

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy to deprive a man of his natural liberty upon a supposition he may abuse it."
—CROMWELL.

HERRENVOLK IN KENYA

THE Government's past assurances that the Kenya "emergency" would be resolved by the forces of law and order as in Malaya showed an optimism which has been disproved by events; quite apart from the fact that it appears that even in Malaya the situation though calmer is still not under control, and the "bandits" and "communists" are still at large in sufficient numbers to justify the continued presence of large military forces in that country).

It was announced in last Sunday's Press that the Colonial Secretary and Field Marshal Sir John Harding were flying to Kenya this week for "urgent consultations" with the Governor and the C-in-C. of the Kenya forces, General Erskine, his third visit to Kenya is interpreted as "emphasising the growing anxiety which has been felt in recent weeks over developments in that colony".

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AT the end of January the Minister of War, Mr. Head, who had himself recently returned from a visit to Kenya, said in the House of Commons that the findings of the Court of Enquiry, held in Kenya as a result of the allegations made at the trial of Captain Griffiths indicated that the troops in Kenya had shown "a high sense of responsibility and application to duty."

"There do not appear to be any grounds for accusing them of indiscriminate shooting, irresponsible conduct, or inhuman practices. There have, however, been allegations that two instances of serious misconduct occurred in the King's African Rifles. These are being investigated and disciplinary action will be taken if required, in the light of the report. Both General Erskine and I are determined that such matters shall be brought to light and our intention, both in instituting the Court of Inquiry and in subsequent action, is for a clean-up not a cover-up."

"I consider that the court made a full and comprehensive inquiry and that all the facts have been placed before me. Subject to what I have said about the allegations of serious misconduct in two cases, nothing is disclosed which should in any way shake the confidence of the House in the high standard of behaviour of the British Army. As a result of reading the report and visiting Kenya I am convinced that the British Army, under difficult and arduous circumstances, has shown that measure of restraint, backed by good discipline, which this country has traditionally expected."

Mr. A. Henderson (Lab. Rowley Regis and Tipton): Does the Minister's statement mean that evidence brought before the Court of Inquiry established only two cases where money had been offered and paid to soldiers in that regiment out of all the forces taking part in the operations in Kenya, which were raised in the suggestion that 'five bob a nob' was being paid. Did the Court only establish two cases of soldiers being offered and paid money for killing these African tribesmen?

Mr. Head: No sir. When you have read the report you will see that the question of monetary awards is fully dealt with. These two instances were not



"No, Mr. Colonial Secretary, they are not from our five-bob-a-nob 'bag'. These are Mau Mau suspects who enjoyed all the advantages of our two-minute-Justice."

concerned with monetary awards but are of a more serious nature which are outlined in the report. The point is that there were three categories, one of which was alleged ill-treatment or brutality. These instances were discovered by the Court and are now the subject of detailed investigation. It would be wrong for me to say more about these till the investigations are completed. If there is to be a court-martial or other disciplinary action, it will be taken.

Mr. Head explained the reasons for not publishing the full report:

"The findings of a Court of Inquiry are written verbatim and are a privileged document. The great asset in these inquiries is that witnesses can give evidence freely without fear of proceedings being taken. If I had had a civil court, I could have published the findings but, at the same time, compel nobody to give evidence and there would be no guarantee that proceedings would not be taken against them." To publish the findings of the court of inquiry would break a precedent "which would be embarrassing on all further occasions where witnesses would wish to be represented legally before giving any evidence."

(Similar arguments were used by the Home Secretary in refusing to publish the full report of the Henderson Inquiry into the Evans-Christie affair or to hold a public inquiry. And it may be recalled that the Henderson report created more doubts than had existed before the Inquiry was held, yet nothing further has been done by the Government in this matter).

Furthermore, the Kenya Inquiry was limited to the activities of the Regular troops, but as Fenner Brockway pointed out "the gravest charges were against temporary Kenya regiments, the police and Home Guard" and Mr. Head admitted that the report did not cover these forces. And he was able to wriggle out of this by saying that the activities of the Home Guard "do not come under my department" but that the Colonial Secretary "has the matter very much in mind."

FIVE-BOB-A-NOB ALLEGATIONS

THE statement circulated in the official report admits three cases of monetary rewards for killing terrorists. Two cases were considered as not of a serious nature in view of the particular circumstances. But

"An instance also occurred where a commanding officer had given discretion to his company commanders to give rewards in the form of money, leave or other privileges to individuals or sub-units who put up an exceptionally good

performance in operations. The assessment of a very good performance was not expressly related to kills. Monetary awards of this type will not recur. Apart from the instances mentioned above and the rewards offered by Captain Griffiths as admitted in his evidence at his court-martial, there is no other evidence of the practice of offering to soldiers monetary or other rewards for killing Mau Mau in any of the units which they investigated."

Dealing with the keeping and exhibition of scoreboards recording unofficial kills and other activities in operations against Mau Mau, the statement continued: "The court understood the term 'scoreboard' to be used in a derogatory sense and to refer to a visual record kept and displayed solely or mainly to foster

Continued on p. 3

"Down Rover, Down" or THE SCOUTING COMMUNIST

IT appears that Boy Scouts have more than one use. The latest scandalous reports about that pious organisation concerns Rover Paul Garland, who as an office holder in the Young Communist League feels that he can best further the interests of Jesus Christ on earth through the communist ideal (and probably the Communist Party in heaven through the Boy Scout Association), and as a loyal citizen he does not think that these convictions are incompatible with Scouting. The leaders of the Scout Association claim that Paul Garland cannot serve both organisations, especially since the charter of the Young Communist League requires young Communists to conduct anti-religious propaganda and part of the Scout Promise reads "On my honour I promise that I will do my best to do my duty to God and my country".

Most people would agree that the Scout leaders are right when they say that a Scout cannot be a Scout and a Communist at the same time. But then, most people are not aware that, according to the laws of Marxian Dialectics one can support two seemingly opposing ideas at any given time. It is possible by this process to be—anti-fascist while at the same time making pacts with fascist leaders—anti-church while coming to terms with church leaders—to attack bourgeois marriage as wrong while saying that the same ritual performed by the working-class is part of the class struggle, etc. It should not be difficult for Paul Garland to make an excellent Scouting Communist.

What strikes one as being more ridiculous is the statement by Chief Scout Rowallan (his title is foolish enough). He claims that: "We have 488,000 members in this country and I consider we have a duty to the boys and the parents to protect them".

I have never been a Boy Scout, but I have been a Brownie, more specifically

After 36 Years

Russia is pestered by spies, saboteurs, murderers, diversionists, profiteers, lazy farmers and barbarians who mistreat modern machinery, according to Moscow radio. It blamed "remnants of private-ownership mentality" and "smugglers of bourgeois views."

an Elf with the impressive motto: "This is what we do as Elves; think of others not ourselves". All us Elves frequently thought of others and not always as kindly as the motto would imply. We thought of ourselves just as often, and the reason for most youngsters joining any organisation is in the main for the purpose of getting together with other children to have a good time. There is always a glorious time between leaving the meeting place of an organisation and arriving home. It is then that the plots are hatched and the unseemly discussed. There is of course the odd little prig who is always at the right hand of the leader and who in later years becomes the dictator or the submissive follower. But generally children are not very impressed by all the idealistic aims.

This latest move of the Scout leaders will make a martyr out of Garland, and make themselves look even more foolish than usual. R.M.

In Brief :

JAPANESE REARMAMENT

Japanese armaments combine Zaibatsu, Asia's greatest arsenal, is planning a "come-back", fostered by expected U.S. orders totalling about \$35,000,000.

The combine is counting on Japanese rearmament and arms aid to Asiatic countries financed by the U.S.

SOVIET PURGES CONTINUE

Hint of a purge in Kazakhstan, the isolated central Asian republic, was given last Saturday by a broadcast which accused its Premier Y. B. Taybekov, of "shortcomings in agricultural leadership".

Six days ago Malenkov sent a member of his Cabinet, P. K. Ponomarenkas, and a deputy to take over administration of the republic after two Communist Party secretaries were sacked.

The Bases in Fascist Spain

Work on four U.S. air and seven navy bases in Spain will begin in May, it has been announced in Washington. The air bases will be at Torrejon, near Madrid, El Coper and Moron, near Seville, and Zaragoza.

Conscientious Objection to Military Service

AFTER several years of virtual oblivion the question of conscientious objection to military service has once more come back into the public eye. This is mainly due to a new Bill which was rejected by the House of Lords and an individual case.

Lord Chorley who sponsored the Bill referred to, pointed out that a youth has the right when he is called upon to register for military service to register instead as a conscientious objector. This claim is then considered (some might say disputed) by a Tribunal which has the power to exempt him conditionally or unconditionally from military service. But Lord Chorley rightly showed that a man who had done his military service and then developed a conscientious objection had no such right. If he refused further military service when called upon he was subject to trial by Court Martial. "If he was sentenced to three months imprisonment as a matter of administrative arrangement, and indeed as a concession on the part of the authorities, arrangements were made for his alleged conscientious objection to be investigated by an appeal tribunal. If this tribunal found the objection to be genuine he would not be required to do further military service."

Thus such a man only earns the right to have his claim to conscientious objection considered by disobeying an order and receiving a prison sentence for it. If the military authorities choose to be "lenient" and give him less than three months they can play at cat and mouse with him for as long as suits them or until he gives in.

Lord Chorley's bill sought to give the man who had done his military service the same rights as the man registering for national service for the first time. He lost his motion in the House of Lords by 39 votes to 12.

Those who spoke against the Bill emphasized the rarity of this situation. By implication, laws for them were not for small minorities. Others were afraid that it offered a loophole for men to "work their ticket".

The Government speaker, Lord Lloyd (Parliamentary Under-Secretary, the Home Office) used typically question-begging arguments. The British people, he said, have accepted National Service and therefore public confidence would be undermined if it were suspected that "some young men could get away with it". He clearly seems to imply that conscientious objectors are "getting away with it" though those

who have seen the Tribunals in action will have some doubts about this.

"Military discipline," Lord Lloyd concluded, "must be maintained. A man who had a genuine conscientious should not mind undergoing a little hardship to prove he was genuine. The Bill would open the door to abuse and would undoubtedly give an opportunity to shirkers and scrimshankers."

The Case of the Schoolboy

We have mentioned an individual case which has focussed some attention on conscientious objection. This was the case of a boy who was a member of a Quaker family and who was expelled from the City of London School for Boys because he refused to remain in the school Cadet Corps.

His case was reported in the newspapers when he appeared before the Appellate Tribunal. It appears that he did non-combatant duties in the School Cadet Corps till he was 18: then he refused to remain in it. The headmaster pointed out that membership of the Combined Cadet Corps was compulsory and that if he persisted in his refusal he would have to leave. He left—in other respects on excellent terms with the

Continued on p. 4

Electricians' Strike Goes on

THERE seems little point in discussing further the wage struggle being waged by the Electrical Trades Union.

Its guerrilla tactics have been extremely well organised and backed up by the rank and file. Unfortunately they don't seem to be having much effect on the employers, which is after all their whole point. If the E.T.U. can go on almost indefinitely paying small numbers of "guerrillas" to come out or stay out, while the majority of the members continue paying dues, so, it seems, can the employers stand the strain of having some of their number inconvenienced.

Is the employers' association subsidising strike-hit firms? If so, the whole point of the guerrilla tactic is, if not lost, at least seriously weakened.

There is only one way out of the deadlock for the E.T.U.—extend the strike. Call out all the contracting side indefinitely, and if that doesn't work—well, are not the supply men in the power stations in the same union?

Anarchist Ideals

IF an anarchist society is to be realized by a heroism born of despair and by people who would find the horrors of the last forty years unbearable even to memory and imagination, I visualize it as a great monastery with every member grave and duty-conscious, most relationship according to pattern, scrupulous honesty and vigilance making it a smileless kingdom of virtue. But if an anarchist society should be born from desire or have at any rate an historical background other than that of our century, then it would be like a tropical jungle, undoubtedly creative and yet free from any cruel and terrible aspect.

Human nature being what it is such society is not likely to be realized but, then, but human nature is full of changes and surprises, and it is part of its present being to strive after the impossible and wish for the moon. Both this striving and wish are psychologically and socially important and it is to the anarchists' credit to stress them even at the risk of being treated as mentally touched or infantile.

The jungle type of society lies most probably and irretrievably in the prehistoric past so that the anarchist's wish for it could be taken for a form of nostalgia for prenatal or preconscious conditions, were it not for the fact that the anarchist's jungle is one in which somebody's life is nobody's death. Only in the imagination of a highly evolved and highly sensitive person can such a jungle be found and prove a comfort and a goad to action.

The sensible ideal of a society, however, for which one can work with a fair certainty of seeing it gradually realized, is not that of a jungle but rather of a well-tended garden. Unfortunately or otherwise, it is an ideal the anarchists cannot share, and for reasons other than his bias for unimpeded growth and natural disorder. In those human gardens which governments, churches and despots have constantly been tending and trying to improve upon from the beginnings of historical times, the activities of pruning, weeding, and ruthless destruction of all kinds of pests are more repulsive to the anarchist than any form of struggle for life there could ever take place in a human jungle. To refer but to a few of the best advertised human gardens, from Roman galleys to Russian labour camps weeding and pruning paid the gardeners huge dividends, while from crosses to gas chambers their zeal and ingenuity were never at a loss in disposing of pests, and producing them when wanting.

Except for overcrowding and lack of beauty the society we live in can also be compared to a garden, and since we are not treated as weeds or pests we can cross our fingers and be thankful. After all, however much a gardener interferes, it is the plant itself that rules the economy of its growth. Purpose and happiness, in other words, together with a certain amount of freedom, are quite possible in anarchist societies, and small mercies are not to be despised. That does not turn them, however, into objects

of worship or ideals. On the contrary, they should by all possible means be prevented from being imposed as ideals because for any one exalted and enriched by becoming a gardener of men there are thousands demeaned and thrown back to the passive and mortifying rôle of a plant.

Gardens, moreover, are not complete unless they are closed in by a wall or a fence, and that is in direct contradiction with most men's unsufferance of permanent bounds. Hence the breaking down of walls and fences by each gardener who wants to extend his garden, and the breaking down also of our analogy because plants will patiently suffer everything the gardener forces upon them but will never move from their place to go and fight the gardener's battle against other plants.

War is inevitable amongst anarchist systems for reasons that vary in time but also for the abiding one that acts within each of them as an ideal and a motive force, that is peace and happiness for all under one single government. It is the Communist and the American ideal, and could still be the British or the Nazi, that of Catholicism or Islam. Each, if triumphant, would equally provide peace and happiness of a kind, and logically and ethically it does not matter a hoot which one is triumphant. In anarchist and historical terms, however, it matters a great deal because no system will let itself be absorbed or disappear for the sake of a world-government that is not its own. Rivalry among various anarchist systems leads to war, but it also forces them to illogicalities and unethical behaviour all the more pronounced, the more loudly they raise claims to righteousness and right. Thus one inner contradiction of any anarchist system is that it needs universal acceptance in order to be ethically valid, and that it must kill or force people to accept it, that is it must act most unethically, in order to gain universal validity.

Another contradiction, particularly relevant in our age of revolutions, is that any new system must claim to be better than the preceding one, but cannot take its place unless it is worse. Modern man, it seems, cannot long be satisfied with any particular government, and anarchism can be taken as the voicing of this dissatisfaction. The less a government governs, if the truth be told, to more people it is welcome, and this welcome, paradoxically to be measured by the amount and variety of adverse criticism it favours, is also the measure of its goodness. It seems logical, therefore, to conclude that if the less a government governs the better it is and to the satisfaction of a greater number, no government at all would be the best and to the satisfaction of everybody.

Logic, we scarcely need reminding, has very little to do with history, and on the plane of history anarchist systems still have their way. But on the plane of freedom where choices are made and values established, anarchist systems reveal their appalling inadequacies and their immense bad faith. On the plane of freedom, which by the way incides on the plane of history, questions of better and worse are hypocritical and demoralizing, and there rings unsuppressible the anarchist appeal for a leap into the best.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

UNAMUNO AND GENERAL ASTRAY

THE news has been given by the Spanish wireless of the death of one of Franco's generals, Millan Astray, the founder of the Spanish foreign Legion, with which he terrorized the Rif population in Morocco and later suppressed a general strike in Asturias. He made himself famous for his ignorance as well as for his brutality, and he will go down in history for the part he played in precipitating the death of the philosopher Miguel de Unamuno.

During a meeting of the Falange somebody attacked the Basque nationalists and Unamuno, himself a Basque, stood up and spiritedly answered the attack. Then Millan Astray interrupted him by shouting "Down with intelligence, long live Death". To which Unamuno replied, condemning the whole régime: "You know how to win, but you don't know how to convince." Whereupon Millan Astray produced a revolver, and would probably have fired it had not General Franco's wife promptly screened the old philosopher with her body.

This happened during the civil war, and a few days later Unamuno died. By his courageous words he redeemed himself of all association with Franco's régime which circumstances and his official position as Rector of Salamanca University had forced upon him.

JUANITO.

The Homosexual — Some Facts

By a Psychologist

THE State persecutes those guilty of homosexuality, and Society, we are led to believe, disapproves very strongly of these people; it is therefore rather surprising to find out just how little is known about the subject. The mass of prejudice and pseudo-science outweighs the scientific knowledge that is available. It is even necessary to be careful when dealing with the homosexual's report on his own condition as this is found to be warped by society's preconceptions on the subject. The following are some of the facts as known to the psychologist. Some of them may be found to be false after further research but this is both their weakness and their strength that they depend on observation and not on a burning desire to abolish homosexuality.

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THE incidence of homosexuality is high (though no figures are available for most countries, Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin in the U.S. found that 37% of post-pubertal males had experienced homosexual contacts to orgasm and that 4% of the unmarried males of age 35 were exclusively homosexual). The incidence in Britain is large enough to make it certain that we are not dealing with such a small fragment of the population that could be put in prison and forgotten. Our present system therefore has the added drawback that it is impracticable.

Kelly, who studied passive male homosexuals in the U.S. found that a minority of them showed feminine traits in their speech, gait and manner. They tended to show a higher incidence of hetero-

sexuality as their masculinity-femininity scores increased. These scores were on a complex of tests in which men and women score differently. They thus approach the female in psychological traits though the evidence for them being homosexual owing to heredity can be questioned. Kelly found that the case histories tended to record a too emotional mother, a brutal autocratic father, treatment as a girl in childhood, discouragement of association with boys and an emphasis on neatness and cleanliness in their upbringing.

Freud, besides fitting the facts of homosexuality into his rather complex scheme of infantile development, and regression to an earlier stage of development, has pointed out the connection with paranoia (the holding of fixed and false beliefs often about persecution). It appears certain from examination of his work that children are originally able to choose sexual partners from either sex and that this is usually carried over into adult life though a strong preference is usually felt for partners of one sex. The term homosexual applied to people is really inappropriate. Men who prefer women as partners and who lead happily married lives may indulge in homosexual intercourse. Others who are completely homosexual in their outlet may yet choose as partners men who are feminine to some degree or who have some characteristics in common with their mothers or sisters (such as a name or facial resemblance).

The problem whether some forms of homosexuality is determined by heredity cannot yet be decided. The homosexual of the feminine type may well develop that trait because society treats him in the same way as a woman, or because he is more likely to be initiated into these practices by adult homosexuals. There may be some physiological factors but these are not essential to the development of homosexuality.

An interesting study of homosexuality has been made using the Cross-Cultural Index. It was found that out of 76 societies, 28 disapprove of homosexuality while 48 allow it to some degree. Those disapproving of homosexuality apply various sanctions against it from the death penalty to ridicule of any public manifestation. In those societies allowing it it becomes the expected practice in many. Among the Siwan for example, a completely heterosexual male is looked

upon as being peculiar. This not only shows the wide variations possible from the class morality of the West but that no biological factors are clearly associated with the occasional indulgence in homosexuality. In all sexual matters a wide variation of customs is possible not only between societies but between classes. Reference to the Kinsey report will show that the class from which judges are drawn shows little understanding of the sexual codes of the less educated (and of course vice versa).

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A LAST word needs to be said about treatment (if that term is applicable). The only course that seems to be effective is analysis. Account must be taken of the patient's whole personality and not merely of the symptom which draws attention to it. A cure could probably be effected by administering an electric shock when the patient approached the forbidden object but needless to say the mental health of the patient would suffer. (This has been tried). A deep analysis is probably the only known cure and that is dependent on the patient being willing to undergo the treatment and being dissatisfied with his present mode of life. Apart from this a general alleviation of the homosexual's difficulties could be accomplished if he were freed from the fears of blackmail, violence and the attentions of the law-enforcing agencies. Society in effect can do something for the homosexual—it can leave him alone.

MENENIUS: . . . you slander
The helms of the State, who care
for you like fathers,
When you curse them, as enemies.

CITIZEN: Care for us? True indeed,
they ne'er cared for us yet. Suffer
us to famish, and their storehouses
crammed with grain: make edicts
for usury, to support usurers;
repeal daily any wholesome Act
established against the rich, and
provide more piercing Statutes
daily, to chain up and restrain the
poor. If the wars eat us not up,
they will; and there's all the love
they bear us.

SHAKESPEARE,

Coriolanus Act I, Scene I.

JUNG ON SOCIETY & THE INDIVIDUAL

"It is a notorious fact that the morality of society as a whole is in inverse ratio to its size; for the greater the aggregation of individuals, the more the individual factors are blotted out, and with them morality, which rests entirely on the moral sense of the individual and the freedom necessary for this. Hence every man is, in a certain sense, unconsciously a worse man when he is in society than when acting alone; for he is carried by society and to that extent relieved of his individual responsibility. Any large company composed of wholly admirable persons has the morality and intelligence of an unwieldy, stupid, and violent animal. The bigger the organization, the more unavoidable is its immorality and blind stupidity (*Senatus bestia, senatores boni viri*). Society, by automatically stressing all the collective qualities in its individual representatives, puts a premium on mediocrity, on everything that settles down to vegetate in an easy, irresponsible way. Individuality will inevitably be driven to the wall. This process begins in school, continues at the university, and rules all departments in which the State has a hand. In a small social body the individuality of its members is better safeguarded; and the greater is their relative freedom and the possibility of conscious responsibility. Without freedom there can be no morality. Our admiration for great organizations dwindles when once we become aware of the other side of the wonder; the tremendous piling up and accentuation of all that is primitive in man, and the unavoidable destruction of his individuality in the interests of the monstrosity that every great organization in fact is. The man of to-day, who resembles more or less the collective ideal, has made his heart into a den of murderers, as can easily be proved by the analysis of his unconscious, even though he himself is not in the least disturbed by it. And in so far that he is normally "adapted" to his environment, it is true that the greatest infamy on the part of his group will not disturb him, so long as the majority of his fellows steadfastly believe in the exalted morality of their social organization."

Two Essays On Analytical Psychology,
volume seven of his collected works,
Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953.

POOR ARISTOPHANES!

NEW YORK, Feb. 4.—A spokesman for the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art said last night that nine members of the cast in Aristophanes' classical satire "Ecclesiazusai" had quit because "some lines in the play were Communistic."

The play was written in 400 B.C. as a satire on Plato's "Republic."

During rehearsals one member of the Cooper Union cast quit and was followed by eight others. The lines to which they objected were cut out and an abridged version of the play will be produced on Sunday.

Robert Klein, director of the play, said it was preposterous to suggest there was anything Communistic in the cut lines.

Lawrence Langner, president of the Academy Theatre Guild, said that Communism was not an issue in the dispute. He claimed the lines were deleted because they were of no interest and would bore the audience.

The lines cut were Praxagora's:
"The rule which I dare to enact and declare

"Is that all shall be equal and equally share

"All wealth and enjoyments, nor longer endure
"That one should be rich and another be poor."

and Blepzyros's:
"But what's he to gain though his wealth he retain
"When all things are common I'd have to explain."

[In her study of Utopias, Journey through Utopia, Marie Louise Berneri included the lines quoted above in the extracts she published from Aristophanes' satire. Her comments on his plays are very much to the point:

"Before we leave Greece we should glance at the satirical utopias of Aristophanes, because their influence on utopian thought has only been second to that of the utopias they set out to ridicule.

"Aristophanes' plays give us, furthermore, an idea of how the general public received the ideas of the great philosophers. Their reactions must have been very different from those of the pupils in the gymnasium, always ready to discuss and accept new ideas, with the en-

thusiasm and the lack of prejudice of youth.

"Though Aristophanes presents a distorting mirror to the public opinion of the time, there is a ring of authenticity in his plays. His personages talk about Plato's communism very much as most people do to-day about Bolshevism (or about anarchism). The majority of the ancient Greeks, like the majority of modern men, probably dismissed communism as a state of society where 'women belong to everybody', 'nobody will do any work', 'everyone will get drunk and over-eat'. Aristophanes laughs and sneers with them, but he occasionally put forward some better arguments in favour of communism than Plato himself. Praxagora, who leads a revolution of women which is going to abolish property and institute a reign of plenty, makes a more convincing propagandist than Socrates. This is how she describes to her husband Blepzyros, how she will bring about this happy and free society:

"The rule which I dare to enact and declare
Is that all"

It seems to us that the actors were right when they say that some lines were Communistic (at least with a small c) but they confuse communism with the régime in Russia, where there are no "equal shares" and where "rich" and "poor" are as common as in the United States. How apt are Marie Louise Berneri's observations in this example of literary witch-hunt.

And how lame is Mr. Langner's explanation that the lines have been cut out because they would "bore" the audience. In that case why cut out those four lines and retain those that follow in which Praxagora continues her argument:

"That one should have acres, far stretching and wide,
And another not even enough to provide
Himself with a grave: that this at his call
Should have hundreds of servants,
and that none at all."

R.

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ARE THE HUNGRY PEACEABLE?

I am inclined to think that only a hungry world can be a peaceful world. If the 450,000,000 people of India were all well-fed and prosperous they might not be pacific as they are now.—Mr. G. V. Jacks, director of the Commonwealth Bureau of Soil Science.

TO people brought up on the struggle for existence view of nature where individuals fight among themselves for the available food supply, Mr. Jacks' statement will seem very paradoxical. But it leaves believers in peaceful cooperation rather uncomfortable also, for the implication is that the healthy, well-fed man is naturally aggressive. Nor, again, does one much like to feel that good qualities come out of palpably wrong conditions.

All these difficulties arise however from an old fallacy which unspokenly underlies Mr. Jacks' paradox. It is that peoples, populations, masses are ever in fact aggressive, and the linked fallacy of equating what States, that is, governments, do, with what the people they rule over want or would themselves do if initiative lay with them.

It has often been shown in the columns of FREEDOM that there are plenty of aspects of war and fighting which correspond to psychological needs of our psychologically sick populations, but even so these are never so overpowering or so overt that they actually build up a conscious wish for war. "No one wants war" is perfectly true as a generalisation, though it is ironical that war is what everyone seems to get in increasing measure in our world. If no one wants war even among the so-called prosperous nations one can hardly connect the pacific philosophy of India with its hunger, even though the Sikhs and the Gurkhas, traditionally warriors, enjoy excellent diets.

There is yet another factor concealed beneath this fallacious formulation. The population of India are mostly peasants and the fact is that peasants, throughout history, have always resisted wars. As hard and poverty stricken as their lives usually are, yet they are in daily contact with the verities of nature, and possess the firm sense of values which seems to go with the status of a primary producer. Peasants everywhere have always regarded conscription as "the blood tax", and have looked with scant patriotism on wars. In their pacific philosophy the Indian peasant has as counterparts the peasants of Russia, of Italy and Spain, and of Central Europe.

Fortified by these reflections we may perhaps continue to advocate that the hungry should be fed.

THE DUKE AND THE TRAMP

One day a tramp, with a bundle of rags in his hand, was going through a wood that belonged to the duke of Norfolk; it so happened that the duke found him and said to him:

"Do you know that you are walking on my land?"

"On your land?" asked the tramp. All right; but as I don't possess any land I must of necessity walk on somebody else's. But, by the way, where did you get this land from?"

"It was left to me by my ancestors," said the duke.

"And how did they get it?"

"They inherited it from their ancestors."

"And how did their ancestors get it?"

"They fought for it."

REVIEW

RUSSIA is a totalitarian country. There was a time when Germany and Italy were totalitarian, too. There was a time when the left-wing said that totalitarianism is fated to a short life. Later, there was a time when this belief was reversed. Russia, it was said, would last forever. Totalitarianism, it is said, can never be overcome. The left-wing has never suffered a shortage of pessimists.

But to those optimists, who went on urging direct action, despite the sneers of the cynical, with only the examples of Spain and Mexico and, perhaps, the Paris Commune, the news brought by Brigitte Gerland in the *Observer* (Feb. 7, 1954) must certainly be inspiration. Totalitarianism can be fought—and fought effectively.

There are surely times when we wonder whether our morality is justified. The 'successes' of Fabianism in the Gold Coast, India, etc. seem to suggest that, perhaps, we ought to try a hand at Parliamentary Politics. It means becoming immoral but, at least, we are not ineffective, voices without following or attention. Then suddenly, there is a strike, or a resistance movement and our confidence returns.

Though exciting and reassuring, Miss Gerland's article reveals facts at one with Russian history and politics. This realisation makes for the authenticity of her article. One trouble is that Miss Gerland's prose is intricate and confusing. This is due, probably, to direct, unedited translation of long German sentences.

Her principal points are the following:

1. A Soviet Economy measure in 1948 threw political prisoners, formerly separate, together into 'special régime camps'.

2. Food and living conditions have improved and become bearable. The work and the extreme cold, however, tend to stultify the prisoners.

3. The prisoners are of three distinct

kinds. Miss Gerland discusses two of these three.

4. The first group is the young radical students from the cities, bred on Leninism, who are responsible for strikes in 1950. They claim to be in direct line with Lenin's earlier writings analysing and approving the Paris Commune. From Leninism they have developed to Syndicalism.

5. The second group, partially mentioned, are the 'veruschy' (believers) who are conscientious objectors. Apparently, the 'veruschy' are responsible for very strong resistance, in the camps.

The first question to ask is this. Has mass resistance outside the camps occurred? If so many students have been arrested to form a distinct group in the prisons then, it is likely, that they do have a following.

The second question is: in the camps, how many have resisted? According to Mr. Crankshaw, in a front page article: $\frac{1}{2}$ million. Miss Gerland does not corroborate this. Probably, in the next article, she will.

Dealing with points 4 and 5 one may explain them this way. First, point 4. Both Marxism and Anarchism have contained the same ideals. That is why Marx and Bakunin could work together—for a time. My own opinion is that their strife was not political but personal. Leninism, however, is a different matter. We are past the days of theory; we are in the days of hard-and-fast rules for strategy. The Leninist principal method is centralisation. On this strategy, all action hangs. Any anarchist can romp home pointing out, both generally and particularly, the defects of this method. However, when centralism has run aground, the former Leninists realise this, then they move in one of two ways.

Either they are downright cynics, paying lip-service to forgotten, useless mem-

ories, or they keep the Leninist idea (Communism, and therefore Anarchism) and they reverse their strategy, starting at the beginning. It is very hopeful to see Neo-Leninism become Syndicalism. Perhaps a few honest members of the Communist Party, if there are any left, may take the hint.

Point 5 is the 'believers'. Christianity produced many offshoots in Russia. From Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky to Freemasonry. And in autocratic times secret societies, like the Carbonari, the Society of Seasons, the Narodniki, are common. The 'believers' probably stem from Tolstoy's passive resistance. And since this

also includes anarchist principles, then a combination between the 'Neo-Leninists' and the 'believers' is not difficult to achieve.

It is a guess that the third group, unmentioned in detail, are Ukranian Nationalists. I hope that Makhno is somewhere in their ideology.

To conclude, one may only repeat that Miss Gerland's information is inspiring and one may hope that the resistance movement is successful throughout Russia. But, with the Syndicalist weapons, can they fail?

11th February, 1954. R. W. GOOL.

An Association of University Anarchists

THE suggestion has been made that anarchists within universities and colleges could usefully get together. From observation and contact it seems that quite a number of anarchists are past or present members of universities. It may be that the combination of youthful revolt, intellectual stimulation, and an environment whose values are "human" rather than capitalist is a favourable one for the production of anarchists. Or maybe not. At any rate it is certain that the university environment is not less favourable (thank goodness!) than others, while the opportunities for advertising anarchism are unusually good. The existence of political societies is beamed upon, and these are able to organize frequent meetings, often to sell literature, and usually to have a notice board. Assuming that the anarchist movement is prepared to take anarchists wherever it can find them and has no inverted snobbery about intellectuals, the universities and colleges are therefore worth some attention by the people who are

attending them, or have done. Some sort of association of university anarchists would help to dispel that dreadful lone wolf feeling, would give the idea a little more prestige if it was realised that it was entertained by a number of people throughout the university world, and would help in obtaining publicity in student and national journals. It would also be valuable to exchange ideas about arranging programs of talks, films, etc. (Phil Lewis gave me many useful suggestions arising from his experience at Nottingham and Swansea, while the Exeter group recently asked Manchester about our approach and results. Clearly the need for an interchange exists). Finally it would certainly make small groups of university anarchists more ready to form student societies if they had some encouragement from outside to make up for what was missing inside!

It is already known that there are anarchists at Oxford, Manchester and Nottingham Universities, Exeter University College and Manchester College of Technology, and sympathisers at Swansea, Aberystwyth, Cambridge and London. The suggestion is that we form either (a) a Federation of University Anarchist Groups (mainly for groups but with provision for individual membership); or (b) a Student Anarchist Federation for individual students; or (c) a University Anarchist Federation for all anarchists in university or college life—students, staff, and graduates. We might find more of the latter than we expect willing to assist). The writer personally favours the last suggestion, but of course these are at this stage no more than exploratory suggestions. Membership, as we would all prefer no doubt, could easily be quite informal without sacrificing any of the advantages of association. It is possible that the interchange of ideas and news might justify a short newsletter, which—taking account of the variation in pace of the courses thru the academic year—could be published at the beginning of the first term, and perhaps the second also, and prepared during the preceding vacations. The Exeter group has suggested that successive issues should be launched by different groups so as to share the work (not very great) and to decentralize.

Philip Holgate, of Exeter, has taken the highly practical and useful step of offering to undertake the initial work of collecting suggestions and opinions on the subject and getting an idea of anarchist strength in the universities. So:—

Will all students, staff and graduates of universities and colleges who are anarchists or sympathisers, and who are either interested in the formation of some association of university anarchists, or who (if unable to assist or join) would like to be kept informed of developments, write giving their names, addresses, college and faculty to: Philip Holgate, Reed Hall, Streatham Drive, Exeter.

If you have any positive opinions which you wish to be taken into account by the others, please express them now rather than later.

Manchester, Feb. 4. V. MAYES.

In Brief:

Offer to the Trotsky-Fascist

Last week's *Cominform* Journal urges Yugo-Slavia to break her "blind-alley ties with capitalist West and restore fraternal bonds with the people's camp."

Market Economy

Warehouses in South Africa are stacked to the roof with three million tons of corned beef which the Government has failed to sell to Britain and elsewhere.

Our Wonderful Police

Three Brixton policemen were committed for trial last week to the Old Bailey accused of breaking into a work-shop and stealing property worth £35.

KENYA

Continued from p. 1

unhealthy and irresponsible competition in killings between units and sub-units. It is necessary for all formations, units, and sub-units to collect and consolidate information recording all incidents in order to complete the periodical situation reports required by higher formations, and to show clearly to commanders at all levels the progress of operations. The incidents so recorded include casualties to Mau Mau and to our own troops, prisoners captured, arms captured or lost, contacts with gangs, cattle stolen, etc.

The Court found that in platoons such information was kept in notebooks or memorised. In companies it was normally kept in notebooks or on *pro formas* in files. In some company, battalion, and brigade headquarters these incidents were consolidated graphically in the form of wall charts for the greater convenience of commanders. All these forms of charts were considered perfectly legitimate and reasonable. There was no evidence that they were used for any improper purpose. Moreover, it was clear that, without exception, they were kept in offices to which access was severely restricted.

"There was no evidence of records of unofficial killings, whether this phrase is used in the sense of Mau Mau wounded and believed killed or of Africans other than the established Mau Mau who have been killed. The Court's finding was that allegations of the exhibition of 'score-boards' recording official and unofficial kills and other activities in operations against Mau Mau were unfounded. Nothing more appeared to have been kept than charts recording official incidents consolidated from situation reports, which were kept in offices to which access was severely restricted."

The report admits that in the "early phases of anti-Mau Mau operations and in the prohibited areas, it was an accepted—although not a universal practice—to cut off either one or both hands from a body where a body could not be brought in and where there were no other means of identification. The hand was brought back in order that finger-prints could be taken from it. This practice was dictated by the necessity of reporting all Mau Mau casualties to the police. This practice started to decrease with the wide issue of finger-printing equipment to units and has now been specifically forbidden, even if it means the loss of an identification."

"It appears that in six instances—one of which was in the special areas—involving three battalions, hands had been brought back as proof of identification of Africans killed since August 1, 1953. In each case, this mutilation was carried out

"Come here then," exclaimed the tramp fiercely, throwing away his bundle. I also want to fight for it, as your ancestors did."

But the duke, taking quickly to his heels, did not accept this unusual proposition.

Translated from "An Intermediate Spanish Reader".

in good faith, on the instructions of a European officer or N.C.O. in view of the lack of other means of identification and was explicable in the operational circumstances. General Headquarters, East Africa issued a further order on January 1, 1954, accepting the loss of an identification if other methods were not available.

But "The Court found no evidence whatever of African prisoners having been severely beaten or tortured by Army units for the purpose of forcing them to give information or for any other purpose, except in certain instances in two King's African Rifles battalions. In fact, in British battalions the troops were, as always, most sympathetic to their prisoners, offering them tea and cigarettes. As one witness put it to the Court: 'The prisoners put on weight while they are with us.'"

ON the other hand allegations of torture and indiscriminate killings by the police and Home Guard continue to appear in the press.

There was the case reported last month of a Kenya police officer who set his dog to attack two African prisoners and then made them wipe up the blood with their own torn clothes.

The magistrate described the behaviour of 40-year-old Edward Burgess, officer in charge of a police post near Thika, as "not only cruel: it was, in a word, torture," and proceeded to fine him £20.

There was the case of two European officers charged with assault and causing bodily harm to Mau Mau suspects by whipping them. In evidence:

A Kikuyu farm worker alleged that one of the officers, Dennis Pharazyn had made him lie on his stomach and then had his ankles and wrists tied behind his back. He said he and another African were left trussed up in this way all night and until the following afternoon. When he was released and still denied taking the Mau Mau oath, the officer beat him with a whip.

Dr. Reginald Bunny said that on Nov. 21 he examined ten Africans in the District Commissioner's office. One had weals on his right flank, back, and arms and two scars on the chest and upper abdomen. The scars could have been caused by burns and the weals by a thin stick or whip.

Superintendent Warmington, in charge of Naiyasha division, said that he went to a police post near Naiyasha which was under the command of Pharazyn and another officer named Hvass. Several Africans in detention complained about being beaten, and a Major Denning, who had one of his labourers at the post, remarked that a man had been burned. Pharazyn went on, at first denied this but eventually admitted that there was an old man who had been burned. He was alleged to have said:

"We did that accidentally. We did not intend to burn him. We just wanted to hold him in smoke. I have been treating his burns."

But perhaps the most ghastly case is

the one at present being tried in Kenya in which a European youth, an officer of the Kenya Police Reserve and a former Mau Mau "general" (who the government has no scruples in employing to aid screening teams interrogating Mau Mau prisoners) are accused, according to a *Reuter* report, "of pouring paraffin over a suspected terrorist and setting him alight while he was being questioned".

TWO members of the British parliamentary delegation touring Kenya last month said at a press conference that "There seemed to be general approval [in all the communities] of the tactical conduct of the emergency although there was a desire on all sides for a quicker administration of justice". In *FREEDOM* (Two Minute Justice in Kenya, 1/8/53) we quoted Mr. Whyatt, Kenya's Attorney General as saying that in two months no less than 10,000 Mau Mau cases had been brought before the Courts—an average of one case being disposed of every two minutes. What do they mean then when they talk of a "quicker administration of justice"? Dispense with the Courts altogether?

THAT is what is happening in the Northern Province of Tanganyika where it was announced last month (and reported by B.U.P.) that all Kikuyu women and children, some 5,000 in all, "would be sent to new restricted areas in the Colony". Of the 1,500 male members of the Kikuyu tribe in N. Tanganyika "more than three-quarters are under Governmental detention and the remainder, according to the Government, will be repatriated to Kenya or sent to a detention camp in Western Tanganyika. It is intended to repatriate all the Kikuyu tribe to Kenya eventually, but the Tanganyika Government is not to take this step for the present as it would make the task of fighting terrorism in Kenya more difficult.

BY these methods Mau Mau terrorism will never be stamped out unless the Commander in Chief decides to kill off every African in Kenya. One would have thought that the lesson had been learned in Palestine that terrorism cannot be eliminated by counter terrorism. Only by tackling the root causes of the Mau Mau terrorism is there any hope of bringing peace to Kenya. And the root causes are land-hunger, low wages, colour prejudice and unemployment, about which nothing has been done.

In an editorial last week the *New Statesman & Nation* shares the conclusions of "more and more well informed people who have wrestled with the problem" that "the only solution in the long run is to buy out the Settlers and allow democracy to develop in an African Kenya".

What a bitter commentary on British Colonialism and the white *herrenvolk!* LIBERTARIAN.

4 **DISCUSSION Marriage, Symbol & Reality**

SURELY the anarchist objection to marriage is based on a natural objection as it is, the State is too much with of the most intimate aspects of a person's life? We have to compromise much as it is, the State is too much with us, ought we not to draw the line at this matter at least? Allowing the State to interfere in our sex lives is like having a policeman in the bedroom. We are, when we marry, simply getting a licence from the authorities to have sexual intercourse.

Marriage may sometimes protect the woman but it is a chancy weapon of defence, and is as likely to do injury to she who uses it as he against whom it is used. We frequently read in the papers of fathers kidnapping their wife's children, but in many cases this is done legally, for when a man divorces his wife he usually gets the custody of the children. An unmarried mother's children are indisputably hers.

In an anarchist society the children would be able to choose which parent they preferred to live with, and probably the majority would decide to live with their mother. In the case of small children it is certainly better that they should remain with her, and it is sickening to read as we so often do of weeping children torn from their mother by the cold-blooded order of some court.

What is it that makes people marry at all? I do not think of those who still go in fear of God and their neighbours, but of those who consider themselves emancipated. In most cases it is either that one of the partners is not in fact emancipated, but still has the conventional outlook, or that else it is the jealous desire to possess. This possessiveness is the very stuff of our civilization, and none can wholly escape it. There are very few of us to whom possession does not give an added zest to life, and naturally this feeling spreads into the sexual sphere. If a man or woman feels great love for someone there is a danger that he or she will tend to regard the beloved in the same way as some comrades regard a rare volume of the works of Kropotkin, a thing to be taken about and shown to friends, but not to be parted with on any account even for a moment.

In a society based on free communism this tendency would probably disappear, perhaps not entirely, for the problem is not so simple as Comrade MacTaggart seems to think, but it certainly will never be entirely disposed of in a society such as ours, wherein property plays such an overwhelmingly important part.

Another objection to marriage is that there are in most human communities more females than males. Monogamous

marriage ensures that some women will have to go without a husband, and if they take the taboos of our society seriously they will have to go without a sex life in consequence. The alternative is polygamous marriage which always seems to involve an inferior social status for the women. In an anarchist society, though some sexual unions would be more or less permanent, there would be a large number of temporary alliances shifting and changing, which would give a chance to everybody.

Sexual desires are really too powerful to be tied down to any fixed formula or code of conduct. As René Guyon says sexual activities are "beyond good and evil", and so long as neither partner is forced or degraded in any way they should be considered as being exclusively the affair of the persons concerned, not of society, still less of the State. But the possessiveness that marriage symbolises, whether the woman takes the man's name or not, is in fact a form of degradation for it is the ownership of one person by another.

"Ah but," some of the defenders of marriage will object, "marriage is a publicly made contract between two equals." But what is the point of such a contract, a contract unique among contracts, for it is the only one that cannot be dissolved with the consent of both parties? Surely in this case it is an attempt on the part of the authoritarian society in which we live to organise the most intimate part of our lives. As Reich points out, those whose sex lives are most controlled by authority are those who are also the most servile in everything. No wonder the authoritarians say that the Family, by which of course they mean the sort based on indissoluble marriage, is the basis of the State. Which brings us back again to the fundamental anarchist objection to this pernicious institution with which I began this article.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

V.R. writes:

If the anarchist objection to marriage is based on the arguments put forward by comrade Uloth in the first paragraph of his article then I can only say that such objections are based on a myth! Surely the real reason is that we are opposed to all agreements which are based on law—that is, that they can be implemented by force (the Courts, the police and the prisons)—instead of between free and responsible men and women.

Government is the antithesis of individual responsibility. It is not surprising therefore that the majority of people being conditioned to the idea that government—a superior authority—is necessary should lack the confidence both in themselves and in others to take respon-

sibilities and fulfil them without this coercive pressure.

"Marriage," writes comrade Uloth, "is the only contract that cannot be dissolved with the consent of both parties." Once again it seems to me that Uloth is avoiding the real issue. There is nothing to prevent two legally married people from separating and going their own ways without the interference of the State. It may be true that in Law the contract is still binding but it is only operative in fact when one of the parties chooses to implement the contract in Law, thereby indicating that there is not the consent of both parties to the separation!

Legalised marriage is not "a contract between two equals." By the safeguards it offers to the woman it indicates that her initial position is one of inferiority to the man. It was for this reason that I suggested in my article that the first step towards woman's emancipation is that she should at all times be economically independent. My comrade R.M. (FREEDOM Feb. 6) protests that when I wrote this I was equating "economic independence with freedom". I must deny this emphatically or alternatively deny the whole basis of anarchist philosophy. The conclusions I am prepared to draw are that a relationship between a man and woman cannot be really free and between equals if either of the parties is not in fact, or potentially, independent economically. But that is a far cry from saying that "economic independence" equals "Freedom".

HAVE YOU INTRODUCED A NEW READER TO FREEDOM?

Correction

In last week's *Freedom* the title of Baldelli's article was given as "The Ethics of Enchantment" whereas it should have read "The Ethics of Enhancement."

A New Labour Party Paper

ALARMED by the success and popularity of *Tribune*, the Bevanite weekly, the official leadership of the Labour Party has made its plans for starting a new paper putting the official party line. That should make pretty dull reading, one would think, but it is not yet decided how much latitude the editor will be allowed by his leaders.

The paper is probably to be called the *New Clarion* (nostalgia for the golden pioneering days of the party is a useful emotion to play upon) and the plan is to publish the first number well in time for the party's annual conference in October.

Finance is to come from the big unions. Morgan Phillips has formed a company and is aiming at raising £100,000 to guarantee running costs for the first two years, but it is hoped that the paper will be a commercial proposition and will prove popular outside the party ranks.

Conscientious Objection Continued from p. 1

City of London School—and moved for his last year to another school. Mr. John Fletcher, well known in the Society of Friends, declared when speaking for the boy, Paul Rowe, that no other public school in the country made this absolute condition. This however, true in a formal sense, is far from the actuality. At the school attended by the writer, membership of the Corps was not compulsory, but it was made perfectly clear to a boy who stayed out of it. We would say that this is the general rule.

In general therefore school military service is compulsory for practical purposes, and military ideals and habits are presented to boys from a very early age.

Status of Objection

Consider therefore the position of conscientious objectors. Boy's school training prepared them for some degree of militarism. Conscientious objection as an issue is presented to them at an age when parents and magistrates seldom consider a boy old enough for such a decision as marriage. If they miss the opportunity at the time of Registration for National Service (not the adjective 'national' with its intentionally applied obligation) they've had it.

One may say therefore that the State forces a serious decision on a boy before he is really mature enough to make it.

Anyone who has studied the Tribunals knows that there is really only one form of Conscientious Objection which is acceptable—religious objection. A boy born into a family which professes pacifist religious opinions—e.g. a Quaker—and who has therefore been brought up to hold such views has some chance of conditional exemption. (Jehovah's Witnesses are usually failed one may suspect because theirs is a new religion with none of the tradition and respectability of the Society of Friends). A boy who

explains how he arrived at his decision by his own thought is treated by the tribunals in a way which shows that they are contemptuous of the right to think for oneself. It is excusable to hold to conscientious objector's views because father and mother do so too, but quite a different thing to reach such views by one's own hard thought.

This is the objection (from the tribunal's point of view) to the political objector. And we can see that the same objection lies behind the throwing out of Lord Chorley's Bill. As the law stands "a man who having done his military service claims to have become a conscientious objector has no right to go before a Tribunal." The Tribunals and the State and the Law are suspicious of anyone who thinks out his own position and then acts according to his conscience. Authority is simply echoing the dictum of Frederick the Great—"the day the bayonets begin to think, we are lost."

Anarchist Approach

Actually, the right to object is a very limited right, and the State which concedes it is arrogating to itself the right to impose compulsory military service. Such compulsion takes far more individual rights away than is meagrely given back in the shape of the Conscience Clauses.

The men who accept conscientious objection, and the right of a Tribunal to determine whether they are "genuine" or not are placed by the government in a very awkward position. They are effectively isolated in fact, and cannot easily escape the stigma of seeming to ask for special treatment in their particular cases.

To make any action compulsory, moreover, releases the compelling authority from the necessity to make the action in question desirable. They do not have to argue and persuade but only to give orders. At the same time the compelled persons are deprived of the exercise of their own judgment and the right to make their own decisions. The net result is pernicious on both points of view. Anarchists may well exercise the right to register as conscientious objectors, but their real field of endeavour is to struggle against the assumed right of governments to compel with one hand and "concede" rights with the other.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

NORTH-EAST LONDON

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

FEB. 24.—Ron Wheeler
"DAM AND BLAST"

MAR. 10.—Donald Room
"MAX STIRNER"

GLASGOW

INDOOR MEETINGS
every Friday

at 7.0 p.m.
at 200 Buchanan Street.

FEB. 19.—Hugh McKeefery
CHRISTIANITY—THE MYTH.

FEB. 12.—Mormon
JUGGERNAUTS IN SOCIETY.

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Progress Report 4 Anarchist Club—Progress at Last!

PATIENT comrades and guarantors will be pleased to hear that at last we have found premises in Central London for our proposed Anarchist Club.

By the time this report appears in print, we expect the agreement to be signed with the landlord and all will be set for a period of feverish activity in order to fit the place out for our occupation.

The premises are in a somewhat dilapidated condition, though structurally sound enough. The work we have to do consists of decorating—painting and distemping—a small amount of plastering, wiring, plumbing and equipping to suit our needs.

The place consists of one largish basement with two small rooms adjoining. The large room will be adequate for meetings attracting audiences up to 100, at a pinch, and can be used throughout the week for social purposes. The two smaller spaces—cellars, really—can be converted for the preparation and serving of refreshments and for a small library.

It would be an exaggeration to say that the premises are perfect. But the rent is reasonable, the situation very central and easily accessible, and with some willing work and imagination in decorating, a very pleasant place could be created. We hope to get a lease for two years, at the end of which time we should have accumulated sufficient funds of both experience and cash to enable us to take further steps if we so desire.

So now the time has come for all those good people who rallied to the idea when first put forward in these columns to fulfil their guarantees. My original target was £100 for a foundation fund. One reader wrote that he thought I was optimistic in thinking that would be sufficient, and in view of what has to be done to make our premises as nice as we should like, I am inclined to agree. £100

is a minimum, and I sincerely hope that all guarantors will be able to stick to their commitments. Other comrades have probably held their fire until they saw if anything was going to come of the idea. Now it is going to materialise—can we look to support from them?

For the comrades immediately concerned in London, to get the club open in the shortest possible time will mean a considerable amount of hard work and the shouldering of responsibility. This will be made very much lighter if immediate money problems are kept at a minimum.

Some further commitments, which have come in since my last Progress Report, are given below, and the total guaranteed can be seen.

It has been decided to call the club "The Malatesta Club" and all cheques and postal orders should be made out in that name and crossed. They should be sent to our Treasurer, Edwin Peeke, c/o Freedom Press, 27 Red Lion Street as soon as possible. John Bishop has agreed to be Secretary, and details of membership, etc., will shortly be available from him.

We hope to have the club fixed up and ready to open by the middle of March. P.S.

CLUB FUND COMMITMENTS

(Commitment for foundation fund first, monthly guarantee in brackets):

London: S.W.11; R.H. £2 (10s.); E.7; M.P. £1; Ilford, Essex: D.G.W. 10s.; Cambridge: J.E.B. 5s.	
Total	£3 15 0 (10s.)
Already Acknowledged	£59 3 0 (£13 4s.)
	£62 18 0 (£14 4s.)

OFFERS OF HELP:
Corsham, Wilts: N.P. (In making furniture).