

Freedom

AN ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

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Threepence

Where is the 'Liberal Opinion' of Today? Tyranny in South Africa

Malan's Apartheid Laws Legalise Segregation

RECENT weeks have seen the conclusion and inception of various discussions between the governments of the Western nations for the purpose of unification of defence programmes and what not. The consolidation of the civilized world into two power blocs continues apace and is freely described in the endless publicity handouts and newspaper reports as being of tremendous significance for the men and women of the West. So, no doubt, they are. While we submit to State administration of the external affairs of our lives there is no denying the importance of what those who rule us do.

Nevertheless, it is difficult not to feel rather wearily that it has all happened before. "Decisions of tremendous significance" have been taken every few months throughout our conscious political lives. Mostly their importance turns out to be transitory only. And in any case, the solemn, pompous antics of those who rule us only acquire their importance because they rule us. They are important to us because we don't make these decisions; and for the same reason they are in another, but equally real, sense utterly unimportant to us.

Not all political decisions, however, are in this weary

category of mere administration. There are some that touch the deeper springs of human feeling. Movements to terminate slavery, to emancipate women, to relegate the exploitation of children to a shameful limbo—all these have touched more resounding chords in the heart. But it is characteristic of our society that such trends receive only trifling publicity compared with the green table manoeuvrings of the Bevins, the Achesons, the Schumans.

"Freedom is the most ineradicable craving of human nature; without it, peace, contentment and happiness, even manhood itself, are not possible.

The fight for human freedom is the supreme issue of the future, as it has always been in the past." Noble words. They were uttered 16 years ago by Field Marshal Smuts. Meanwhile, with only nominal opposition from Smuts' party, the Malan administration in South Africa is consolidating its Apartheid policy, the policy of rigid race segregation which is a denial of the most elementary principles of human freedom.

No Comments to Offer

The press in this country, so vociferous about day to day political manoeuvrings, has almost ignored this issue which sets back the clock of progress and which touches fundamental human relationships. We read that the British and American broadcasting experts are conferring to launch a joint campaign to defeat Russian radio jamming. The aim of our joint broadcasts, it seems, is to bring the truth to the Russian people; a laudable object. The publicity organs (which, as Truman recently said, have a grave responsibility in creating an informed public opinion) might well bring a little South African truth to the

British people. Apartheid means segregation. It means racial discrimination, is all of a piece with the Herrenvolk stuff that Hitler and Streicher used to put out. It is a basically immoral, utterly hateful conception; and, moreover, it is entirely at variance with British tradition in this country of liberalism.

Fifty years ago even so autocratic a tyrant as the Tsar of Russia found it difficult to carry out an absolutely ruthless policy because of the power of "liberal opinion" abroad. Such opinion saved the heroic Maria Spiridonova when she killed the

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"Just as machines in England act like human beings, so do the human beings appear to be machines."

HEINRICH HEINE

ATOM WORKERS GET ANTI-BOMB LEAFLETS

MOST dramatic of the demonstrations by the tax refusal committee of the American organisation, *Peacemakers*, this year (see *Freedom*, 1/4/50) was that conducted by Jim Otsuka, only one of the tax refusers' group to be jailed last year (reports the U.S. War Resisters League).

Going to the heart of the problem, Otsuka went to the giant A-bomb plant at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, armed with leaflets. He got inside the grounds in a bus carrying employees to work. Upon alighting from the bus, he started handing out his leaflets. He was soon seized, but not before he had given out a number of them. He was held for questioning and then released.

More Arrests in Spain

THE Barcelona police have announced the arrest on May 14th of thirteen members of the Spanish underground, according to an Associated Press report. Those arrested include: "Jose Iglesias Paz, identified as a national delegate of the C.N.T.—the forbidden Labour Confederation of Anarchist Trade Unions in Spain."

The police announcement said the thirteen men, operating under orders

directly received from anarchist headquarters in Paris, committed a number of highway robberies and assassinations in the Barcelona area. A large quantity of explosives, ammunition and arms was seized at the time of the arrests.

How unoriginal the totalitarian police announcements are. Mussolini's O.V.R.A. always blamed "headquarters in Paris" for any subversive activity, and Franco as a good pupil of Italy's sawdust Caesar, carries on the tradition. Elsewhere in this issue we refer to the publication by the Spanish "underground" of the Spanish syndicalist paper *Solidaridad Obrera*. We wonder whether Franco's police will suggest that that too is being directed from Paris headquarters? Presumably any explanation is better than admitting that after eleven years of Franco's barbarous regime the Spanish workers are still resisting!

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Statistics on Franco Spain

SOME official statistics on Franco Spain published in a recent *World-over Press* despatch, throw a light on the regime which its apologists might consider.

"The low standard of living in Spain made the Peninsula, long ago, one of the world's most acute focal points of tuberculosis. Before 1930, the T.B. rate was between that of Latin America and the Balkans. In 1931, the year in which the Republic was proclaimed, 1,221 persons died of this disease for each million inhabitants.

"After five years of better social conditions under the Republican regime, the number had dropped to 965. Following Franco's war, in 1940, the rate had risen again to 1,009. Since then, with the dictator in power, the figure has gone on increasing until, in 1948, it reached 1,382—the highest ever known in Spain and one of the highest in the world.

At the same time, official statistics (*Anuario Estadístico de España, 1949*) indicate that the number of poor people received in asylums and hospitals in Spanish cities was 46,941 for each two million inhabitants in 1940. Three years later the number had risen to 53,309. There are no later figures, possibly because almost a third of the benevolent institutions have been closed or have disappeared.

In 1931, there were 1,618 suicides. At the end of the Franco civil war, in 1939, there were 2,328. After the Second World War, in 1946, when it was seen that the Franco regime would not be overthrown by it, the number was 2,854. But in 1948, in the full reign of dictatorship, suicides numbered 3,452.

WHY DID THE VOTERS VOTE?

THE reasons why large proportions of the population voted in the General Election—or any election for that matter—have been the cause of much speculation among those of use who consider voting just a waste of time.

The only conclusion at which we were able to arrive was that people vote as they do for reasons of self-interest—although it is patently not in the real interests of any one of us to continue supporting the existing social system, and the ballot really infers a vote of confidence in the basic set-up of our time, since none of the parties for which we could have voted (not excluding the Communists) advocated any fundamental changes in the structure of society.

We have been charged with being cynical, with having an axe to grind, and with being the enemies of democracy because we have advocated the withdrawal of support from superficial political squabbles by a conscious refusal to vote and a substitution of direct methods of achieving a free society. Some of our arguments at election time were based on the contention that most people sub-consciously recognised the unrealistic nature of politics, feeling the gulf between the antics of governments and their own needs.

The High Poll

From our own observations prior to Polling Day, we asserted a general apathy towards the election, but when results started to be made known the next day, the remarkably high poll made us appear to have been wrong. More voters than ever before—some 83% of the electorate—had gone to the polling booths to register their preference for one set of politicians or the other.

Had the parties' electoral campaign machines, then, really done their job? Had the conscience of Britain, then,

really been stirred by the struggle between the principles of Socialism and of Capitalist Individualism? We could hardly believe so, but for lack of evidence had to wait and see.

Now some evidence has come to hand. Mass-Observation, the organisation which, through personal observers and questioners, seeks to analyse public opinions and motives (rather like the Gallup Poll) has published a pamphlet called *Voters' Choice*, in which it presents a report of its observers' findings from a questionnaire presented to 600 people in six London constituencies. And while Mass-Observation (M-O) stresses the incompleteness of their findings so far, nevertheless some interesting information emerges.

Effects of Electoral Campaigns

To begin with—how effective were the parties' campaign machines? The two main parties, Labour and Conservative, have tremendous means at their disposal. As soon as the election date was announced there was a rush to hire halls and meeting places throughout the country. But in the six boroughs from which M-O took their survey, 86 per cent. of voters went to no meeting at all! And only 5 per cent. of voters went to meetings of more than one party.

Did the voters, however, stay home and read the election literature that poured through their letterboxes? 56 per cent. of them did, but 44 per cent. of voters read no election leaflets at all. Even among those who did read them, it is anybody's guess as to the effect on which way they voted. One woman's remark, "I have glanced through them, but I think they are a waste of paper," showed an attitude very similar to that expressed in our own "anti-election manifesto".

Least likely to attend meetings or read leaflets are those who are doubtful which

way to vote. Of the 14 per cent. who did attend meetings, nearly all knew which way they were going to vote, and supported meetings of their "own" candidate only. "In other words," say M-O, "those for whom the propaganda is basically prepared are the least likely to come in contact with it, let alone be influenced by it."

The general attitude seems to be to distrust what candidates say at election times, but to judge them on what they have done when in Parliament. "The spasmodic appearance of election propaganda is likely to excite little more than indifference or scorn."

The Politicians

As far as public attitude to the candidates was concerned, a charming smile or a good photograph on a leaflet (many people will look at a photo but not read a message) seemed as likely to win a vote as anything—though baby-kissing does not go down as well as it used to.

It is interesting to note that only 6 per cent. of the voters had any contact apart from meetings, with their M.P.s during the five years since the 1945 election. But we can be sure, can't we, that Members of Parliament can truly represent the 94% of voters whom they never see or hear from!

The influence of the party leaders is interesting to weigh up, too. As many people were persuaded by Mr. Churchill's

Hands Up!

THE *Observer* has just held a competition amongst its readers for "an Epigram of four lines on the predicament of a Member of the present Parliament." One of the prize-winning entries was:

*I really must contrive to wait
And make or mar the Welfare
State.*

*Only anarchists would spoil it
By careless visits to the toilet.*

To which we feel obliged to reply:
*The anarchists, I'm bound to add
Do not in Parliament believe
They do not need to Ask their Dad
The needs of nature to relieve.*

radio broadcast to swing from Labour to Tory as were persuaded by Mr. Attlee's broadcast to swing from Tory to Labour! Among Tory supporters, no fewer than 22 per cent. expressed disapproval of Mr. Churchill. Though a good war-leader, he was thought out of touch with peace-time conditions—and too old.

Election Issues

The domestic issues in the election which seemed important to these voters ranged from Housing to Controls—with Housing seeming most important to 2 out of 3 voters. Except under the vague heading of "international ideas", war and peace were not mentioned. And rightly so, for only the Communists—for the sake of the Party line of the moment—used these as election issues. This rather indicates that the electorate realise that any government is likely to follow the same course with regard to foreign affairs and therefore, war. Since the Communists were thrown completely out, it might also be inferred that the majority of people would rather have an atomic war than the Communists in power!

Reasons for Voting

On the whole, M-O found few signs of complete apathy. Amusing examples were discovered, like the woman who said: "I suppose it's in the blood. My mother used to tell me never to vote Labour and I have obeyed her," but in general it can be seen that electoral activity helps few people to make up their minds. Most judge the government on its past record as it affects them. The Health Scheme, Pensions, etc., win votes; lack of housing, the cost of living lose them. Middle-class voters seem to be the ones who have swung away from Labour.

It all adds up to show that people don't care very much about politics, but support those who can give them most. Which is understandable, but somewhat short-sighted in view of the little governments can really give us, and as the ability of capitalism to develop and extend reforms comes to an end, the two alternatives will become clear and elections will become even more meaningless. The paths we could take will lead us either to totalitarianism or—the free society without government.

P.S.

The Spirit of Resistance

PRISON ETIQUETTE, edited, with an introduction by Holley Cantine and Dachine Rainer, is an anthology of the prison writings of American conscientious objectors to the Second World War, but it is far more than this. It can be regarded as A. J. Muste says, as telling some important and concrete facts about federal prisons in America, or as Aldous Huxley sees it, as a "concrete and existential" approach to the question: "How is the age-old conflict of Man versus the State to be resolved?" Or, as Christopher Isherwood writes in his preface it—

"may be regarded simply as a manual of living-technique for prisoners in general. It is also a statement, written with great power, insight and occasional humour, of the whole anarchist-pacifist position... By a sort of atomic fission (the authors) generate new and terrific discharges of power from old, worn-out, everyday words like 'brotherhood', 'peace', 'compassion'."

The editors (and the readers of the book are more than usually indebted to them, and to their comrades who donated the paper, for they set the type, and printed and bound the book themselves), are eminently practical and say in their introduction:

"Prison etiquette is a learned art for the radical. Its technique varies with country, time, and political set-up. These young men deal with a prison system that is unknown to us. We must be equipped to evade it, to survive in it if caught, to resist it in the psychologically most economical, and politically effective way. That is, we must learn to remain sane, to survive physically, and at the same time to continue resisting. This book is not a commemorative exercise. It is a practical book that we have edited in a manner calculated to provide our reader with what may unfortunately become useful information."

They emphasize that, "one thing we are not trying to accomplish is Prison reform", and ably analyse the rôle of prisons in authoritarian society, and the problem facing the political recalcitrant. "We realize," they say, "that a book of this sort should be primarily concerned with techniques for escaping, but unfortunately, such techniques are not easy to come by, for obvious reasons. We have had to content ourselves with the poor second best of relating methods by which one's stay in prison can be alleviated as much as possible, giving as wide a choice of alternative methods as we could obtain."

The first section of the book deals with Resistance in Prison. Cliff Bennett describes various forms of strike action in prison, and the methods used by the authorities to counter them—"soft soap", intimidation and violence. He outlines the physically vulnerable points of penal institutions, methods of inter-cell com-

PRISON ETIQUETTE, *The Convict's Compendium of Useful Information*. By the Inmates. (Retort Press Bearsville, New York. \$2.50)

A FIELD OF BROKEN STONES. By Lowell Naere in collaboration with David Wieck. (Libertarian Press, Glen Gardner, New Jersey. \$3)

munication and successful forms of prison sabotage. Howard Schoenfeld tells "The Danbury Story," the history of the Danbury Prison strike of 1946, and James Peck recounts his experiences at the West Street Jail, New York, and at Danbury and lists methods of dealing with the unpleasant habits of "screws". There is an extract from the book by Lowell Naere who also contributes eleven illustrations to *Prison Etiquette*.

In the second section, on The Prison Community, Curtis Zahn describes the prison camp on the Catalina Highway in Arizona, the different racial groups in the prison (efforts were made to strike against segregation), and his fellow inmates ("The only inmate who purchased War Bonds was a man serving five years for defrauding the U.S. Government in a War Contract"). Don Devault gives an account of life on McNeil Island, and Bernard Phillips contributes a quite exceptional very penetrating analysis of the psychology of prison life.

The final section of *Prison Etiquette*, Arts and Letters contains "The Prison Theatre" by Ray Franklin, where, he claims, "A creative theatre, lacking in so many places in the world, had found an appreciative audience behind prison walls." There are poems by Arthur Kassin, James Holmes, and E. R. Karr, and a story "Made-Work" by Sturge Steinert. In "Letter to a Penologist", William Kuenning, a devastating condemnation of the liberal attitude of "prison reform".

"In the meantime you might try to emancipate the criminologists themselves. They will be emancipated when they cease being criminologists—when they are no longer the paid servants of the ruling-classes, and when they regard men not as cases but as equal." Jack Hewelike in a brief letter sets out a point of view which one would like to have seen expressed more fully:

"... I have come to strong disagreement with many of the tactics used by C.O.'s in prison to impress the public... and even now feel that the basic issue is individual evasion of service to the state and not what public opinion considers "conscientious". The most genuine protests were those directed against imprisonment itself (and the whole coercive apparatus of which prisons are a part. My own observation convinces me that these protests are constantly being made by inconspicuous prisoners branded as "criminals" who have no civil liberty groups or clergymen to publicize their feelings, and who, accordingly, bring upon themselves the full measure of psychological and sometimes physical sadism which the State has devised to serve its ends. Inadequate and irresponsible as such protests may be, in contrast to the C.O.'s planned actions, carefully toned down so as not to offend certain sections of public opinion, they do reflect a craving for some kind of freedom which, in many cases, is not even expressed in positive terms. The capitalisation of "honesty", "sincerity", etc., has tended to alienate me from the majority of C.O.'s."

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A FIELD OF BROKEN STONES is like a close-up from *Prison Etiquette*—the narrative of one American war objector's experiences from 1940 to 1946. In 1940, when conscription was introduced in the United States, Lowell Naere, a young painter, sent his torn-up draft card to the Secretary for War with a letter saying, "I wish in no way whatsoever to participate in the draft, as I feel it is the machinery to put the nation

into war. I regret that I ever registered. I hereby return my draft card and wish to be classified as a non-registered objector to war."

Seven months later Naere was arrested and sent to West Street Jail, New York. There he met a murderer:

"Lepke, the short, stolid-faced boss of Murder, Inc., motioned me over to his adjoining cell. In a curious, soft-spoken, considerate manner he asked: 'You're one of those fellows who's going to object to the war when it comes?'"

"Somewhere in the conversation we got around to the fact that I was in jail because I refused to kill people. The Murder, Inc., boss, who was headed for the electric chair, said: 'It don't seem to me to make much sense that they put a man in jail for that.'"

"We just looked at each other. There we were, both sitting in the same prison. The law covered both ends—one in for killing, the other in for refusing to kill."

On Naere's third appearance in court he was sentenced to one year and a day's imprisonment at Danbury, Connecticut. There, the warden offered to get him paints. "I began to see why he had done

it. He wanted to use the painting as a false front, give outsiders the impression that the way he treated me was the way he treated all the boys." Naere spoilt this plan by blocking the entrance to the workshop with a notice "I want to work. Would you please leave me alone? This positively includes the President of the United States." This sign caused a scene when the warden brought visitors round. Naere was put into close custody for refusing to paint what the warden wanted. He adopted methods of passive resistance and was forcibly taken to an observation cell in the prison hospital, where he witnessed the brutal treatment of a mentally deranged prisoner. In November, 1941, he was moved back to close-custody.

"The authorities informed me they would leave my cell door open if I conformed, they were giving me a last chance. I told them I would not obey their orders, so they again locked me up."

"My cell was on the busiest corner of the cell house. I was put there, possibly, so the other prisoners might razz me—'Ya can't beat the system.' This did occur at first. But when the authorities baited me with the meals, would'nt let me have pencil and paper to draw with, refused to move me to heated quarters, all this changed. By January the men were still kidding, but differently. 'That's the way, kid,' they would say, 'it's good to see somebody make a chump out of 'em. Just stick to your guns. By the way, if there's anything you need, just tell me'."

In April, 1942, Naere was offered a conditional release, but because he would not sign and agree to the good-time parole restrictions, he was not let out until June, 1942.

After his release he wandered across the country until in the following February he was locked up at Anthony, Texas, because he hadn't a draft card. He passed through a series of prisons and eventually arrived back at New York, where after a month (he had been in jail two months without trial), he was released on bail.

Two war objectors were on hunger-strike at Danbury, demanding the release of all war-resisters. He decided to hunger-strike in their support on the steps of the court-house at New York.

"A crowd was gathering. I began to tell the enquirer why I was going to sit on the steps and hunger-strike. Very soon forty or fifty people were around, intently listening. I gained confidence, stood up so everyone could hear. People were moving rapidly from all parts of the Square up to where we were. I told them of Danbury, of the beating of Mercier, of my experiences, what had happened to others."

He was of course arrested, and sent to New York City Bellevue Hospital and put in the prison ward. He started a hunger-strike, suffered the ordeal of being forcibly fed, witnessed further scenes of brutality, was tried again and sentenced to three years in Danbury, where he found there were now two hundred war

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Socialist Malthusians—5

SINCE the Bradlaugh-Besant trial three-quarters of a century ago the social diffusion of birth control has become an established factor in the life of the civilized world. For completeness' sake it is necessary to make a brief reference to a technological advance which has contributed to this diffusion—the mass production of the rubber sheath.

Sheaths of a kind were known in the eighteenth century—for example, to Casanova. But they were insecure and so expensive as only to be available to the well-to-do. In the early forties of the last century, however, the vulcanization of rubber changed the whole picture and made possible the production of sheaths which were safer and far cheaper.

About twenty years ago a further technological advance—the use of liquid latex and of automatic machinery—made possible the production of sheaths on a truly gigantic scale. Before the war it was reported that one German firm sold twenty-four million sheaths every year; while the fifteen leading American manufacturers produced a million and a half a day! (Norman Himes, 1936.)

Besides making birth control available to the population at large, the mass production of rubber sheaths has probably played an enormously important part in the reduction of venereal infection. In America, sheaths are sold not as birth control appliances at all, but as "prophylactics" or "preventatives"—as a protection against infection. They are used for the same protective purpose by prostitutes, and probably supply the reason why (contrary to common belief) prostitutes do not in fact constitute the reservoir of venereal infection that is often assumed. For many years now the army authorities, both here and in the United States, have issued sheaths to their personnel in order to reduce sickness and military unfitness arising from venereal infections. In doing this they have not hesitated to ride roughshod over religious objections; religion may be all very well for inducing resignation among the depressed, but it cannot be allowed to interfere with military efficiency! It is doubtful if men could be induced to join up if the known relaxation of sexual morality in the army did not secretly appeal to men's sexual longing.

The Next Step

We have seen that the social diffusion of birth control was originally begun by the socialist Francis Place. Paradoxically, the socialists of to-day have for long eschewed any official interest in or support for this movement. The electoral interests of socialists, ever since Marx and Engels guided them from revolutionary conceptions towards the parliamentary ballot box, has made them very chary of supporting "controversial" questions. Emma Goldman used to be told that her advocacy of sexual freedom and birth control had nothing to do with socialism and could only harm the "cause". The socialists (with many Catholics in their ranks, and their eyes on the Catholic vote) turned away from this most burning social problem. In doing so they probably paved the way for the waning interest of the masses in the ethical conceptions of socialism, and the degeneration of the socialist movement into mere welfare outfits of economic betterment. The modern Malthusians, like Marie

Stopes and the supporters of "Eugenics", seem more concerned to regard contraception as a means whereby the birth rate among the poor can be reduced so that "better stock", i.e., the rich, are not penalized in the "struggle for survival".

Clearly the social diffusion of birth control being largely achieved, the next step is to widen the social horizon so that the best use can be made of this important factor.

Francis Place sought to place the control of conception within the power of the working-class so that unwanted children should not bring economic disaster and poison the relationships within the family. It is left to another socialist, Wilhelm Reich, to point to altogether new horizons.

Reich has shown that individual misery and individual social ineffectiveness derives chiefly from the defeat of natural sexual strivings. Contrary to those thinkers (they included Freud) who believed that cultural advance was achieved by the suppression and "sublimation" of sexual energies, Reich has shown that sexual gratification is the necessary precondition for individual responsibility, for the development of harmonious character, and the ability to achieve socially useful work. It is not possible to say more of his work here, except to stress its immense importance.

What is significant however is that the most advanced thinkers of the past (for example, William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft) have often stressed the importance of sexual relationships. Indeed the persistence of love relationships as the most permanently interesting topic of literature throughout the ages makes it a question which cannot reasonably be overlooked. But without effective control of conception the realization of an adequate love life was impossible—in a social environment in which children were the sole responsibility of parents who were thus penalized by unwanted fertility. It is difficult to convey the obstacles to the question of sexual freedom and responsibility before the advent of adequate birth control.

But birth control is not now a major problem in the economic freeing of the working-class; that remains a question of social and economic relationships between classes in society. The emphasis has shifted, and it has become a means whereby the mental and emotional chains can be thrown off. A century ago, emotional development through sexual freedom and full sexual gratification was nearly impossible in our type of society, though such freedom was and is possible to more primitive and simple societies like the Trobriand islanders with their much higher sense of social responsibility towards children. To-day, socially diffused birth control knowledge makes it theoretically possible even in a private property society like ours.

Sexuality and Revolution

Reich has shown that sexual emancipation is necessary groundwork for a revolutionary outlook and for the realization of individual responsibility (cf. his conception of a 'self-governing character structure'). It becomes a duty of the revolutionary movement to clear away the obstacles to the full utilization of the freedom which effective birth control brings. Hence the necessity for continuing the struggle against moral obscur-

antism and a sexually negative attitude.

In the past it has been necessary to emphasize chiefly questions of relative contraceptive efficiency when discussing birth control methods. Now is it necessary to take into much greater account questions of sexual aesthetics, of unobtrusiveness in method so that there shall be no interference with gratification. And birth control becomes a means whereby the irrelevancies of church or state or family sanction, or anxieties about "life-long unions" can be shorn away from individual sexual acts. It must become a chief weapon in the sexual emancipation of adolescents. In fact, the revolutionary movement must carry the struggle for conception control into just those fastnesses of sexually negative morality where its respectable proponents are afraid to venture. Anarchists of the past have not been afraid to fight for sexual freedom, intuitively understanding its basic importance. Now that the battle for birth control is largely won (in some countries at all events) it is important to see that it serves the cause of human progress towards greater freedom, instead of becoming merely a hum-drum instrument of middle-class morality.

The Relief of Anxiety

In conclusion, let us widen the scope of our behaviour. Despite the availability of birth control, human sexual affections are cursed to-day by anxiety—perhaps no less than they were before the possibility of conception control became general. Responsible judgment and social behaviour demand a certain calmness and inner confidence. Nothing more effectively destroys this than the frustration of the longing for sexual happiness. And if one looks in the hurrying faces of one's fellows in the streets, in the bus queues, or at work, one sees there only too clearly the marks of anxiety, of uncertainty, of no confidence. Frustrated in meaningless work, and gnawed by sexual misery, the peoples of to-day are helpless to control their own destinies and fall an easy prey to power-sick administrators—themselves no less emotionally ill. The socialists and the latter-day Malthusians may not see the central problem, but it should be as clear to-day as it was to William Blake at the time of the French revolution when he wrote his poem *London*.

"I wander through each charter'd street

Near where the charter'd Thames

does flow,

And mark in every face I meet

Marks of weakness, marks of woe.

"In every cry of every Man,

In every Infants cry of fear,

In every voice, in every ban,

The mind-forg'd manacles I hear.

"How the Chimney-sweepers cry

Every blackning Church appalls;

And the hapless Soldier's sigh

Runs in blood down Palace walls.

"But most thro' midnight street I hear

How the youthful Harlots curse

Blasts the new-born Infants tear,

And blights with plagues the Marriage

hearse."

We of to-day have the theoretical knowledge and the practical means at hand to advance towards sexual emancipation. We have still to struggle towards the new realms of freedom. J.H.

JAMES JOYCE'S "EXILES"

That idealism is not wholly defeated in the theatre is shown by the venture of the "Q" Theatre in putting on James Joyce's play *Exiles*, an almost certain box office failure. It is an intensely serious discussion of the problem of freedom in sexual relations and close personal relations between friends. Written down by the critics as "unactable" it is actually very moving indeed on the stage. The production by Esme Percy was entirely sympathetic and sensitive, and the performances of Kathleen Michael as the wife, David Markham as the central, Joyce-like figure, and John Byron as the friend, made of it an exceptional experience in the theatre.

The problems of the play are as real as they were in 1912 when Joyce wrote it, and it is hoped to treat them in a later article. J.H.

From our stock..

Africa: Britain's 3rd Empire

George Padmore 12/6

In Face of Fear (Michael Scott's

Challenge to S. Africa)

Freda Troup 12/6

The God That Failed

Koestler, Silone, etc. 12/6

Ego, Hunger & Aggression

F. S. Perls 12/6

Sexual Behaviour in Society

Alex Comfort 8/6

★

We have secured a few second-hand

copies of Meynard's *The Russian Peasant*

(2 vols.) 7/6

★

Journal of Sex Education,

April-May 2/-

Estudios (illustrated anarchist review

from Cuba) Nos. 1 & 2 2/- each

Through the kindness of the pub-

lishers we are able to offer...

PRISON ETIQUETTE

(The Convict's Compendium of Useful

Information)

at 10/6

★

Thor Heyerdahl's

The Kon-Tiki Expedition 12/6

Rose Macaulay's

The World My

Wilderness 8/6

Herbert Read's

Education for Peace 7/6

★

FREEDOM

BOOKSHOP

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The Anarchist Press, 1950

IF any reader were under the impression that *Freedom* was an isolated periodical putting forward the views of an isolated anarchist group, his opinion would be radically shaken if he were to see the number of anarchist periodicals that reach Freedom office each month from every corner of the globe.

The list of anarchist and revolutionary syndicalist periodicals, pamphlets and books that are being published is an impressive one, and it is to be hoped that somewhere in the world to-day there is a second Max

PRISON RESISTANCE

objectors instead of fifteen. In July, 1943, Naeve participated in a work strike against racial discrimination, which lasted until December and was successful.

The day the race strike ended, five of the prisoners, including Naeve, notified the warden that they "would not submit to the prison's regimentation or work under the dictatorship of the prison authorities," and were put into segregation cells. The work strike went on month after month. Meanwhile the war had ended.

"It seemed like a lot had happened. And yet nothing had happened. We had never seen the war. To us the war had been pictures in the papers of soldiers storming the beach of Normandy or some Pacific isle. It had been only arrows on a map."

At Christmas, 1945, and in the New Year, demonstrations for an amnesty began. On February 11th, prisoners of all kinds marched through Danbury behind a banner which read: WE WANT TO GO HOME.

"As the hacks saw us marching, demanding shouting, they locked themselves into the buildings. We could see them looking out of the windows wondering what to do. The grey mass of churning arms and legs, the shouting... We want freedom! We want out! We want out! At the same time the prison was being picketed from the outside."

In the spring the group of segregated prisoners were split up and sent to different jails. They resisted the move, barricading themselves in the cells. Naeve was sent first to Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary, then to a prison in Pennsylvania where a riot had just taken place, and then south to Kentucky where in May, 1946, he was released.

★

I FEAR that my summary of these two books cannot convey to you their extraordinary emotional impact. The story they tell is not unique; it has its parallel in the prison-literature of every land; that body of writing which grows and increases so tragically. On first looking at these books, one feels heartened by the evidence that the spirit of resistance can be maintained and human solidarity retained, despite the repressive apparatus of the modern state. But on consideration, there is the sickening realisation that, beyond a certain point, a point which has already been reached in Fascist and Stalinist regimes and to which some prisons mentioned in these books approach, only people of almost super-human courage and endurance can maintain the precious spark of rebellion and human dignity.

And if we on the outside do not fight for the broken, voiceless and defeated on inside, do we not share the guilt of their jailers?

C.W.

THROUGH THE PRESS

THE PRINCE OF FONTAMARA

In the Fucino district, Prince Torlonia, absentee landlord, resident at Rome, aged twenty-four, owns by inheritance sixty square miles of land, which is patrolled by his own blue-coated police. The one hundred and twenty thousand poverty-stricken people of the valley are "legally" free, as free as you can be when you owe your master eight hundred thousand dollars, and he owns the bank.

Catholic Worker (U.S.A.)

THOSE SILLY REDSKINS

In the United States, the dangers of peace-mindedness are being realised even by the Indian Bureau, which has recently issued story books for Hopi Indian children in which the traditional pacifism of the Hopi is made to seem silly and unmanly. There are not very many Hopi children, of course, and this programme simply illustrates the thoroughness of a government intent upon readying its youth for combat.

Manas (U.S.A.)

Nettlau (for half a century the devoted historian of international anarchist activity and trends) quietly collecting and collating this mass of material. An analysis would perhaps show that the quantity of anarchist literature that has appeared since the end of the present war is smaller than during the inter-war years; and the quality of the material has suffered by the fact that the movement has not been able to replace such men and women as Kropotkin, Goldman, Berkman, Fabbri, Galleani, Nettlau, C. Berneri, Volin, to name but a few of the outstanding anarchist thinkers whose writings in the anarchist press have had such a deep and lasting influence.

★

But in many countries the anarchist movement has had to start right from the beginning again, after years of suppression, such as in Italy, Germany and Japan, and it is too early to expect startling results, though in Italy and Japan the anarchist press has succeeded in issuing weekly periodicals which reach a wide public. And even in those countries where it is illegal to publish anarchist literature, our comrades succeed in making themselves heard, even if it is only by a duplicated sheet as in Portugal.

In Argentina, too, the anarchist press has been semi-illegal or illegal for years. Now under the Perón regime it has been banned altogether. Yet our comrades find ways and means of publishing. A report received during the past few days from our S. American correspondent states that *La Protesta* is continuing to appear clandestinely. The latest number carries a manifesto headlined: "A las Paredes Muchachos" ("To the Walls, Comrades!") from which our correspondent translates the following extract.

"The Argentine police-state, the rotten symbol of totalitarianism, has forced us into clandestine activity. The closing down of printing shops and newspapers, the violence directed against strikers, the banning of public meetings, the laws being enacted to curb the freedom of speech and of writing, constitutes a grave menace which we must fight at all points in arousing the people's conscience.

"We must emphasize, now more than ever, the will and inescapable duty of every anarchist to carry forward the activity of our ideal of human emancipation.

"Let the walls speak, so long as obstacles are placed in the way of our other means of expression: let us record with words painted on stone our detestation of this barbarous government, the most evil in Argentine history.

"To the walls, comrades! Let the

49th STATE

(1)

In a West End shop window luxury goods are priced in dollars. Lesser merchandise have price tickets in sterling.

Evening Standard, 13/5/50.

(2)

Philip Friend, the British actor, is making a series of recordings of versions of American accents for use by British players "as part of a campaign with the English motion picture industry to train its actors to speak with a Americanised accent."

Sunderland Echo,

quoted in New Statesman, 20/5/50.

FIGHT, OR ELSE

The American Legion has been making efforts to have Congress raise legislative hurdles for alien conscientious objectors. The most recent attempt came as the Senate debated the new bill on displaced persons.

Among the scores of amendments to the D.P. bill was one, proposed by Senator Harry P. Cain of Washington, which would have prevented the immigration of anyone unwilling to swear to fight if required.

World Interpreter (U.S.A.), 25/4/50.

walls be our Press from now on!"

★

IN Spain, in spite of eleven years of Franco's regime, in spite of the tremendous losses suffered by the anarchist and syndicalist movements during 1936-1939, the thousands of militants in exile, and the imprisonment of hundreds of the most active comrades in the clandestine movement within Spain itself, the revolutionary periodicals and manifestos still find their way into the hands of the Spanish workers. *Solidaridad Obrera*, one of the most read daily papers in Spain during the social revolution (and a model, in my opinion, of revolutionary journalism at its best), has now been published clandestinely for a number of years. Every so often, when the police discover the location of its printing presses there is a break in publication, but as one press is seized and the militants arrested, another is started elsewhere. Thus, we learn from the I.W.M.A. Press Service that after six months' silence following police raids, *Solidaridad Obrera* recommenced publication at the end of March, and on its front page in a matter of fact way it announces to its readers that "for well-known reasons our paper has been silent for six months. But the difficulties have been overcome, and *Solidaridad Obrera* returns to the struggle."

★

IN South America, where years ago the movement had a very marked influence, and the anarchist movement boasted at least one daily, there appears to be a revival of activity in spite of a corresponding increase in repression by the ruling-classes.

Our S. American correspondent has sent us the following notes on the anarchist movement in Brazil:

"Our comrades in Rio de Janeiro issue a monthly newspaper, *Acção Direta* ('Direct Action'), now in its fourth year of publication. *Acção Direta* is published by Manual Peres and edited by José Otílica, the latter a professor at Pedro II College in this city. The group—like so many others—is much handicapped by lack of funds, which prevents a more frequent appearance of the paper or the publication of books and pamphlets; though works by Rudolf Rocker, Kropotkin and Reclus are available in Portuguese translations, as well as booklets by Brazilian anarchists such as Otílica, on various aspects of anarchist thought. The current issues of *Acção Direta* contains articles by Peres, Otílica, Ferreira da Silva, J. L. Veras, Jorge Bastien, Paulo Berthelot and others, as well as news of international anarchist activity furnished by the I.W.M.A., and a lengthy discussion of the world Esperanto movement. The present number stresses particularly the need for the organisation of syndicalist groups within the Brazilian labour unions, which are coming increasingly under the reactionary control of various political parties, and calls for the eventual establishment of an anarcho-syndicalist organisation on the lines of the Regional Federation of Uruguay, the National Workers' Federation of Cuba and Mexico, and the now illegal Argentine Workers' Federation.

"Apart from *Acção Direta*, the anarchist group in São Paulo publish a newspaper *A Plebe* ('The People'). The French anarchist paper *Le Libertaire* is also distributed in Rio and São Paulo through the groups in these towns. Correspondence regarding the anarchist movement in Brazil, or requests for copies of *Acção Direta* (if there are any Portuguese-speaking comrades in

Britain!) can be addressed to Manual Peres at Caixa Postal 4588, Rio de Janeiro."

OF considerable interest are two publications which came to us from Cuba. The first is the weekly journal *Ahora* (Now) which is the organ of the Cuban C.G.T. (General Confederation of Workers) which was formed some two years ago as a split away from the official union C.T.C. (Workers' Confederation of Cuba) which is divided by two political currents, the one socialist-governmentalist, the other Stalinist. *Ahora* is one of the liveliest publications we have seen, both in presentation and contents. Besides a considerable amount of industrial news, it publishes regular illustrated features (incidentally, it recently featured a *Freedom* article), and many articles by anarchist writers. Not having to worry about space considerations (each issue is of 16 pages almost the size of *Freedom*) it can publish cartoons and photos (some of considerable interest) and film and theatre features, so that each number covers a very wide range of topics and problems.

The second publication is also published in Havana, and the second issue has recently arrived in this country. It is a magazine entitled *Estudios. Mensuario de Cultura* (Studies. A Cultural Monthly). The contents of this number range from an illustrated article on the Palestine Communities to a study of "The Crisis of the Modern State". There are also articles on Art, the Theatre, an account of the recent Congress of the Cuban Libertarian movement and a photo feature on Havana, as well as a translation of *Freedom's* article on George Orwell. Most of the texts are illustrated with photos of which there are no less than fifty in the current issue! *Estudios* is attractively presented and can be strongly recommended to our readers. [A few copies are available from Freedom Bookshop, price 2/-.]

V.R.

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

and the Freedom of the Press

THE International Federation of Newspaper Editors (FIEJ) meeting in Rome last week, condemned government regulation on newsprint sale and distribution.

The seven-nation federation approved a Swedish resolution demanding also that government rationing of newsprint "must be such as to assure equal treatment to all newspapers without regard to their views."

Helge Heilborn, Swedish delegate and editor of *Dagens Nyheter*, of Stockholm, who initiated the resolution, openly criticized the Argentine government's distribution of newsprint as "an extreme hardship" on opposition newspapers.

The resolution, unanimously approved, also states that:

"The right to obtain newsprint is one of the conditions of freedom of the press, and in consequence, sale and distribution of newsprint in principle must not be regulated by government."

Such public statements are to be welcomed, but obviously the Freedom of the

Press, as we have repeatedly pointed out in this column, depends on many more factors than the right to obtain newsprint. More than ever to-day, with costs of production being so high, the Press has become the rich man's monopoly. National papers require large circulations in order to carry on, and a newspaper can quite easily be suppressed simply by a boycott of the wholesale distributors. The myth of freedom of the press so far as minority papers are concerned is brought home when one reads that three national weeklies, *The Strand*, *News Review* and *The Leader* have, (in the case of the former) ceased publication or will shortly do so, though the weekly circulation of each of these publications exceeded 100,000 copies. And they had a more or less popular appeal. Is it surprising therefore that independent magazines with a more limited appeal, such as *Horizon* or *Polemic* survived only so long as they were subsidised by wealthy backers; and how could they be free so long as their very existence

depended on the willingness of individuals to continue their financial support. A very interesting case in point is *World Review* published by Mr. Edward Hulton. The imprint makes it quite clear that this publication is a personal venture, and not one of the Hulton Press Ltd. group of publications. For the past few months *World Review* has maintained an incredibly high standard both in quality of material published, and in the standard of production and has been sold at what one imagines must be an uneconomical price. But we understand that after the June issue (which will be devoted to George Orwell), *World Review* is to become a Conservative magazine with a new staff and presumably different contributors. This change, if our information is correct, is one obviously taken by Mr. Hulton the publisher personally. It will be argued that since Mr. Hulton finances *World Review* he has the right to decide the "line" his journal will take. And, to present the Conservative line may be an example of the freedom of the press for Mr. Hulton, but what can the many thousands of readers who enjoyed the independent and progressive "line" of *World Review* think of the freedom of the press when overnight one individual can deprive them of this valuable source of information and ideas?

LIBERTARIAN.

Hints for the British Tourist Industry

FROM the N. York Herald Tribune of May 14th, we learn that:

1. Pope Pius XII today received the homage of the millionth pilgrim to participate in private, group or mass Holy Year audiences at St. Peter's

The millionth person was lost among the 30,000 pilgrims received in the basilica to-day in another of the great mass audiences which have brought more Catholics into the presence of the Pope than at any other time in Church history.

2. Mgr. Maurice Felin, Archbishop of Paris, assisted by more than thirty bishops and archbishops, celebrated an open air mass yesterday in the Parc des Princes where 72,000 farm and rural workers were gathered in connection with the second convention of the Christian Farm Youth, which opened Thursday.

The young men and women who work on farms and in rural districts came from every part of France. For many it was their first visit to Paris. They arrived in thirty-four trains and more than 200 motor buses.

3. Five hundred thousand persons including pilgrims from Belgium, France, Spain, Holland, England, Brazil, the Philippines, San Salvador, and the United States met and prayed yesterday before the shrine of Our Lady of Fatima, on the thirty-second anniversary of her apparition to the shepherds.

Perhaps we should have headed these items: "Lighten their Darkness."

LIBERAL NEHRU

Prime Minister Pandit Nehru was asked at his Press Conference to-day: "Does the Preventive Detention Act have your wholehearted support?"

The questioner, a Leftist, nodded with pleasure as Pandit Nehru said, "No", but was taken aback as the Prime Minister added quickly: "It is not strong enough, unfortunately."

Indian Republic, 10/4/50.

UP-TO-DATE

While the effete British child is busy oiling his new cricket bat, I am able to report a more progressive outlook on the American nursery front, demonstrated by the following advertisement:

THE EDUCATIONAL TOY SHOP
Invites you to see now their toys of value for the Spring Time... Atomic Energy kit includes a Geiger Counter that works. It does not make bombs... Psychologist in attendance.

Sunday Times, 7/5/50.

GOD & GUNS

Organized religion and armies have so much in common that it can always be easy for the person who gets nicely adjusted to one sort of control to take on the other.

Manas (U.S.A.), 26/4/50.

C. Berneri:	
KROPOTKIN—HIS FEDERALIST IDEAS	2d.
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

STARTING A COMMUNITY

DEAR COMRADES,

For some time past, a group of people meeting in Hampstead have been discussing, on and off, the desirability and the possibilities of forming an Anarchist community. Little in the way of concrete action has come of these discussions until the last month. Now there are ten or fifteen of us who have reached a point where we can no longer live as individualists talking about the idea and we are determined to arrange a community. We have already seen several properties, a number of which have been very suitable.

The basic group has already agreed to the complete pooling of incomes and material belongings. In the initial period it may be necessary for a percentage of the people to be working outside. Ideally we should like to find it unnecessary to rely on this outside income but the lack of enough capital forces us to make this compromise.

It is our object, however, to establish as soon as possible a sound agricultural economy and minor industries, such as weaving, pottery, hand-made furniture, which will be initiated by the members of the community themselves.

A very important consideration in the community will be our hope to be able to allow our children a freer growth than we have had and at the same time allow ourselves more of an opportunity of individual development than is possible outside the community. An opportunity, in fact, to express Anarchism in practice.

It is impossible through the medium of a letter to elucidate all our aims and principles, but we hope in the near future to conduct a series of meetings where these will be fully discussed.

The organisational activities are in an advanced stage and we are very anxious to hear from anyone who is interested in the community as it will facilitate our final arrangements. Please address all communications to:—

PIP WALKER,
5, Villas on the Heath,
Vale of Health,
Hampstead,
London, N.W.3.

★

FREE UNION AND FREE LOVE (see last issue)

I RATHER think your correspondent G. is confusing two issues—monogamy as a basis for the family, and extra-marital continence. I don't see that his argument that frustrated parents bully their children has much to do with the issue. Orthodox morality has plenty of misstatements to its credit, but it is quite unreasonable to attack monogamy in the family simply because moralists have upheld it on irrational grounds. At the moment, the experimental evidence that changes of parents and home instability have far reaching ill effects on children is overwhelming. Primitive societies which practice group upbringing make entirely different demands on the individual, and give him far more extensive support, than any culture based, as a free industrial society would have to be, upon personal choice. The argument against repeated changes of parent has nothing whatever to do with morality—it rests entirely on the need, particularly marked in any non-coercive society, for mature individuals. The effects of repeated change on the child are closely similar to those of repeated intrauterine disturbance on the embryo. If we do not want immature or defective personalities in society we can't afford it.

Intra-marital continence is quite a different issue. If both partners accept each other's requirement of what has been termed a "sexual holiday", rather than using it, as now, as ground for breaking up the family, a case could be made for it, but isn't the need for a perpetual sexual adventure being rather overstated? Pretty well all the cases of partner-switching which pass through the hands of the psychiatrist are examples of adult immaturity. The need for perpetual variety, while not a moral problem, is far more typical of the mate-selecting adolescent than of the normal adult. In adults, it is almost always "escape-behaviour" arising from a neurotic compulsion.

Surely the important thing is that any individual who has needs of this kind should be able to satisfy them without having to break up the reproductive pattern of the family. Many cultures have tolerated this type of behaviour in the male, and G's suggestion only extends this right to both partners. At the moment jealousy, which is far more cultural and social than inherent in the individual, is

as he says, a social institution, and plenty of wives or husbands who have no wish to break with each other do so because it is the appropriate social gesture. Personally, I would derive pleasure rather than pain from other people's admiration of a woman I loved—how far others would do so I don't know. Surely the essence of cuckoldry is deception. With a genuine mutual respect between partners deception would hardly arise.

None of these problems can be generalised about, either in the terms of orthodox morality or in those used by your correspondent. If new patterns of society emerge, they will lay down their own requirements, and individuals will need and find different solutions. The really significant problems are the provision of a mature and stable background for child upbringing, free of insecurity, change, and the type of parental neurosis which G. describes, and a far greater toleration and understanding between reproductive partners. If we can provide sufficient parents who are genuinely adult, and do away with the operative aspect of marriage, jealousy, which is only "salutary" in comparison with apathy, can be left to take care of itself on the lines suggested by Malatesta. People may still be hurt, as in any personal relationship, but they need not consider themselves insulted, betrayed, or entitled to some kind of vengeance—it is, after all, perfectly possible to love two people at once. The free love issue would not be a real one in any society which managed to fulfil these conditions.

ALEX COMFORT.

ABOLITION OF PROPERTY

A CORRESPONDENT in the April 29th issue of *Freedom*, reduces the arguments on the sharing of consumer goods in M.L.B.'s article "The Abolition of Property" (*Freedom*, April 15th), to absurdity in order to show that they are an "over-simplification".

But surely it is an over-simplification to imagine that because scientific developments can create abundance, there will be enough of everything immediately after a revolution. The purpose of the system of collectivising which M.L.B. described is to ensure that "even if the production of industrial goods does not expand so as to provide each individual with all the commodities he requires he will be able, nevertheless to have access to them."

Obviously, once we have reached an "equality of abundance", such schemes will only be necessary insofar as they simplify housekeeping, but it would be folly to ignore the need for some such arrangement until the supply of consumer goods was equal to the demand.

W.

ABC OF AUTHORITY

(Continued)

P is for Power. Every man longs for power and security, because the brain of every human baby is so much more highly-developed than the rest of its body that it can recognise its own inferiority and dependence. There are those who believe that this corollary of intelligence, rather than intelligence itself, has given men power over other things; that the sense of insecurity has made men live in communities, and the sense of inferiority has made them work to conquer nature.

But longing for power over other people, and security at the expense of other men, is not the same as longing for power over nature and security in friendship. It is not the baby who recognises merely the superiority of adults, but the baby who is forced to recognise the Authority of adults, who longs for power over his fellows when he is grown up. Authority breeds authority.

(To be continued)

D.R.

FROM PAGE ONE

Malan Consolidates Misery

brutal governor of Tambov.

Where is liberal opinion to-day?

In the past it sprang from the educated classes, the well-informed. If the daily press carries almost nothing about race tyranny in South Africa, the working class can scarcely be blamed if it expresses no opinion. But it is different for intellectuals and cultivated people. The literary reviews have given much space—and much praise—to the biography of the Rev. Michael Scott, that determined individualist who has so vigorously and courageously taken up the cause of South Africa's suppressed coloured people. The literary papers and even the radio have given a boost to Paton's book *Cry the Beloved Country*, which describes the racial discrimination. There can be no doubt that the intellectuals, the people who used to form the liberal opinion of the world know about what happens in South Africa. To-day is not fifty years ago: they do nothing about it.

Identity Photographs

Malan's Apartheid laws make it compulsory for everyone to carry an identity card complete with photograph, and be categorized as White, Native, or Coloured (i.e., of mixed parentage). The hardening and codifying of colour prejudice, the race laws which annul the idea of "equality before the law", is no doubt necessary because opinion generally is finding segregation unnatural and difficult to maintain with moral equanimity. It has to be propped with legal supports.

The effect is to give official sanction to a rigid caste system which leaves administration in the hands of the whites; low-paid "coolie" labour to the Africans, and for the Coloured, the despised social outcasting which bourgeois society traditionally inflicts on "half-breeds". The misery of the African (and the immigrant Indian) population has for years been a standing shame of democratic hypocrisy. The new laws con-

solidate that misery.

Smuts' party conducts only a shadow opposition to the race policy of Malan. *Freedom* recently gave some publicity to the case of Seretse Khama which obviously created an opportunity for the British Government to administer public disapproval of Malan. That they not only did not seize such an opportunity, but even underwrote Malan instead by their obvious (though, of course, denied) condemnation of Seretse's mixed marriage, shows that no official opposition to South African race reaction is forthcoming from the Labour Party.

Such rigid race intolerance can only end in violence. What option have the Africans, when neither the opposition nor the Imperial government raise even theoretical objections? Let intellectuals remember this when the next "riots" are reported from Johannesburg. It will still be open to workers to express solidarity with the coloured wage slaves of the dark continent.

RESOLUTIONS FROM THE

International Anarchist Congress—6

We publish below the sixth instalment of translations of the resolutions passed at the International Anarchist Congress held at the end of last year in Paris. (Previous articles appeared in our issues of 21st January, 4th March, 1st, 15th and 29th April.) The views expressed are, of course, not necessarily those of *Freedom*. We must point out that certain difficulties arise in the interpretation of the current resolution. The French word "syndicalisme" has been translated as "trade-unionism", since it does not necessarily imply syndicalism in the English sense. It must also be remembered that the trade-union movements of different countries are of a widely different character in different countries.

ANARCHISM AND TRADE-UNIONISM

THE class struggle and the emancipation of the proletariat are not identical with the ideas and aspirations of anarchism, which seeks, beyond the immediate aspirations of classes, the economic and moral liberation of the human individual, and which looks towards a society free from authority, and not to a new power structure—that of the majority over the minority.

Anarchism has always considered the abolition of classes, and the ending of the economic servitude of the majority of human beings, as an absolutely necessary and essential step in the achievement of its final aim. Anarchism must always oppose those who, in the name of the "emancipation of the proletariat", follows means which contradict the ideas of anarchism and are an obstacle to the realisation of the aims of our movement.

It opposes, likewise, participation in the struggle proclaimed by Marxist socialism, that is to say, through parliamentarism and through a corporative trade union movement having only in view the amelioration of the conditions of the workers. These means can only favour the development of a new bureaucracy. The anarchist methods for destroying class oppression can only be those which allow the affirmation of the individual personality: direct action and individual resistance; in other words, active and passive individualism, whether of a single person, or of a multitude.

—Friedberg's motion at the International Anarchist Congress, Amsterdam, 1907.

ANARCHIST SUMMER SCHOOL 1950

This year's Summer School will be held in London on August Bank Holiday weekend.

All enquiries to: RITA MILTON,
79 Platts Lane, London, N.W.3

THE accumulated experience of the anarchists, and of the trade-union movement, since the period when this motion was adopted by the Amsterdam Congress have confirmed its fundamental correctness: the trade unions, insofar as they have been instruments of struggle towards the strictly political ends of "the Left" have facilitated the trend towards the totalitarian corporative state, and have led towards technocratic bureaucracy.

On the other hand, when unions [e.g., syndicalist movements] have been actively influenced by the anarchists, who sought to convert the economic problem of the exploited into an ethical problem, polarising popular aspirations—as was the case in Spain—they have contributed in a real step forward towards freedom.

To-day the unions are in a state of decadence, and must seek new policies adapted to the present situation, capable of confronting the exploiters, their combines and international ramifications, their continually changing methods and ever-increasing power.

We believe that the union struggle can take up its work again in those countries where the question of State Control does not yet rise, if only it will avoid the fatal influence of parliamentary politics and recognise the inadequacy of reformism, and if it will make a profound effort to win the support of its future members for a positively libertarian struggle. In those countries where the problem of State Control already exists, new methods must be studied, capable of effective use, remembering that, without popular support it is impossible to build a useful movement.

We believe also that the anarchists have, in the unions a fruitful field for spreading their ideas. Moreover, experience shows us that, for the anarchist movement to have a real social effectiveness, it must win support in the workers' movements.

The point of view which sees in the union anything more than a means towards a future society is erroneous, as is also the point of view which denies any possibility of action within the unions under the pretext that they contain authoritarian elements. We think that the scope of workers' organisations depends on the activity and the orientation of the people who compose them. The F.O.R.A. in Argentina, and the C.N.T. in Spain, are examples of this. In short, we do not deny the values and the advantages which the struggles of the unions can win. Nor do we deny their defects, which we consider are fewer than the possibilities that they can offer.

It is thus necessary for our movement to take into account the fundamental difference between anarchism and workers' organisations or trade-unionism (*organisation ouvrière ou syndicalisme*), between the means and the end, and it must avoid confusing the two different concepts.

The idea is the aim, the end. The rest is accessory, transitory, and circumstantial.

(To be concluded.)

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