the workers so far. And although we are by no means satisfied with the changes that have come about in the last, say, fifty years, in the standards of the workers, we should indeed be foolish to pretend that there have been no improvements at all. The question that immediately arises is: how were these improvements gained? The political parties will pretend that they were all the result of the increased political power of the workers as represented by the "working-class" parties—the Labour Party, for instance. But I think it should not be forgotten that the source of the power of the Labour Party is in the trade union movement of which it is supposed to be the political wing.

Not only has the economic and industrial strength of the workers always been there in the background, but the trade unions have also been a great—indeed the main source of income for the Labour Party. At Morcombe, this year, for instance, Sir William Lawther reminded the assembled delegates of the constituent Labour Parties that if they wanted the trade union money they would have to toe the line the trade unions wanted. That soon silenced the delegates, but does not blind us to the fact that actually it is the trade unions

END OF A MYTH

End the legend of Father Christmas and his reindeer, writes the Rev. Malcolm Riley, vicar of the Holy Trinity, Abergavenny, in his parish letter.

"It is rather silly teaching children to say 'thank you' to a non-existent Father Christmas when we could teach them to thank the Holy Child of Bethlehem."

—*News Chronicle*, 4/12/52.

Violence and Law Continued from p. 1

of such remarks from the Bench, if only because they have become so common. What has to be stressed is the ignorant, opinionated character of this utterance evidently made without the slightest knowledge of the facts or desire to acquire such knowledge.

In fact, the Howard League, who took the trouble, which Lord Goddard omitted, of finding out something of these boys' backgrounds, found that their father was a retired sergeant major who "was in the habit of beating up the boys almost every night" and that they came from a broken home.

We could not support more strongly the Secretary of the Howard League, Mr. Hugh Klaire, when he asked: "Is it not a grave matter that the Lord Chief Justice should have made such an ill-founded statement?" It seems to us one of the gravest aspects of recent violent crime, that the law should display through its most senior representatives such ignorance, vindictiveness and almost total lack of understanding or even the wish to understand the factors that turn an individual towards crime.

At the meeting at which the Howard League's secretary exposed Lord Goddard's remarks, the chairman Sir Sidney Littlewood said that if he had known that Mr. Klaire was going to criticize Lord Goddard, he would have stopped him. Such an attitude seems to us totally misconceived. Lord Goddard uses his office to vent his opinions with great freedom. If his opinions deserved it they would be acclaimed: there seems no reason whatever to protect him from criticism. His remarks in the Cowell

case were irresponsible enough without encouraging public men from irresponsibility by protecting them from adverse comment.

The Public

But the law is not entirely to blame any more than the individual delinquent or his family. It is surely time that the preoccupation of the public with crime was recognised as abnormal and significant. The crime strips in the daily press, the sensationalism of the Sunday press, are obvious enough. But in its politer way, this preoccupation goes far deeper into our society. The hold which the detective story has on the reading public is surely pathological. There are those eminent figures in the learned professions or the Church who write them as a spare-time occupation. Or there are the Cabinet Ministers who read them in their leisure hours. Describing the luggage of a member of the Royal Family going for a holiday, a newspaper noted recently that it included several of the latest crime fiction. And when it extends from Royalty and high placed "statesmen" to every suburban and most intellectual homes, what hope is there for the delinquent or for humanising the law. For the fascination of crime is deeply embedded in our society and must be recognised as a very abnormal feature.

In fact, only a few hundred murders are committed every year in this country. Soaked in crime fiction, state-instructed in the use of arms, the wonder is that the actual commission of crime is so low.

SYNDICALISM & WORKING CLASS EXPERIENCE THE UNOFFICIAL MOVEMENT

who are following the line of the political party, and are opposed to "Bevanism". All of which, of course, has nothing to do with the interests of the workers in either the trade unions or the Labour Party.

Such gains as have been registered by the workers have been the result of their industrial strength, of which the political organisation has only been a reflection. Now that the unions, however, are playing second fiddle to the political wing (excuse my mixed metaphor) as far as policy making is concerned, we can see a worsening of workers' conditions. The unions now no longer consider the defence of their members' interests as their main function, but must play their part as "statesmen" in the running of the country's (capitalist) economy.

No wonder then, that we see the emergence of unofficial committees among the workers. And once again we see them turning to basically syndicalist

ideas. Firstly, in their frustration with the negotiating machinery of the unions, they turn to direct action. Secondly, in order efficiently to organise their action, they turn to the setting up of committees based at the point of production, representative of the rank-and-file and concerned only with the functional business of doing the job in hand—organising the strike, the boycott, or whatever it is. Far more in touch with the rank-and-file, because they are still workers themselves, not being given fancy wages or permanent positions, these unofficial committees do not have to play the games of intrigue and party politics that occupy so much of the official unionists' time (unless they are Communists trying to capture the committee, of course), do not have to worry about property or financial interests, but just have to carry out their job of organisation. And when the action is finished, back they go to their bench, and maybe next time trouble starts, another committee is

chosen.

This is the Syndicalist way, and although it can undoubtedly be claimed that the workers concerned are trade unionists, in the sense that they are members of their respective unions, they are certainly not acting within the framework of their unions, but against it. Their union officials oppose their actions even more bitterly than the bosses, for, unlike the bosses (yet!) their jobs are at stake if the workers organise themselves without official leadership.

At this moment an unofficial movement of shop-stewards is growing up in the road transport industry. It is threatening to call a nation-wide transport strike against the Tories' attempts to de-nationalise road transport. Without wishing to defend their apparent affection for nationalisation, it is clear that such a mobilisation of transport workers' strength is the only way the return to private enterprise can be prevented. Needless to say, Arthur Deakin is denouncing this action as unconstitutional. Which, of course, it is, and therein lies its greatest chance of being successful. P.S.

Letters to the Editors (see also page 3)

MORE ABOUT MARRIAGES

SINCE Jose Hallam has made some very pertinent comments on my article on marriage, I feel obliged to clarify my position on this issue still further.

I agree entirely that possessiveness indicates a need for affection—but it is a symptom that only manifests itself when an individual feels insecure in his love relationships. When we are sure of affection we do not fear losing it to rivals, and hence do not resent a display of affection in other directions by our established source. Jealousy is quite simply fear of a rival—generally a sexual rival—because such a display may herald withdrawal of affection from ourselves. As often as not we are justified in this assumption, since human emotions do in fact wax and wane.

Perversely enough, the best way to ensure that love will fade is to be possessive. The love donor will then feel irked by the open or hidden restrictions placed on his or her freedom and will react with a hostility toward the love recipient which kills affection most effectively—as we all know by now. On the other hand, if we genuinely love someone we show this by being sensitive to their needs, including their need for a feeling of personal freedom. By being sympathetic to their thoughts and moods we anticipate and meet these needs. When they want encouragement or consolation, we give it to them. When they need praise or advice we supply it. In this way, we justify ourselves and are entitled to expect a similar display of affection in return. As J.H. put it—we have a desire to be needed for our affection, just as much as a need for the affection of others. The only way to satisfy this more subtle need is to have affection to give.

Those who try to excuse their jealousies usually base their argument on the erroneous assumption that a person has only a fixed

quantity of love to distribute, hence the more that goes to others the less there is for us. In point of fact, people learn to love by loving and being loved. Love, like hate, grows on what it feeds on. The more a person loves, the more capable he becomes of loving.

Hence, we should welcome a wider distribution of affection by our love sources for two reasons:—

- If we genuinely love someone we find our happiness in their happiness, and cannot wish to restrict their growth in any way.
- From a less altruistic point of view, we know that the more our love source matures emotionally the more capable he or she will become of loving, and therefore the more love will ultimately be available to ourselves.

In brief, I would answer J.H. by saying that the realisation of a humane society depends not on our evolving out of love, but upon our developing our capacity to love to a far greater degree. I would wish her not to stop loving her own children, but to try loving other children with whom she comes into contact with a similar warmth, commensurate with their need and hers. What I am trying to discredit is not genuine love, but the restrictions that are placed upon it by our stupid social system.

I further agree wholeheartedly that our social misfits almost invariably show a history of lack of an affection which could be depended upon in their childhood. It is precisely the sense of insecurity which this early experience engenders that is a basic theme in nearly all neuroses.

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A Note on Economics

LAST week, Mr. W. R. A. Hudson asked the President of the Board of Trade for figures about imports of fondant, sugar fat mixtures, and piping jelly. These distressingly expensive substances can, with sufficient ingenuity on the part of manufacturers and tolerance on the part of consumers, be used by the baking and confectionary trade as sugar substitutes. Sugar imports, to begin with, are strictly limited; but no one worries at first about licensing fondant, imports of which are microscopic. Business ingenuity, spotting the possibilities of fondant as an unrationed sweetener, promptly multiplies these imports to the point where limiting action becomes necessary. Fondant is controlled. But sweetened fat mixtures remain—and become, almost overnight, a significant threat to Britain's balance in the European Payments Union. Faint yet persevering, the administrators slap

a control on to sweetened fats. Undaunted, the ingenious manufacturer boards a continental plane, negotiates an unprecedented supply of piping jelly—of which the administrator has never heard; that peculiar, vaseline-like substance is promoted from the job of providing decorative coloured squiggles to the status of a major ingredient—and a noticeable source of foreign expenditure. By the time the administrator has caught up, the trade in piping jelly and kindred quasi-edibles has attracted enough eager foreign suppliers, complete with plant and workers, to make it difficult to put a stopper in the piping-nozzle; that would be "damaging to trading relations" (a phrase to be greeted with hollow laughter by the sugar growers whose product, available at a fraction of the price, is meanwhile piling up unsold).

—*The Economist*, 29/11/52.

When I inveigh against the private ownership of children, I have no wish to deny them their birthright of love. What I do say is that in a free society the child would be at liberty to seek this love where he pleases, and not be hampered by legal restrictions to keep him within a certain group. Human relations are of paramount importance in any society. What I deplore in our own culture is the pressure that is brought to bear on the individual from birth to restrict his love relations in certain ways instead of developing them to the full.

Indiana. BOB GREEN.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Every Sunday at 4.30 p.m.

INDOOR MEETINGS

The present series of indoor discussion-lectures will continue at the premises of the British Drama League, 9 Fitzroy Square, London, W.1 (off Warren Street, Tottenham Court Road).

The meetings will be held on TUESDAYS at 7.30 p.m.

DEC. 23—No Public Meeting
DEC. 30—Colin Wilson on
CRIME & SOCIETY

The meetings will continue in January. Please watch this column for announcement.

NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS
IN EAST HAM
Alternate Wednesdays
at 7.30 p.m.

DEC. 31—Round Table
"IN MY OPINION"

LIVERPOOL

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

GLASGOW

INDOOR MEETINGS
at
CENTRAL HALLS, 25 Bath Street
Every Sunday at 7 p.m.
With John Gaffney, Frank Leech,
Jane Strachan, Eddie Shaw,
Frank Carlin

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