

A GENERAL election means that people are asked to choose who shall rule them, and on May 26th millions of people in this country will flock to the polling booths to signify their approval of one set of politicians or another, thus indicating lack of faith in themselves to run their own lives.

Many voters will be unconvinced and not quite clear about the policies of the party they vote for; many will do so out of habit as much as conviction, and the fact that the policies of the two major parties— Labour and Conservative—are so similar will have little effect on the solid supporters of either.

There will be others who will not cast their votes either way, but only because of their *indifference* towards Government and their apparent disinterest on the effect it has on their lives. But all will be agreed that "someone has to run the country, and tell us what to do."

To persuade people that Governments do none of the necessary and useful work in society but exploit the skill and the lives of the people under their domination, is the most difficult task of the anarchist propagandist. And yet the evidence against Government, every Government, is bloody and obvious. terms, the confused citizens discover that after all the enemy was not so bad and it is now the ally that becomes the object of hate.

To be governed, in the words of Proudhon, is to be conscripted, drilled, fleeced, exploited, monopolized, extorted from, exhausted, hoaxed and robbed; then, upon the slightest resistance, at the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, vilified, annoyed, hunted down, pulled about, beaten, disarmed, bound, imprisoned, shot, judged, condemned, banished, sacrificed, sold, betrayed and, to crown all, ridiculed, derided, outraged, dishonoured.

The anarchist answer to the demands of Government and to the crimes it will perpetuate when the occasion demands is to withdraw support by refusing to vote them into power. This may not affect the results of the election next week, but, as we wrote at the time of the 1951 General Election:—



In the Interests of Rulers

Its main concern is in manipulating affairs of State in the interest of the ruling group who control the economic life of the country. Its prime function in "peace" is to extract as much as it dare from the people it rules. In war, Government demands that those who happen to live in its territory will defend the State against the "encroachments" of another State. When the peoples of the various National States have slaughtered each other at the behest of their Governments and these rivalling Governments then come to

PROMISES

We shall work to raise living standards

What we shall have done is to affirm that as individuals we consider ourselves fit persons to dispose of our lives as we think best . . . and at the same time to assert our ability to live our lives to the full without infringing on the rights of all others to do likewise. This may sound academic to the "lesser-evil" advocates; yet, in fact, on their own admission, because the problems of the world to-day are beyond our control, we are simply the unwilling victims who have no say, whoever gets their vote. Politics is a racket and politicians are rogues. How can this vicious circle of the "lesserevil" be broken, if not by the growth of a resistance movement to the whole concept of Government -"democratic" or otherwise?

Refuse to Vote !

By refusing to vote the anarchists are declaring their resistance to the whole principle of the Government of man by man, which they submit is responsible for the irresponsibility of, and apathy among, the peoples of the world to-day in face of the mass slaughter in progress and the threats of further destruction on an unparalleled scale.

ANARCHIST ALTERNATIVES

The Observer of May 8 printed an Election Guide comparing the Manifestos of the Conservative and Labour Parties under the headings below. The similarities were striking, except on the one issue of public ownership, where 'free competitive enterprise' and nationalisation represent the parties' two forms of mastery over the workers.

FREEDOM has taken the headings from the Observer and offers below an Anarchist comment on each.

DISARMAMENT & DEFENCE

Disarmament cannot be expected to be permanent, even if achieved temporarily, while the world is divided by nation-States. All States depend upon their monopoly of the means of coercion to maintain their power over their people, and their position with regard to other States.

A World Government would simply concentrate all means of violence under its own monopoly and would be no more liberal towards the ordinary people of the world than national States are to their subjects to-day. While governments remain, armed forces will remain. Disarmament is possible only when the power structures of the world have been abolished. When a world commonwealth of peoples has done away with all forms of coercion over them, 'Defence' will have no meaning and armaments no place.

EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH

We support the peoples of the Colonial countries in their desire to be free from Imperialism. We urge them to organise themselves, not to put 'their own people' in political power, but to destroy the apparatus of power altogether and to come into direct control of the means of life themselves. Anarchists in Britain see their part of the anti-imperialist struggle as the undermining of the British people's support for imperialist adventures. We denounce British domination of other peoples and the barbarism resulting from it. The achievement of an Anarchist society in Britain would automatically mean the end of the British Empire and complete independence for those made subject peoples by the same government that dominates us. We do not consider the people of colonial countries as unable to govern themselves any more than the British. People everywhere should be free to live their lives as they see fit, whatever their standard of technical development.

and to guide Colonial peoples along the the road to self-government within the framework of the Commonwealth and Empire.

-From the Tory Manifesto.

-AND REALITY

"On no account can we relax in Malaya—it is our biggest dollar earner." —Sir Anthony Eden, 12 May, 1955.

WE'D BE HAPPY TO OBLIGE

Mr. R. A. Butler, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said at Ridgewell, Essex: "The only thing I have not been able to do is reduce the price of beer, and that I would like to do before I die, because I would like to think it would be on my tombstone."

LOOK OUT !

"One great threat to our national prosperity is the unofficial strike," said Mr. Harold Watkinson, Ministry of Labour Parliamentary Secretary, last night.

"The T.U.C. is as worried as we are." The Conservatives, if elected, would take counsel on the problem with the T.U.C. and the National Joint Advisory Council," he said.

-News Chronicle, 13/5/55.

When the Russian soldiers of 1917 were no longer interested in dying for the Czar they did not wait for constitutional methods to vote them out of the army; they left in their thousands. In the words of Lenin "they voted with their feet", this way indicating their contempt for an institution that offered them nothing but blood and tears.

To turn our backs on Government is to render it impotent, and to vote with our feet is the first step towards a free society.

ARE YOU HELPING TO FIND NEW READERS FOR FREEDOM?

FOUR-POWER TALKS AND GERMANY

Talks 'at the summit', treaties, pacts, agreements between States have never yet prevented war, nor done anything to remove the *causes* of war, which are rooted in capitalist and governmental society. The League of Nations failed, as the United Nations has failed, to preserve peace. Agitation for high-level talks only serves to deprive the peoples themselves of a sense of responsibility for their world. In 1942 Winston Churchill promised to prevent German re-armament for 50 years. By 1950 he was supporting Clement Attlee's schemes to the people of Germany and encourage them in their struggle against the reemergence of militarism on both sides of the East-West Frontier. For our part, we pledge ourselves to the struggle against British militarism and will not allow ourselves to be used in wars against the peoples of other countries.

for re-arming Germany within a Western

Alliance. The German people do not

want re-armament, but they are not con-

sulted. British capitalism, however, has

economic reasons for desiring German

re-armament. If the German people are

sacrificed in another war, the responsi-

bility will lie with the British Govern-

ment as much as anyone else and with

those people who vote for them. Anar-

chists everywhere offer their friendship

THE FAR EAST

The peoples of Asia should be given every encouragement and help by the peoples of Europe and the West to achieve their emancipation. But while we are divided by submission to rival governments, friendship across the frontiers is thwarted. Anarchists throughout the world pay allegiance to the same concept of international brotherhood and oppose domination by government whichever label it bears. The people of the Far East are being shamelessly used in the Cold War; their social and economic aspirations twisted by nationalism into support for home-grown dictatorships. Formosa should be occupied neither by Chiang Kai-shek and the American Forces, nor by the forces of Mao Tse Tung: the Formosans should be left alone to run their lives in their own way.

UNDER-DEVELOPED AREAS

Wherever people live restricted lives through lack of resources for betterment they should be helped if they so wish and on their own terms. Industrial countries obviously have much to offer them in terms of technical knowledge and equipment, but under-developed areas also have much to give in return by virtue of their untapped natural resources. There must be no forcible. one-sided development through capitalisation for the purpose of making profit. Development of natural resources and utilisation of labour power is the business of the people themselves and should be carried out by them, for the benefit of all, with assistance and advice freely given if asked for.

De Continued en p. 4

Tweedlecon and Tweedlelab (with Apologies to Lewis Carroll)

THEY were standing under a tree, each with an arm round the other's neck, and Alice knew which was which in a moment, because one of them had 'TWEEDLECON' (followed by a square) embroidered across the stomach of his trousers, and the other had TWEEDLELAB.

They stood so still that she quite forgot they were alive and she was startled when a voice came from the one marked Tweedlecon.

"If you want us to represent you," he said, "you must put a cross on one of our stomachs. We're not here for fun. you know. Nohow!"

"Contrariwise," added the other, "if you don't want us to represent you, you must put a cross on the other one. That's your duty. If it wasn't so, it mightn't be; and if it weren't so, it wouldn't be: but as it is, you must. That's democratic.

this wood: it's getting so confusing. Would you tell me, please?"

But the fat little men only looked at each other and grinned.

They looked so exactly like copies of Our Elder Statesman that Alice couldn't help pointing her finger at Tweedlecon and saying "Blood and sweat!"

"Nohow!" Tweedlecon called out briskly and shut his mouth up again with a snap.

"Toil and tears!" said Alice, passing on to Tweedlelab, though she felt quite certain he would only shout out "Contrariwise!" and so he did.

"You've begun wrong!" cried Tweedlelab. "The first thing in an election is to make nice promises."

"I promise you a property-owning democracy," said Tweedlecon.

"Contrariwise," said Tweedlelab, "I promise you a society in which free and independent men and women work together as equals."

They may be nice promises, thought Alice, but they are rather vague, and she was just going to look for someone who could give her better advice on how to get out of the wood when Tweedlelab seized her by the wrist.

"Do you see that?" he said, in a voice choking with passion, and his eyes grew large and yellow in a moment, as he pointed with a trembling finger at a strange object covered with government forms and hung with bottles of orange juice and milk, false teeth, and other curious things.

"It's only a Welfare State," said Alice, after a careful examination of the object.

"I know it is," cried Tweedlelab, beginning to stamp about wildly and tear his hair. "It's spoilt, of course!" Here he looked at Tweedlecon who was hiding under a copy of United for Peace and Progress.

Alice laid her hand upon his arm, and said in a soothing tone:

United for Peace and Progress, jumped up indignantly,

"Who are you to talk about pinching things?" he shouted, "In your silly old pamphlet you say that you 'believe that the time has now come to make another effort to achieve the re-unification of Germany by means of genuinely free elections1', But I'd already said 'It is still our hope that the Soviet Government can be brought to agree to the unity of Germany on the basis of free elections².' You must have pinched it,"

"Of course you agree to have a battle?" asked Tweedlecon in a calmer tone.

"I suppose so," the other sulkily replied, preparing to sharpen up his ideas which had been getting a bit worn lately. "Only she must say who wins, you know," nodding at Alice.

So the two went off into their armouries and returned in a moment with their arms full of things-campaign guides, speaker's handbooks, pamphlets on this, that, and the other, TV sets, loudspeakers, ex-Cabinet ministers, elder statesmen, newspapers (Tweedlecon had most of these), men-in-the-street, housewives, and lots of rusty old pieces labelled "ideas".

their defensive power sufficient to deter aggression."

"You thief!" shouted Tweedlecon, "you've been stealing again. Those are my words!5"

"Oh dear!" said Alice, "this is getting very confusing. I think I'd better go, I only seem to be in the way here; and how can I say who's the winner when neither knows if he's using his own words? Perhaps I can find my own way out of the wood."

And once Alice left those howling, grown-up children, she found the way M.G.W. out quite easily.

1F.W.L. p. 1 2U.F.P. & P. p. 11. 3F.W.L. p. 1. 4U.F.P. & P. p. 9. ⁵He was wrong here. His words were "Our interest and duty is to make far less likely by building up, with our allies, the most powerful deterrent to aggression we can achieve," U.F.P. & P. p. 10.

"I was thinking." Alice said very politely, "which is the best way out of

- RECENT PUBLICATIONS -**Political Pamphlets**

PASSPORT TO SURVIVAL, by Elijah Wilkes. Routledge.

Passport to Survival is a series of twelve political pamphlets of which the first four were published on May 5. The title and the publisher both suggest a radical approach to the problems discussed, though from a reading of these first four it is difficult to tell how radical 'Elijah Wilkes'' recipe for our survival will be.

The pamphlets are each 16 pages long and cost 6d. No. 1 'How to Lose £30,000,000', is an account of the famous groundnut affair; No. 2, entitled 'Trade Unions-A Warning', gives a potted history of the growth of the Trade Union movement, and concludes that nationalisation weakens the power of the unions and that extensive nationalisation might kill them ('where full so-called communal control is exercised it is not the State, but the unions, which wither away'). Their opponent in disputes is no longer an employer, whose resources are limited and who is vulnerable to strike action, but the State; with increased nationalisation the independence of the unions is whittled away until they become the mere cheer-leaders for increased production-as is the case in the U.S.S.R.

ment manufacturers are responsible for wars. The title of the fourth pamphlet, 'The Girl with the Windblown Hair', refers to a Co-op advertisement advising one to 'Shop at the Co-op'. Again the pamphlet provides an historical sketch of its subject, the Co-op movement. The author points out the movement's opposition to nationalisation, particularly Labour's proposal to 'mutualise' insurance in which the Co-op has a big stake. Beyond this he has little to say.

The only point common to these four pamphlets is the author's dislike of nationalisation (it caused the loss of £30 million on groundnuts; will finish off the unions; applied to armaments it would mean more wars; and it wouldn't do the Co-op any good). Is he, in Herbert Morrison's inaccurate description of a Tory, just 'an anarchist in pin-stripe trousers', an anti-Stater on the Sir Ernest Benn model? Perhaps the later pamphlets will show.

"You needn't be so angry about it. You could share it, you know."

"But it's mine," said Tweedlelab furiously, "I made it and he's trying to pinch it!" His voice rose to a perfect scream as he pointed at Tweedlecon.

Tweedlecon, who had been reading Forward with Labour under cover of

The Tester Tested

D EPORTS come from Sydney, Australia, of a ten-year-old girl turning the tables on a government Vocational Officer commissioned to write a report on her, by submitting a report headed "Description of Testing Person" to the Department of Education. He concluded that she was backward, with slow reactions; her report showed that she was intelligent and very observant, and that she didn't think much of him either. Her case has been cited at Sydney University, and will no doubt be cited elsewhere, to demonstrate how important it is for examiners to have the respect of the person examined. Might it not also demonstate that intelligence tests are conclusive proof of nothing?

They took up their positions and Tweedlelab opened up with a light missile about disarmament.

"Ultimately the menace of the H-bomb can only be removed by world disarmament, which covers all kinds of weapons. We shall co-operate in any genuine plan for disarmament which provides for effective international control3."

but his opponent countered quickly with

"The Tweedlecons will continue to strive for world disarmament. To be real, such disarmament must be balanced, all-round and effectively controlled4."

Tweedlelab then suddenly turned round (he wasn't quite so good at this as Tweedlecon but he was putting in practice) and hurled another missile

"We believe that in the absence of allround disarmament, the democratic powers must be strong and united, and

THEATRE

Why They are not Voting

There is anxiety in many quarters at the number of people who fail to register their vote at General and other elections.

As this is usually rightly assumed to be due to apathy, my wife and I wish to make our own position clear.

For reasons which we are prepared to discuss with anyone, and which anyway should be obvious, we are absolutely opposed to the further manufacture, testing and use of nuclear weapons, in particular the Hydrogen Bomb. As this matter is of overwhelming importance and as we are not offered a candidate who holds similar views, we have no alternative but to refrain from voting. I may add that we have many acquaintances who propose to take a similar course.

> L. L. THOMSON. P. N. THOMSON. letter in the Barnes and Mortlake Herald.

No. 3, 'Are there really Armament Kings?', takes 16 pages to make the selfevident point that States and not arma-

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THE ORIGIN OF THE COM-MUNIST AUTOCRACY, by L. Schapiro. Bell, 35/-.

The scope of this book is summed up in the sub-title which reads 'Political Opposition in the Soviet State. First Phase 1917-22' and in the first sentence of the Preface-'This is the story of how a group of determined men seized power for themselves in Russia in 1917, and kept others from sharing it; and of the consequences which ensued both for themselves and for their political rivals when it became evident that they enjoyed but little popular support'.

Mr. Schapiro provides a well-documented history of the Bolshevik seizure of power from the point of view of the other political movements involved in the revolution of 1917. His conclusion on the part played by the Left Socialist Revolutionaries is characteristic-'The Left Socialist Revolutionaries were inconsistent, romantic, unrealistic, and politically naïve to the point of childishness. But they did not sacrifice their principles to power'. He discusses the part played by the anarchists with sympathy: he points out that 'the Anarchists were the first political opponents of the Communists to be the victims of an organised attack' (the occasion was an assault on the car of the U.S. representative in Petrograd, following which some 600 anarchists were arrested). On Makhno the author cites Voline and Archinov, records that he 'fought valiantly against the forces of Denikin and Wrangel', that 'an anarchist peasant republic . . . was set up in the extensive area controlled by Makhno' at the end of 1919, but that 'banditry played its part' in the movement. On Kronstadt he stresses the popular character of the revolt and the fact that no political party could claim to have inspired it (compare, for example, Steinberg's account in his recently published In the Workshop of the Revolution which suggests that, at heart, the sailors were Left Socialist Revolutionaries). The central factor of the Bolshevik's success, which this book makes plain, was the intellectual superiority of Lenin over his opponents. Without Lenin they could not have maintained their position. He seized every opportunity to consolidate their power and justified each action (that often contradicted what he had been saying a short time before) with fresh theory-always based on the Marxist gospel-with which to confound those fellow Bolsheviks who objected to his rapid changes of front. M.G.W.

ANOUILH-FACT AND FANTASY

""HE Lark" by Jean Anouilh (Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith), is yet another interpretation of the history of Joan of Arc. The comparison with Shaw's play is inevitable, and of course there are many similarities. But these are of detail rather than treatment. Shaw swept aside the older conceptions of Joan the witch, the whore or just La Mascotte. He presented her as a straightforward country girl blustering her way through to the coronation at Rheims by sheer common sense, finding "reasons" to support her voices. In doing so he lost much of the medieval flavour and overstated his case.

Anouilh begins at the end. When the curtain rises the outcome of the trial has already been decided. The characters stand, somewhat self-consciously, awaiting the retelling of the story. In a series of flashbacks we see Joan torn between parental authority and the demands of her voices, warding off the advances of de Beaudricourt, and by flattery gaining his confidence, eventually winning over Charles the dauphin, and riding into battle with La Hire. As we progress each character joins in, partly in the telling and partly in the re-enacting of the story. Actuality is mingled with memory, distance and time have given Joan reasons for her arguments, that is why they are intellectually so sound. The beginning of the play is not quite convincing, partly a fault of production which here is not definite enough in its treatment and fails to bring out the dream-like quality of the scenes in retrospect. Joan's own people were always shadowy figures and they do not becomes less so in this version. But it is in the scene with de Beaudricourt where Joan straight from her sleep talks to him like a woman of the world, that one loses sight of the author's intention

and is apt to dismiss the whole thing as Shaw's "St. Joan" scrambled up to make it look different.

When we find ourselves at the court of the dauphin however, we begin to realize what Mr. Anouilh is up to. We get a picture of the French court dominated by the women. Here we are on a more serious intellectual level and from now on the play gains momentum every minute. The actual trial with its tremendous implications strikes deep into our consciousness. The three solitary figures confronting the girl, the Promoter, the Bishop and the Inquisitor are truly terrifying. Here the passion and the agony of the Maid are brought home to us, and the horrifying ordeal that besets the girl night after night, when she is forced to keep herself awake in order not to be raped by the soldiers. The Inquisitor, an iron fanatic bent on crushing man's humanity to the last ounce, stares straight out of the pages of history, the sadistic Promoter shouting in the girl's ear and the Bishop who by his soft words and kindness confounds her more than either of these, they bear the stamp of awful authenticity.

Between the trial and the burning there is a scene in prison, and it is here in her most desperate hour of need that they all forsake her, mother, father, queen, dauphin, all those she raised high. How much more moving than the clever epilogue by Shaw, because so agonizingly real and poignant at that moment and in that place. Then comes the building up of the stake with Joan impaled, her face like an illumined deathmask, and the Inquisitor like a great hawk spreading his wings but unable to capture her. And to wipe out the memory of this, the coup-de-theatre, the hitherto forgotten coronation in the Cathedral like a gorgeous tapestry, full of splendour. This is Jeanne d'Arc of France in her full glory as she will be remembered. The scenery is harsh and angular. consisting of beams, benches, hurdles, and used quite brilliantly throughout in a dozen different ways, shifted into place by the actors themselves. The most economical and stark stage props used to their best advantage. Mr. Brook seems to have been rightly influenced by Karl Dreyer's great film "La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc". His gigantic figures loom over the trial on varying levels. feel sure that he could improve the first

half of the play, perhaps by a more subtle use of lighting.

Miss Dorothy Tutin as Joan has some remarkable moments though she is too genteel. This was particularly noticeable in the scene where the Earl of Warwick (brilliantly played by Richard Johnson), full of bland charm and gallantry comes to visit her in prison. She puts her hand on his face and says to him, "We two are of different kind", and yet at that moment I felt she was uncommonly like an English ingenue of the same class gently reproving a suitor. Nevertheless she can be profoundly moving, often more by facial expression than words, for her voice has no flexibility or modulation.

There are some excellent performances from Laurence Naismith as Bishop Beauvais, Leo McKern as The Promoter. Michael Goodliffe as The Inquisitor and Donald Pleasance as The Dauphin. The unvarying excellence of Christopher Fry's translation adds greatly to the pleasure of the stimulating evening.

No, the last word on Joan of Arc has not been said by Shaw, even though it is his greatest play and more dramatic theatrically than Anouilh's. Mr. Anouilh may not have said the last word either, but it has been left to him, a dramatist of our own generation-a generation brought up with occupation, gestapo and death-camps-to bring home to us the passion and agony of one of the world's great martyrs.

Without Comment

'Returning to London . . .

Again the thrills of the great meetings that have been attended by the largestever crowds both in the United States and in London last year.

Tedd Smith and Paul Mickelson thrill thousands each night with brilliant piano and organ arrangements."

from a Billy Graham handout.

ALSO paid a visit to "Time Remembered", an early comedy by Anouilh, in its last week at the New Theatre.

It is a fantasy on one of his favourite themes, the poor little rich boy with no zest for life. In this case the young man is enslaved by the memory of his dead love, the ballet dancer named Leocarda whose chief attraction lay in the fact that she was unattainable and unapproachable, and that when beside her he could never get a word in edgeways. This exalted being has so utterly intrigued and beguiled him that he devotes his entire life to conjuring up the memory of the three joyous days spent in her presence, thereby abandoning all the tediousness of his present existence.

His adoring eccentric aunt who has nothing else to do in life than pander to his every wish builds anew for him

Continued on p. 3



May 21, 1955

" TOP-LEVEL " TWADDLE

Vol. 16, No. 21.

SUPERFICIALLY-and at election time superficiality is the essence of effective campaigningthe settlement of the Austrian question is a triumph for negotiation and government diplomacy. Yet what master-move by the foreign ministers during the past four weeks has resulted in the ending of a nine-yearold deadlock? "The answer is simple"-writes the Manchester Guardian-"Until this spring the Soviet rulers did not want to evacuate Austria; now they do". Not out of consideration for the Austrian people, nor as a result of the persuasive diplomacy of our Tony or the blunt frankness of Mr. Dulles, but simply because Russia's present "broad European policy calls for it". In other words Austria and its millions of people are simply pawns in a game of power politics. On this occasion, it could be argued, for the good, but this is only incidental for one could equally argue that, for the same reasons, Austria has been subjected to occupation by the four powers for the past nine years. Such Machiavellism is not a Russian monopoly. Czechoslovakia was "sacrificed" by Chamberlain before the war just as most of Central Europe was auctioned among the Big Three at their Yalta meetings.

SCIENCE NOTES POLIOMYELITIS

FISENHOWER'S recent statement that the Salk vaccine had been released too soon under great public pressure comes just a few weeks after Alistair Cooke had announced its introduction in the Manchester Guardian, as the biggest news story of many a peace-time year under the heading "A day of rejoicing". On April 12th sirens sounded and church bells rang in Syracuse, New York State, announcing the success of the new Salk vaccine in the conquest of poliomyelitis. On April 24th it was announced that the public health service had ordered the temporary withdrawal of the new Salk anti-polio vaccine manufactured by the Cutter laboratories, Berkeley, California, because six cases of paralytic polio had occurred among children vaccinated with it. On May 4th the Medical Research Council announced that it was postponing its decision on the starting date for the small scale tests of the vaccine planned for Britain. More recently all the American vaccine was withdrawn for further tests and it is now being released in batches.

dards of health and nutrition. Its increasing tendency to attack young adults rather than children, with greater severity and a greater proportion of paralysis cases, seems to contradict the supposed value of the standards of cleanliness and personal hygiene aimed at in urban civilization.

Rather than go back to mud huts and outdoor sanitation, we must recognised that urban civilization is neither good nor bad but a way of living that creates problems of its own. Conditions of poverty, crowding, low standards of personal hygiene, all favour the spread of infections, but if constant over the years favour immunisation rather than paralysis, and first infections will occur in the first year or two of life which is paradoxically the most favourable for the individual victim. Under such conditions paralytic polio is non-existent except for the occasional invasion of an unduly virulent strain when an epidemic of paralytic disease amongst the youngest age-group may occur. With improved sanitation, etc., the average age of infection rises, and the severity of the disease is correspondingly increased. With their higher standards the higher income groups are more seriously affected than others.

No drug has been discovered or is likely to be discovered which is effective against viruses and we are left with the hope that an effective immunological technique can be developed.

It is held by some that the virus is not a sub-microscopic parasite but a product of the cell itself just as conversely cancer is held by a few to be the result of a virus infection. But if these views are considered as concepts retained according to their usefulness, the concept of the virus as a separate living organism is the most useful as it fulfils all the necessary conditions for such a classification.

Since 1909 when the virus was first isolated it has been studied in an attempt to find some method of controlling and eliminating the disease. The artificial stimulation of natural immunity is the method favoured by most workers although an alternative approach is the possibility of decreasing the vulnerability of the nerve cells to the infection by altering hormone balances or inducing specific dietary deficiencies.

The most effective method may be to

Politics in Singapore

SINGAPORE (WP) .- How much Socialism is possible in a British colony? This is no longer an idle question. Singapore, small island (26 miles by 14) off the Malayan Peninsula, with a population of a million, mostly Chinese under the age of 21, now has a Socialist government. It has sworn to create a social order "free from the exploitation of man by his fellowman," and dedicated to the establishment of a "democratic welfare state."

Exactly what the new government, headed by lawyer David Marshall (president of the tiny Jewish community's Welfare Board) can accomplish will depend upon many factors, not the least being the weakness of his cabinet politically, and the readiness or reluctance of the Governor to use the veto. It must be remembered that Singapore has no basic industries to nationalize, no raw materials. It is the premier port in South East Asia (and Britain's largest overseas naval base). It is the region's greatest free market-place. It is also a place of many contradictions: of exclusive clubs for Europeans, exclusive clubs for Chinese and Indian merchant millionaires; of miserable tin and packingcase shacks without facilities where live thousands in squalor. Two degrees from the equator, so well organized is this tropical island that 42 million gallons of water are consumed daily. Here thousands suffer from tuberculosis, partly caused by malnutrition; here too is one of the larger purely tuberculosis hospitals in Asia and a generous system, unique in Asia, of cash payments to sick people with which to buy food and other essentials. Here, also, thousands of workers get less pay per day than the cost of just two of the several glasses of whiskey drunk every evening by their European and Asian employers. On April 2, unexpectedly, slightly less than half the people who went to the polls voted for the Left. Of the total vote the Labour Front attracted 28 per cent.; yet this was sufficient in the circumstances to assure them 10 of the 25 elected seats in an Assembly of 32. Upon this basis Mr. Marshall was invited to form a government. This he was able to do because (a) the Governor gave him two of the four officially nominated seats; and (b) the Malayan Chinese Association and United Malays National Organization Alliance decided to support him. The Alliance could provide only two votes, but these were precious and expensive, Mr. Marshall being forced to pay for them with a Ministerial post. Singapore's new Socialist government, therefore, is made up of 12 elected seats (10 of them Labour Front), two nominated seats, and three officially appointed Ministers who must vote with the régime of the day. This gives Mr. Marshall a most insecure majority of one.

Is there not something revolting in these top-level meetings at which a handful of men can dispose of the lives of millions of their fellow men as if they were selling cattle in the market place? Unfortunately this does not appear to be the general feeling. The press reactions, for instance, to the minutes of the Yalta meetings, recently released in America, were mainly of concern for certain indiscretions regarding nations which the West was hoping to draw into the NATO net, or who were already caught. But no comment was made on such exchanges as the following:

The familiar cycle of U.S. medical discovery is being repeated. We may remember cortisone which was at first hailed as a great discovery for rheumatism sufferers, and after believed to be of no greater value than the oldfashioned and much used aspirin. Although cortisone has disappeared from the front pages of the daily press it is still being used in the treatment and study of various conditions.

Whatever the future of the Salk vaccine, there is a familiar pattern in its handling that may tell us something about an economic system balanced precariously between monopoly capitalism and managerialism or perhaps only about the psychology of that mixture of nationalities known as the Americans.

A Problem in Ecology

DOLIOMYELITIS presents a unique secological problem, and a medical problem as peculiar to modern civilization as the problem of mental diseases. Why were polio epidemics unknown until near the end of the nineteenth century? Why has the incidence of the disease increased steadily since then? It is almost the only infectious disease to increase in parallel with improved stan-

The Cure

It is too serious a disease to be joined with the common ailments of childhood and a parental attitude of "Let's hope they get them over with soon" and there is on the other hand no possibility of destroying the virus completely. Any attempted destruction would lead to the danger of having a non-immune population of adults highly susceptible to some hidden pocket of infection. Although it affects the rich more than the poor even the most enthusiastic advocate of the class war can hardly view it with complacency. Like the fission and fusion bombs it is much too indiscriminate.

give living virus of reduced virulence with if necessary a suitable dose of gamma globulin which provides a temporary protection from infection. The major technical problem has been solved now that the virus can be grown on cells in tissue culture and it is as a result of this that it has been possible to produce the American vaccine of killed virus on such a large scale. But the effects of even a killed vaccine can be dangerously unpredictable particularly when natural infection may be occurring at the same time. We do not know whether this is what has happened in the American large-scale use of the Salk vaccine, or whether the reported cases of polio following vaccine injections are due to the too rapid development of mass production methods before the technical problems had been adequately dealt with. Either this vaccine or a similar one offers the best hope in the treatment of poliomyelitis in the near future.

BIOS.

SOUTH AFRICA: SLAVERY OR REVOLUTION?

Unfortunately there is no guarantee THE text of a Bill which will practically double the size of the South that when the Africans achieve their

PRIME MINISTER: Then there is the problem of how to handle the Germans in Germany. We have killed six or seven million and probably will kill another million before the war is over.

STALIN: One or two?

PRIME MINISTER: Oh, I am not proposing any limitation on them. So there should be room in Germany for some who will need to fill the vacancy. I am not afraid of the problem of the transfer of populations as long as it is in proportion to what the Poles can manage and what can be put in the place of the dead in Germany. . . .

But this is what top-level talks mean, and are a counsel of despair, not of hope, when advanced by pacifists and progressives. If one can use the analogy of chess in explaining the game of power politics, the "easing of tensions" is in the language of chess simply an exchange of pieces which helps to clear the board, leaving unchanged however, the determination of each player to be the first to deliver the coup de grace.

Continued Anouilh from p. 2

this elaborate world of memory and make belief, by bodily transporting on to her estate the café where they met and the night club they visited, complete with staff fully initiated into their duties. She also succeeds in finding a little milliner who bears a striking resemblance to the dead dancer, gets her sacked from her job and offers her a situation at the chateau where her duties consist of impersonating her nephew's lost love.

In the end the down-to-earth little milliner triumphantly wins the battle over death and nostalgia by bringing the warmth and comfort of her simple love into the chilly park and dispelling the humourless ghost.

Instead of letting the comedy and fantasy arise naturally out of the plot and characters, the play has been embellished by fantistic trappings. An over elaborate fairy tale set, with silent lackeys opening and closing doors for no reason, and Miss Margaret Rutherford doing her White Queen act full out to the audience kill the play stone dead. Mr. Paul Scofield and Miss Mary Ure try to keep up their end in an uneven battle with the balletesque extravaganzas and mostrous overacting of Miss Rutherford but it is almost hopeless except where they are on the stage without her. Miss Ure is touching, simple and sincere, a joy to watch, Mr. Scofield interesting as always, and Geoffrey Dunn delightful as the waiter. But why, oh why do most English producers have to underline COMEDY quite so heavily. Mr. Anouilh's subtle touching little fantasy has been buffooned out of all recognition. They have served us up a trifle with too much synthetic thick cream, instead of a baba au rhum! D.

African Senate has just been published. The implications of the Bill are only too obvious in the present circumstances of the Government, and will give it the twothirds majority it requires to remove the 'entrenched' clauses from the Constitution; coloured voters will then be removed from the common roll. Thus the last vestiges of Democracy are disappearing and the Totalitarian nature of the Government becomes still more evident. Mr. Strauss, the United Party leader. has denounced the Bill in these terms. "The passage of the Bill, if legal, will mean the end of the South Africa conceived at the Union." In effect what little form of Parliamentary Government there is will no longer exist, there will be only one Party and no effective means of curbing its power. From the point of view of the Africans themselves this will make practically no difference except of degree. They will be left constitutionally defenceless (where before they possessed some theoretical rights), and the Government can, and undoubtedly will, make them absolute slaves to the economic structure of South Africa as a neo-Fascist state.

Comment in The Observer (15th May, 1955) points the way out for the Africans: "The weakness of their (the Nationalists) case is that increasingly they are leaving their opponents, both whites and non-whites, with no alternative but to engage in unconstitutional action. The Nationalists must not be too surprised if, in the years to come, their opponents show as much disregard for constitutional procedure as themselves." In other words it will only be possible for the oppressed millions to free themselves by taking some sort of revolutionary action against their oppressors.

present aim to be free from white domination, they will not take for themselves the self-same power system against which they should be fighting with as much determination as against race-inequality. It is only too easy to visualise a situation where the position is reversed, and black domination over the Europeans becomes the order of the day; where all the trappings of authority and state-control merely change hands, and the people of South Africa remain as powerless over their own lives as any other peoples of the world.

One cannot tell what form of revolutionary action will be taken, but it is quite possible that it may be of a similar nature to that which is taking place in Kenya at this moment. From an Anarchist viewpoint this sort of struggle cannot be considered as likely to produce any great social change, though it is an entirely understandable reaction to years of economic and civil repression. It is only reasonable to expect that a people subjected to racial hatred, and conditioned to believe in their own raceinferiority should, sooner or later, rise up against these injustices and terrorise their enemies, believing this to be the only means by which they may free themselves from domination.

But there is far more fruitful action which may be taken, and which would prove far more effective. In South Africa the whole basic economy rests upon the labour of the Africans, and although they may be deprived of their constitutional rights, there always remains to them the enormous power inherent in their function as the actual producers of social wealth. Therefore their best course of action would be to organise themselves industrially for the purpose of undermining the economy of the existing semi-slave state; for the weapons of direct action-strike, boycott, go-slow, sabotage and general strike-if used intelligently at the point of production, provide the only really effective form of struggle. The race division in South Africa is also the class division, and whereas race-hatred is a sterile basis for revolution, and will antagonise even unprejudiced whites, a struggle against classbarriers and dictatorship is not. It would develop a conscious understanding of their own economic strength and teach them how to apply that strength without reliance upon political leaders, for the construction of the foundations of a free society in South Africa. H.F.W.

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AT present such an "easing of tension" appears to be taking place in Central Europe on the initiative of Russia. The neutralising of Austria is being followed by a "goodwill" mission to Yugoslavia. It may be that soon we shall see new moves in the Far East as well. And we, at any rate, will not be surprised if Chiang Kai-shek is sacrificed by the Americans in the process.

But as one problem is "solved" so another will arise. Crises are the health of politics as crime is a vested interest of lawyers, and war or a war economy, is an integral part of capitalist society.

Who would suggest that the murderer should be appointed to solve his crime? Yet that is the logic of those who demand that world "tensions" should be eased by a meeting of the Big Four. For who, if not they, laid the foundations of these "tensions" when they divided up the world among themselves at Teheran and Yalta?

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FREEDOM



Continued from p. 1 **BUDGETARY POLICY** AND TAXATION

Budgetary policy and taxation are the means by which governments take our money to pay for governments. The fact that they use a small proportion for useful social services is no reason for defending government, for society, if free to do so, will always provide for itself that which it needs-and will do it more generously than mean, parsiminous yet wasteful governments ever can.

Anarchism, since it aims at the abolition of government with all its institutions, and of capitalism with all its aspects, would mean the end of taxation, together with the money system.

It follows, therefore, that Anarchists have no budgetary policy.

COST OF LIVING

Anarchist Alternatives

tensive cultivation and fullest use of modern methods, become almost fully self-supporting. But this will not be done while the market economy of capitalism demands a market here for agricultural produce from those countries which are markets for our industrial products.

Anarchists urge the collectivisation of the land, freely and without compulsion; the taking over of large estates-especially those kept for huntin', shootin', and fishin'-and the organisation of production by agricultural workers of all kinds, assisted by the provision of machinery, chemicals and power supplies by workers in those industries concerned. The provision of all their needs by industrial workers will be answered by the provision of food by the agricultural workers, distributed by transport and distributive workers and available to all according to need.

HOUSING

And it can most certainly not be reached by voting into power an organisation to use the very means of domination which we want to abolish.

The Anarchist goal can only be achieved through Anarchist means. These rest first and foremost on the development of clear-thinking and responsible individuals, then coming together for the purpose of collectively acting in their common interest.

In our communal lives we should try to do everything in our power to enrich our social environment and what it has to offer to every member. In our working lives we should do all we can to further our control over our conditions, and aim eventually at completely freeing our work from any restriction by money, profit motives, frustrating interferences or dictatorship in any form.

The ordinary people of all countries produce all wealth, perform all social services. They have no quarrel with the peoples of other countries and do not benefit from international conflict, but ignorance and fears are created and played upon by their governments.

THE H-BOMB

ANARCHISTS are opposed to the manufacture, testing, use threat to use, the conception and very existence of the H-Bomb in anyone's hands. It is a means of genocide, of mass murder, of annihilation of peoples in the interests of States.

No society without a centralised authority, a power structure and a privileged minority so contemptuous of the ordinary people that they are prepared to slaughter them en masse, could possibly produce the Horror-Bomb. But Anarchists do not make the mistake of hoping it can be effectively banned by governments or of agitating only for that.

The H-Bomb is not a cause of war, but an effect of the policies of war-minded States. The roots of war lie in the crazy economies dividing the world and the political systems that defend them. They must be abolished before the world can live at peace.



The cost of living is always too high for the vast majority of people. It cannot possibly be anything else under a governmental and money system, for those who earn wages must carry on their backs a host of non-productive parasites taking the larger proportion of the value of what is produced. Even within the ranks of wage-earners there is a very large proportion of unproductive activity connected with the money system and competitive trading.

Anarchism demands free access to the means of life for all, according to their needs, with themselves as the judges of their needs. We maintain that, with the technical resources at our disposal today and the productive capacity they represent, we could provide abundance of all we need. The wasted labour and material which to-day are used by governments for their own destructive ends would be available for useful purposes without government. (Atomic energy is an outstanding example). The cost of living, under present circumstances, really means the cost of capitalism. And whatever it is, it's too high.

EDUCATION

Education to-day is preparation for authoritarian society. Whether under the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages, or the State to-day, education under an authority always means the inculcation of ideas and beliefs favourable to that authority. True education, however, means not the pouring in of established beliefs and thereby moulding the child's mind, but a drawing out of the child's own capacities and ideas. Anarchists would give children freedom of access to all means of development, with 'teachers' as advisers or guides when sought out by the child. Children are naturally creative and curious. Encouragement to satisfy their thirst for knowledge in their own way will lead to happier children, and to a greater interest and responsibility. If education is made attractive it doesn't have to be compulsory. In an Anarchist society, educational establishments could be maintained at all levels through cooperation between staff, children and parents, and its aim would be the development of happy, integrated human beings instead of subjects moulded to fit the different strata of class-divided society.

The provision of housing in an Anarchist society would be operated by workers' control of the building industry, demand being known through local communes.

Before we start using up more land for new building, however, it would be sensible to make the best use of all present building. With the end of government and capitalism, literally millions of buildings would be freed from the commercial uses of to-day and would become available for housing. Full use would also be made of the large houses always standing empty for long periods while waiting for purchasers.

There is, in fact, plenty of accommodation now if it were made available without property-owning and money considerations.

HEALTH & WELFARE

The Health Service is not free. It is paid for by National Insurance contributions and out of general taxation, The Welfare State gives nothing to the people that they themselves do not pay for and provide.

In an Anarchist society there would be truly free access to all social services, which would be administered by the workers in those fields. This would be far more economical in terms of man-

The Anarchists call upon the ordinary people of Britain to reject the specious arguments of vote-touting politicians seeking power over us.

We can achieve a truly human dignity only by the rejection of authority and the assertion that we are social beings capable of living harmoniously and usefully-if we are free.

The belief in ourselves is the first step towards achieving our freedom.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at THE MALATESTA CLUB 155 High Holborn, W.C.1.

(Nearly opposite Holborn Town Hall)

IN every election, there have been people who, for one reason or another, have abstained from voting. But until the present election campaign, mention of such people in the capitalist press and official propaganda organs has been almost confined to platitudinous admonitions, like the poem(!):

> "Use your vote for, lose or win, A pathy is the blackest sin,"

which appeared in a Scottish Daily in 1949.

This time, the possibility that a reasonable person might decide not to vote is, in a small way, being admitted. R.M. wrote in last week's FREEDOM of the series "Off the Party Line" in the News Chronicle (which, to quote its own publicity 'has always been the smallest of the "popular" dailies'). The News Chronicle has followed up the series with articles presenting the case for voting (hitherto taken for granted) and devoted at least one letters column, that of May 13, to letters for and against the election, including statements like:

"It's a pity that Mr. Priestley's article cannot be circulated to all electors. They might then, like myself, conclude that the election is humbug."

state of affairs which does not seem to have been contemplated by Parliament."

And on April 29 Malcolm Muggeridge, editor of Punch, one of the "Off the Party Line" writers, spoke against voting in (of all unlikely places) a B.B.C. discussion. In the programme "Any Questions", answering the question whether there should be a fine, as there is in Australia, for persons not voting, he said he himself was "one of the non-voting elite"-a remark which excited considerable comment, then and in the related "Any Answers" programme on May 5. Anti-voting sentiments have been voiced in other unlikely places too. We do not necessarily agree with any of the reasons given for obstention; as R.M. pointed out last week, we wholeheartedly disapprove of some of them. But it is pleasant to see the superstition, that only misfortune or irresponsibility can keep people from the polling booth, being gradually dispelled.



AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is neglected and kept down in Britain to serve the interests of her industrial economy.

power than at present, where armies of bureaucrats are necessary to keep check on every insured person, to handle the myriads of forms and miles of red tape inseparable from centralised administration.

The 'charity' aspects of National Assistance would not exist in Anarchy. Everybody, young, old, sick, would be regarded as having full and equal access to all that which would satisfy their needs. Human beings would not be thrown on the scrap-heap when too old to work; would not have to eke out a miserable and lonely existence of cold and hunger. The community would recognise its social responsibility for every one of its members.

The same thing would apply to children, who would not feel that only their parents are responsible for their welfare, but that they are secure in the concern that all would feel for the children of all.

Social security is inseparable from freedom. While a minority own or control the economy, the majority must be insecure, and are allowed only such benefits as the minority feel constrained to yield. But a people free from domination, exploitation, or any kind of barrier to the things they need are truly secure.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

MAY 22-G. J. Deverell on MODERN TRENDS IN HUMAN EVOLUTION

MAY 29-No Meeting JUNE 5-Mani Obahiagbon on THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN HISTORY

June 12-Tony Turner on WHAT MAKES MAN-HEREDITY OR ENVIRONMENT?

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS Every Thursday at 8.15.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS Weather Permitting HYDE PARK Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

MANETTE STREET (Charing X Road) Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

GLASGOW

INDOORS

at 200 Buchanan Street Every Friday at 7 p.m. OUTDOORS At Maxwell Street Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

The Malatesta Club 155 HIGH HOLBORN,

"There is no duty or virtue involved in voting for the lesser of two evils, but to abstain where neither is considered worthy of support, is a correct and deliberate action."

The Manchester Guardian, also, has discussed abstention from voting:

"If we all expressed our protest in this way-and surely we all have some grievance against all parties-we should have an election without a vote being recorded. Then no M.P. would be returned unless unopposed and not enough of them to form a quorum. Possibly it would be a worth-while experiment in democracy-or bureaucracy-according to one's point of view. At least it is a

Vote for Joe Soap!

The 'Joe Soap' leaflets sent out last week with FREEDOM are available at 7/6 for 500. Reprints can be made with provincial address and notices if required.



Anarchists maintain that Britain could produce very much more food than at present and could possibly, through in-

LOOPHOLE IN APARTHEID

PRETORIA, MAY 12.

REGINA ELIZABETH BROOKS, who lived in the African township of Orlando, near Johannesburg, and dressed as an African, had her appeal upheld in the Supreme Court to-day against a conviction and sentence imposed by a magistrate for contravening the Immorality Act, which forbids cohabitation of European and non-European.

Richard Kumalo, a non-European lance-sergeant of police living at Orlando, who was sentenced with her under the same Act, also had his conviction and sentence set aside.

The judge said the evidence appeared to be inconclusive on the question whether in the community where she

lived she was by repute non-European or was regarded as a European who had become a Native. He was of the opinion that the Crown had not established that she was European within the meaning of the Act.

-The Times.

So it seems the hereditary caste system in South Africa is not yet absolute. Is any person there "regarded in the community where he or she lives as a Native who has become a European", or does the loophole only work one way?

The cartoons in FREEDOM this week are reprinted from previous issues. We make no apologies for using them again; the situations they depict are the same.

Nationalisation is not public ownership; it is State control. Anarchism means socialisation of all the means of production and distribution as outlined above.

We do not want State Boards replacing private owners, we want administration in the hands of the workers-including technicians and research workers, no less (and no more) than the productive workers on the job.

All communal enterprises should be run for the benefit of society. The workers in industry would be entrusted the responsibility of administering that industry in the interests of society as a whole, and the products would be freely available for all.

'Ownership' is a legal concept. What Anarchists desire is not ownership, but free access.

THE SOCIAL GOAL

The goal of the Anarchists is a free society. One where all the trappings of authority, all the means of domination, all the defence mechanisms of a privileged class and therefore all the factors which make for social conflict, frustration and inequality have disappeared. This is clearly no easily-achieved goal.

LONDON, W.C.I.

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP Informal Discussions Every Thursday, at 8.15 p.m.

Lecture-Discussions Every Sunday at 7.45 p.m.

(See Announcements Column) ALL WELCOME

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