

# Freedom

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Threepence

## THE KENYA REPORT

THE Report by the Parliamentary Delegation to Kenya published (by H.M. Stationery Office price 9d.) shortly before Mr. Lyttleton's departure on his third "routine" visit to Kenya last week cannot be described as a sensational document. And it is couched in that unemotional language which reduces intensely human and emotional problems to mere statistics and questions of production and government. And yet from even such a document one can conjure up a picture of the conditions under which the "natives" live, and which explains much of what has been happening in Kenya during the past two years' "emergency".

The delegation takes the view that Mau Mau

"is a conspiracy, designed to dominate first the Kikuyu tribe and then all other Africans and finally to exterminate or drive out all other races and seize power in Kenya. It is a political and social conspiracy, a secret society, which uses terrorism to secure obedience where it cannot command willing support or compliance. Mau Mau has progressed from the political oath with which it began, through successive oaths each one more violent than its predecessor . . . Mau Mau intentionally and deliberately seeks to lead the Africans of Kenya back to the bush and savagery, not forward into progress".

We do not know how accurate such a description is. To our minds Mau Mau stands condemned not because it is a "political and social conspiracy" or because it is "a secret society", nor even because it might use "terrorism", but because it resorts to the religious mumbo-jumbo of oath-taking; of elaborate initiation rituals involving torture and horrible mutilations; and because it is authoritarian and intolerant. But all these horrible things are not new to mankind, nor the exclusive manifestation of savages from Africa. History is full of such horrors, from those Christians who resorted to every conceivable torture to save the souls of the heretic and the heathen up to the present day with the gas-ovens of Nazi Germany, the slave camps of "Communist" Russia, not to mention the mental-torture of heretics in the "democratic" United States of America, (with the added refinement of inviting the whole nation to witness the spectacle on their television screens). And from the specific to the general: the ingenious weapons devised for man's mutual extermination such as the petrol-bomb, the jelly-bomb, the flame-throwers, the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb and all the other instruments in the modern State torturer's chamber.

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WE are told in the report that the master-mind—"a very clever man, a man knowing the psychology of his peoples, their superstitions, their fear of witchcraft . . ." behind the oath-taking plan, succeeded in

"transforming the human being into a new frame of mind . . . After having taken three or more oaths the personality of the Oath-taker has changed. It is not insanity, even if it appears as such, but the person is not sane in the normal sense of the word. These people do not hesitate or think any more. They murder but not for the sake of furthering a cause, they just kill on being instructed to kill—their own mother, their own baby . . . etc."

This quotation is from a medical man's report prepared for the Delegation. It is supposed to explain

the extraordinary situation in Kenya. But would it not be apposite in describing the militant fringe in Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy, or in Soviet Russia? And what of the hot-gospellers who reduce thousands to mere shadows of their real selves, to human jellies, one might say? (they are on show at Harringay Arena—without lions—for the next three months). And what of anti-communist hysteria in America and all its consequences? Perhaps we have not reached the stage where men "kill their mothers and babies under a spell", but the cult of the informer could lead to this by legal means (after all the Rosenbergs went to the electric-chair largely on the evidence of Mrs. Rosenberg's brother; and as we have mentioned on more than one occasion, in Mussolini's Italy children were taught that it was their patriotic duty to denounce their fathers to the secret police if they appeared to be opposed to the régime; and were we not told in this country that a mother's duty was to hand over her deserter son to the police if he sought shelter in her house?)

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THE impression the Parliamentary Delegation seeks to create in its report is that the Mau Mau movement exists for its own narrow ends, is hated by both African and European; that its growth is unconnected with the political and economic situation in Kenya. They go even so far as to suggest that the prospects in Kenya were so rosy that nobody

noticed the insidious growth of Mau Mau. It grew, as it were, "at a time of prosperity in Kenya when increasing revenues and good economic prospects had enabled the Government to embark on development plans, largely in the African areas, in marked contrast to the depressed and difficult years which preceded the second world war". This they illustrate by showing that "electricity output increased from just over a million kilowatt hours in 1938 to

Continued on p. 4

## IN AND OUT IN EGYPT

EGYPTIAN politics put the daily press through its paces at the week-end, with Neguib's displacement so quickly followed by his return, perhaps more powerful than before.

The time saving aspect of politicians could hardly have been more derisively illustrated than by the statements that Neguib was guilty of "sabotage", or Major Shah Salem, the dancing major's remarks "We could have killed Neguib, but we have asked him to stay in his house for a month or two." Two days later Neguib is back holding the hands of Col. Nasser and the dancing major and declaring that their differences were "a little thing". It is not surprising that one paper quoted Benjamin Franklin's saying that revolutionary leaders had better hang together, or they would hang separately.

## The Undeveloped Lands of Britain

IN his Albert Howard Memorial Lecture under the auspices of the Soil Association, Dr. L. Dudley Stamp took as his subject—the under-developed lands of Britain.

In his introductory remarks the speaker pointed out that although he had been appointed Chief Adviser on Rural Land Use as long ago as 1942, nothing he would say should be taken as representing the official view of the Ministry of Agriculture. "Since the establishment of the Agricultural Land Service, I have ceased to be responsible for any executive decisions, and my rôle has been one of outside counsellor and, as will be clear from what follows, critic."

In recent years the words *undeveloped* and *under-developed* have been used almost interchangeably but with very varied meanings. In ordinary speech the words 'under-developed lands' almost inevitably turn our minds to tropical lands where we believe the 'natives' with a skin colour different from our own do not 'enjoy' such of the presumed benefits of this modern world as we each, as individuals, understand by the phrases 'standard of living' or 'way of life'. In a world where at least half of the 2,500,000,000 people know what hunger means and many live near the starvation level I make no excuse for using the words in their obvious sense. If land is not being so used as to produce food and raw materials to the maximum permitted by the application of known technical skills consistent with the maintenance of the productive capacity of the land, then there is under-development.

In the Patten Foundation Lectures which I delivered at the University of Indiana (subsequently published in America as *Land for To-morrow* and in this country as *Our Underdeveloped World*), I was concerned to prove that, if the world as a whole really needed food, increased production was far more easily obtained from familiar lands in middle latitudes than from possible but still little understood lands in the tropics such as Africa. In this sense one of the most under-developed countries in the world to-day, by world production standards per unit area, is still the United States. It is perhaps only fair that I should now apply the word "under-developed" to my own country, despite the fact that in output per unit area Britain stands high among the countries of the world . . . Incidentally, the countries

Continued on p. 3

## McCarthy and the U.S. Government

BERTRAND RUSSELL has predicted that Senator McCarthy will be the next president of the United States. One may hope that he is wrong but events in the last few weeks have demonstrated not only the strength of his position, but also of the general climate of American administration.

Consider the case of Dr. Ripka, a member of the Czechoslovak Provisional Government during the war who is now living in exile in the United States. He was recently interrogated in a secret session of the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee.

"The case was, however, brought to public attention ten days ago when Mr. James Carey, secretary-treasurer of the Congress of Industrial Organisations (C.I.O.), wrote to Vice-President Nixon saying that Dr. Ripka had been accused of being a Communist by Senator Welker (Republican, Idaho). Mr. Carey said that Senator Welker had made these charges at a closed session while he had been acting as a one-man sub-committee acting for Senator Jenner's Internal Security Sub-committee. Copies of the letter were also sent to all members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which the Jenner sub-committee is a unit.

"The C.I.O.'s intervention seems to have done some good, as when Mr. Peter Zenkl, chairman of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, appeared under subpoena on February 16 before Senator Welker's sub-committee, again meeting in secret session, he apparently was treated much more fairly than Dr. Ripka had been.

"It would be quite misleading to report that the Ripka case has caused much interest in Washington. Mr. Carey's letter was briefly noted at the time and then no more attention was given to it. The reason for this lethargy seems to be the C.I.O.'s conduct. It is behaving rather curiously for an organisation which chose to raise this issue in a crusade for freedom. Its officials now take the stand that the C.I.O. has exhausted its rôle in this controversy by the publication of Mr. Carey's letter.

"Even in his letter Mr. Carey did not

rate this forecast of what points would be raised at the secret session. The report said that Dr. Ripka would be asked: "Why he had tried to negotiate a friendly Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty which, as a result, brought Czechoslovakia, at Tehran and later, into the Soviet sphere of influence and finally into the throes of communism. The paper went on:

"Hubert Ripka will also be investigated on his pro-Soviet activities at a time when in the capacity of State Secretary, entrusted with the office of Foreign Affairs by the Czechoslovak exiled Government in London, he worked for the closest ties with the Soviet Union; also why he negotiated in Moscow in 1947 the Czechoslovak-Soviet Trade Treaty which pauperised Czechoslovakia and dragged her down under Soviet domination.

"Several times our press had given warning against Hubert Ripka's activities in exile. Hubert Ripka strove to make unity impossible in the Czechoslovak exile unless it were a "unity of questionable people encumbered by the past." Until quite recently it was possible for Hubert Ripka to hold the office of Foreign Affairs in the Council of Free Czechoslovakia and to continue in disrupting the Czechoslovak exiles.

"Likewise Hubert Ripka exerted his influence successfully in another way: anti-Communist propaganda beamed to Czechoslovakia, especially by Radio Free Europe, is pro-Leftist in its orientation and sometimes so dangerous that it wrecks the people's resistance in Czechoslovakia."

### McCarthy Virus Rampant

"The article added that "the activity of Hubert Ripka and other Socialist exiled leaders has finally come to the attention of several Congressional Investigating Committees. We are told that not only Jenner's Committee but also McCarthy's Committee intends to deal with the above-mentioned cases and that the Department of Justice is also following them with interest."

We have quoted this extract thus at length in order to show the sort of climate in which McCarthyism flourishes. Neither the C.I.O. nor the Czech refugee organizations take a principled stand on the issue of civil liberties and individual rights.

Exactly the same lesson emerged in the recent humiliation of the U.S. Army by McCarthy. At no point did the Army Secretary, Mr. Stevens, get any support from General Eisenhower, who has indeed been at pains not to interfere. It is recognized that Republican party regarded McCarthy as too valuable an asset to be disregarded before the elections in November, nine months ahead. The President must not therefore risk a shown down at this stage. It is plain therefore that the Republicans value McCarthy and the section of opinion which supports him, more than they dislike his methods.

Nevertheless, the Stevens affair has shown how shamelessly political are the reasons underlying the relationship between McCarthy and the President.

The Administration is to look into the rules of procedure for Senatorial Committees, with the intention of ending McCarthy's one man committee, and make his Democratic colleagues more vocal. However this is how McCarthy treats his fellow committee members:

The committee had a fairly quiet morning when it continued its inquiry into alleged Communists in the Pentagon, but Mr. McCarthy had his first brush with a Democratic senator of the sub-committee. It occurred when Mr. McCarthy told the attorney for Mrs. Moss, the Negro who is the central figure in the present investigation, that he was "not the difficult type of Communist lawyer."

Senator Jackson, Democrat, of Washington State, objected because it inferred that the lawyer was a Communist when he had said he was not. Senator McCarthy denied the inference and added, "You may go ahead, Mr. Jackson, if you like and protect the Communist lawyers."

(Times, 25/2/54).

This extract also illustrates the type of mind to whom McCarthy's methods appeal.

**THE ORIGINS OF THE LABOUR PARTY: 1880-1900, by Henry Pelling. (Macmillan, 21s.)**

OF all the Social Democratic parties in Western Europe the Labour Party is probably the youngest. The reasons for such a late development in a country where the industrial proletariat was and is so numerous, and the story of its origins have surprisingly enough seldom been discussed in any detail by historians here or abroad. The best we have had on the subject apart from Elton's "England Arise", were compilations by Cole and Beer, as well as a fair number of biographies drawing our attention to the less unpleasant aspects of some socialist politician or trade union boss.

The book under review is an attempt, and a quite successful one, by a young Cambridge historian now at Oxford, to describe the most crucial period in the history of the British Labour movement. Crucial because by the end of the period in question (1900) the idea of a political party with socialist tendencies was accepted by the trade union apparatus after almost twenty years of agitation by middle class intellectuals. This combination has been the main-spring of the Labour Party throughout its history, making it possible for the Social Democratic leadership to replace the Liberals in British politics and to become the chief Tory rival in the struggle for power. How and why this axis was forged after several unsuccessful attempts is a subject worthy of study and one which Dr. Pelling has ably done.

The origins of the Labour Party are not to be found in the rebellion of the British proletariat against the material conditions in which it lived (up to 1945 a significant section of the working class, if not its majority, voted for candidates supporting the capitalist structure in this country), but from a revolt of a growing number of intellectuals against their social milieu. It was not material circumstances which drove Hyndman, Morris, Champion, Mrs. Webb, Cunningsham Graham and others to socialism but rather their desire to play a rôle in politics and their inability to do so through the existing political organisations in which competition was stiffer (Hyndman became a Marxist after failing to get into Parliament as a "Tory Radical" while Ramsay MacDonald began his political career as a Liberal Party agent). In the Social Democratic movement they found a field of action where without undue

risk they could use their energy and the cash which they or their ancestors made, while to others the party apparatus and its auxiliaries offered a haven in the form of jobs with better prospects than as manual or white collar workers.

The work of the early Social Democrats was eased by the unwillingness of the Liberal party caucuses to make arrangements for a larger representation of the working class among their parliamentary candidates. Faced by this opposition more than once the trade union leaders, accustomed to bargaining and aware of their growing importance as well as of the electoral successes of their German colleagues and of Parnell's Irish Nationalists, reached by the beginning of this century the conclusion that they could strike a better bargain by transferring their support to a new organisation. Thanks to their grip over the unions and the funds at their disposal, they were bound to play a bigger rôle in it than as junior allies of the Liberals. That they were not far off the mark in

their estimate of the potentialities of their new political weapon, has been confirmed time and again.

**Socialists and Anarchists**

The 'eighteen eighties' witnessed the rise of anarchism in Great Britain as well as that of socialism, a fact which historians have ignored though anarchists in those days were not a negligible force in the budding social movement. At a meeting of socialist groups (the Fabian Society, the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League) in 1886 William Morris's pro-anarchist resolution that "the first duty of Socialists is to educate the people to understand what their present position is, and what their future might be, and to keep the principle of Socialism steadily before them; and whereas no Parliamentary party can exist without compromise and concession, which would hinder that education and obscure those principles, it would be a false step for Socialists to attempt to take part in the Socialist contest" re-

ceived 27 votes out of 67. According to G. B. Shaw even the Fabians suffered for a time from a "sort of influenza of anarchism" and were at one moment "as anarchistic as the Socialist League".

Dr. Pelling rightly points out that it was the Labour Emancipation League which "can claim the title of being the first indigenous Socialist organisation in the revival of the 1880". Its leaders, Lane and Kitz, were workers who knew well the German libertarian Johann Most during his stay in London, had been at the international congress organised by anarchists in 1881, and who later always remained faithful to the anarchist ideal. Their collaboration was eagerly sought by Hyndman's Marxist Social Democratic Federation, the leadership of which was "dominated by the bourgeois element" in 1881. Aware of the need for workers' support which in London Lane and Kitz alone could provide in the early 'eighteen eighties' the Marxists were forced to make a number of concessions and to adopt several points of

the Labour Emancipation League programme.

Soon afterwards however the inevitable split between state socialists and libertarians occurred in the S.D.F., to be followed by similar ones in the Fabian Society and the Socialist League. Between those who devoted all their energies to tasks associated with winning elections and the libertarians who disliked the prospect of a socialist state as much as the existing bourgeois, and foresaw the inevitable compromises that political life would involve, no compromise was possible.

Dr. Pelling is careful to point out in his preface that he is attempting "to describe how the Labour Party came into existence" and that his book "does not pretend to provide a complete picture of the growth of the labour movement as a whole in the later nineteenth century".

Even within these limits, and without necessarily agreeing with some of the author's interpretations, his well-documented and highly readable book can be warmly recommended to those interested in the origins of the largest Social Democratic party in the world to-day.

I.A.

BOOK REVIEWS

**Origins of the Labour Party**

**Responsibility for Oppression**

TO ascribe social evils to the power of such institutions as the state or the church or to impersonal complexities like capitalism and militarism is a useful and easy way to vent resentment, avoid responsibility and shun a definite call to action. Even more satisfactory emotionally, a guide to phantasies and a spur to action is that belief that all evil springs from a certain race, class or group of men from the removal of which the perfectly organized and perfectly happy society will automatically result. Obviously, if evil is all on one side, the other must be blessed with untarnished innocence and unlimited good will. This simple and childish way of thinking does not correspond to facts, but is itself a fact that plays a great rôle in the life and history of men, because most minds are fond of neat and flattering divisions, and the few that prefer impartial truth still frequently find comfort and authority in thinking like the rest. Thus all popular moments carve out reality unhesitatingly in chunks of black and white, and anarchism, insofar as it is or ever was popular, is no exception to the rule.

A prophet or a fuhrer that wants a numerous and enthusiastic following must not only preach some kind of

superiority but also make it reside in some gift of nature or chance and never in anything of difficult attainment. In the case of popular anarchism, and of political radicalism in general, the mark of the chosen is a condition of poverty and exploitation, nearly as much a part of one's being as the colour of one's skin, one's place of birth, language or religion. Goodness, then, lies with the vast majority of the oppressed while the small minority of the oppressors wallows in instinctual evil, and exhibits all the features of moral ugliness and perversion.

Now, oppression is a fact not to be glossed over or denied in spite of compensations it offers the oppressed and sacrifices it demands from the oppressors. It is most efficient, if not most deeply felt, when it is unequally distributed, multiple and confused, and when practically every oppressed person is also an oppressor in one way or another. Complexity and confusion, however, do not deter the simple mind, which delights in pointing them out as the result of a devilish "divide and rule" policy carried out by the small minority with the addi-

tional view of finally paralyzing the oppressed by giving them a doubting or guilty conscience.

Each nation, it is said, has the government it deserves, and so, it may be added, has each individual the amount of oppression he deserves, and a class is at the top or at the bottom as it fits it best. It is well said but it is an inference that does not take sufficiently into account the weight and hold of the past or the accident of birth. An Australian aborigine born and condemned to spend his life in a reserve cannot be said to be responsible for a part-consequence of the fact that his great-grandfathers could not defend their land from a superiorly armed invader. Nor can anyone whose labour is exploited and whose freedom is impaired be accused of cowardice because though discontented of his lot he does not take his own life or fights to change it. That is a poor sort of freedom that is limited to a choice between slavery and death.

Yet there are cases in which the responsibility of the oppressed for their own oppression strikes one as an indubitable fact. When a revolution, for example, successfully brings one form of oppression to an end it has mostly itself to blame if oppression is reinstated under new masters and a new form. The responsibility of a revolution is the responsibility of the people who make it, of the masses as well as of their leaders. If a new oppression results that is probably merely a consequence of the fact that the masses need leaders to carry a revolution first to a successful and then to an unqualified end. But since once the revolution is spent the new oppression becomes of the same order as the old, and since the old was abolished and probably also brought about by a revolution, a case could be made for the responsibility of the oppressed whenever there is oppression. It would be a collective, historical, even biological responsibility, and a responsibility in the ordinary sense only in so far as it is possible for any individual to alter to however small an extent his

dependence on the biological, the historical and the collective.

Without this responsibility the oppressors' claim to some sort of natural responsibility might be challenged in words but never in fact, and since this superiority is a fact it may be worth trying to enquire, however briefly, whether it is of a physical or a psychological order.

Possession of certain weapons and ability to use them may be a decisive factor in sharply defining which class has to rule. So also may be the courage and ability to interpret the mystery surrounding human life. But in the large and complex societies of to-day the real rulers are not a military or sacerdotal caste, the people best armed or with the greatest knowledge. They are simply the people most determined to rule. Some of them may retire and others perish through competition and time, but oppression remains. The outstanding feature of present-day oppression is not due so much to technological advance as it is to the fact that a large part of the population, bewitched by technological advance, has allowed itself to be transformed into a reliable instrument of power that never wears out. The army, the police and the civil service are the most conspicuous but not the only instances of such instrumentalized humanity. The totalitarian ideal and general trend in every country is to have all men transformed into instruments of power, and incidentally render silly and antiquated any talk about oppressors and oppressed.

A time can be imagined as ominously near when all psychological problems will be tackled and solved on the lines of physical problems, and men will behave to all relevant social purposes exactly like machines. Men are being turned into machines even now, and the inward aspect and cause of it is the loss or decay of their ethical nature. When a man is no longer concerned, or is afraid of being concerned with problems of good and evil, then his dehumanization is practically achieved.

Continued on p. 3

**Racialists at Work**

ONE of the cruellest acts of our cruel age was perpetrated in the United States at the beginning of the war against Japan. Americans of Japanese descent living on the Pacific Coast were deported en masse to what were in fact concentration camps, although they were called Relocation Centres and other comic names. The whole affair was a milder version of Hitler's treatment of the Jews, and no doubt the causes were mainly psychological as in Germany, though Caucasian Americans took advantage of

the situation to seize the property of the deportees. The Japanese were mainly industrious thrifty people and were worth plundering.

The real reasons however cannot be sought in the rational sphere, indeed the people in question were "good citizens" and submitted to their treatment with a depressing docility. The European Americans do seem to have a very violent fear of the Mongolian-type people, Chinese and Japanese, and also Mexicans who are racially akin to them. It is an interesting speculation that perhaps this is due in part to guilt feelings associated with the American Indians dispossessed of their land so barbarously. The Mexicans in the past, and the Japanese in the present, to a still greater extent, are rather like the American Redskins with modern weapons.

In "Our Day of Empire, War and the Exile of Japanese-Americans" (Strickland Press, 5/-) Louis Obed Renne deals with this typical totalitarian crime. It is in some ways a disappointing book. It is written in the form of a letter, and has all the diffuseness of a letter. It is written in a white heat of indignation, but it wanders so much that one's attention begins to flag. Moreover it is full of interesting scraps of information that one could wish to know more about, and which are in themselves more intriguing than the abominations of the American Government. For instance, did you know that the Japanese "discovered" Mexico in 1600? Unfortunately the Spaniards had got there almost a century before them... I like also the saying of the Negro revolutionist Nat Turner, "It is necessary that... we have an army strong enough to carry the war on upon a Christian basis." He was hanged in 1831, and the revolt that he envisaged did not materialise, but he evidently had a fine sense of humour.

The most depressing thing about the whole deportation, as I said before, was the way that those involved took it. The authoritarian basis of the Japanese way of life seems to have deprived them to a large extent of a spirit of revolt, Methodist Christianity, which a number of them had embraced did not help to mend matters. They submitted in a

spirit of Christian humility, without any great rancour, if the book gives a fair picture. This must have delighted the authorities. Possibly there was little they could do, but one cannot help feeling that had it been a community of Negroes, Irishmen, or Mexicans, that was involved the "powers that be" would have found things less easy.

One woman said, "in reply to the author saying that he was ashamed of his country for what it was doing, 'Here is an opportunity to witness for Christ.' One cannot help admiring this stoical and forgiving spirit, which seems to have been widespread among the deportees, but it is not the spirit that makes revolutions. The author noted a pile of tin cans, and was told that the inmates of this particular concentration camp were collecting them to help the war effort! Some of the internees had even purchased war-bonds! Quite a number went into the American army, though admittedly when draughted they had little chance to escape, being shut up as they were already. Some who failed to register were sentenced to three years' imprisonment for not wanting to defend the system that had put them into a concentration camp for no other crime than being of Japanese origin!

Needless to say, when the Japanese wanted secret agents in the United States they did not choose people who even looked like Japanese. They could find plenty of Caucasians anyhow.

The author's point of view is that of the usual religious pacifist. He does not see that War and the State are part and parcel of one another, and both are inevitable in a system founded on private property. Nevertheless with all its faults this book is an excellent antidote for anyone who has still got a little of the "democratic way of life" poison in him. No, it is true the Japanese were not sent to the gas-chambers and cremation-ovens, but they probably will be next time, or some other minority in their place, since they have now become our gallant allies.

The book shows very clearly how true the anarchist opposition to all governments is. The bad governments lag behind the worse by only a little way, in fact a very much shorter way than even anarchists often think. Let us never fall into the trap of defending the one against the other.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

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Freedom THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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SPEED THE PLOUGH

IT is inevitable that a paper such as FREEDOM should concern itself with topics of daily interest, the front page news in an era of power alignments and economic competition, for these matters are part of the framework within which men's lives are led.

FREEDOM discusses these political events because the steady encroachment of the State and government and their international deeds upon human desires and hopes, makes political awareness something of a necessity.

Elsewhere in this issue we print an abridged summary of a lecture by Professor L. Dudley Stamp on how more can be got out of the land of England.

Professor Dudley Stamp begins by looking at the world scene and straight away strikes the note of optimism that any kind of constructive activity brings.

But he then particularizes his studies to Britain and finds that British land surface is substantially underdeveloped, despite the high output per unit of land.

Recently the Labour Party have flirted with the idea of nationalizing all rented farm land. Other political theorists want to increase farm machinery and envisage tractor stations on the Russian model.

Mixed farming requires special knowledge and skill on the part of the individual farmer.

Prof. Stamp on the Underdeveloped Lands of Britain

Continued from p. 1

which share honours as those with the largest outputs per acre all enjoy the advantages of the climate of north western Europe with its adequate and reliable rainfall and its freedom from extremes of heat and cold.

In the world as a whole every man, woman and child has a share in the land surface—land of all sorts—of about 14 acres, out of which 1½ acres is cropland.

Table with 3 columns: Category (I. Good Quality Lands, II. Medium Quality Land, III. Poor Quality Lands), Item description, and percentage (47.9%, 32.0%, 17.0%).

acre is productive farmland in crops or grass. This last figure is particularly interesting because the present Government target is to produce at home 55 per cent. of our food consumption.

SOME progress has been made with classification of land; so far the critics of the tenfold scheme developed originally by the Land Utilization Survey under my guidance have produced nothing better.

The scheme in outline, with acreages in England and Wales, is as follows:—

Detailed table showing acreages and percentages for various land classes in England and Wales, including 'Good Quality Lands', 'Medium Quality Land', and 'Poor Quality Lands'.

This, is, admittedly, a rough and ready classification into types of land. What is 'best' for one crop or one type of farming is not 'best' for another.

In order to secure some closer degree of precision when comparing one type of land with another, I want to introduce the idea of what I propose to call 'Potential Production Units'.

Table mapping 'Good Lands', 'Medium Lands', and 'Poor Land' types to 'Potential Production Units' (P.P.U.) values.

If this preliminary calculation is substantiated by further work, it means that the area of England and Wales at 37.3 million acres represents 27.7 million P.P.U.

The speaker then discussed the problems involved in maintaining and improving the productive capacity of the land, demonstrating that where soil has been kept in good heart by careful tillage

only know every inch of the land he cultivates: he must store and pass on a wealth of information concerning it which he learned from his predecessor.

Practical men have long recognized this farming fact. But it has certain political or social consequences. It must treat farming as a highly skilled work and must secure a certain continuity of tradition in any given tract of farmland.

ten acres of 'rough grazing' were considered equivalent to one acre of improved farmland. In other words, the productive capacity of rough grazing was considered to be one-tenth that of average improved farmland.

Table titled 'Total for England and Wales million units' showing P.P.U. values for different land categories.

and a balanced stock-crop farming, crop yields have been maintained and steadily improved with changing techniques for at least 900 years.

Responsibility for Oppression

Continued from p. 2

In abstract terms of good and evil the abiding fact of oppression would show that evil is more powerful than good. That does not mean that a few evil ones are more powerful than many who are good.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

Where are the Underdeveloped Lands

Where, we may now ask, are the under-developed lands of Britain?

First, there are huge areas of the mountain moorlands and rough grazings of the hills waiting to be treated by Stapledon's methods of discing and re-seeding, together with draining and liming and then stocking adequately with both cattle and sheep.

Only the irreducible 'hard core' of certain grass moor and high level bogs then remains. There is a possibility of greater use even there, as suggested by the importation of reindeer.

In the second place, there are large areas on lower ground waiting for modern machines to be applied to upgrading. The creation of loams by marling of sands and sanding of clays, the revival of 'chalking'—spreading chalk to counteract acidity—spreading of ashes and town waste—have made fertile many well known tracts in the past.

In the third place there are large stretches of tidal marsh awaiting reclamation,

not so much in much publicized areas on the Wash as along the sheltered shoreland of Solway Firth or Morecambe Bay. There are half-a-million acres of mud and sand exposed at low tide round our shores.

In the fourth place, very large areas of light sand, coastal dunes and the like, afford a challenge to the application of modern knowledge of plant-soil relationships to build up a soil.

Whilst therefore we can extend the actual land area of Britain but little—by tidal-marsh and tidal-silt reclamation, less losses by erosion, we can increase the total of P.P. units very considerably.

What follows is not a calculation of possible change. It is intended merely to show the sort of development which experience might make possible in furthering the potential production of England and Wales:

Table showing potential production units for various land improvements, including 'First class land at present', 'Good General Purpose Farmland upgraded to First Class', and 'Poor quality heavy land, drained'.

This scheme represents an addition to the land surface of less than 0.3 per cent., but an increase of over 33 per cent. in productive capacity.

At present Britain can feed 55 per cent. of her population on home production. The balance of 45 per cent. we import and pay for by exports.

The country, they say, is over-populated. I would answer that Britain has been over-populated for at least a thousand years, judged by the productive capacity of the times.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS Why do they do it?

"If you believe in love, and you don't believe in free love, you must believe in forced love; there is no other kind."

—ALBERT LAZENBY.

IT seems to have escaped some of the participants in the current discussion on marriage, that none of them actually favours marriage.

The family as we know it probably originated as a property-owning unit. In feudal society most property, and especially all cultivable land, was divided among certain males of the ruling class.

take such drastic precautions against his wife's adultery as the crusader's "chastity belt"; but adultery by husbands was permitted, not only because men were the rulers, but also because so long as only his sons by a particular woman were recognised as 'legitimate' heirs, his adultery made no difference in the question of inheritance.

Vestiges of the feudal approach to marriage are apparent in modern marriage laws. A woman who cohabits in England, with a man to whom she is not married, has nearly all the rights of a married wife, except in the law relating to inheritance.

It is obvious why marriage was customary among feudal ruling classes. With the law as it is now there is good reason for a girl marrying a rich elderly

Continued on p. 4

**Why do they do it?**

man; or for rich people who fear intestate death to ensure that their children are "legitimate" heirs. Others who have obvious reasons for marriage are those who, because of their religious convictions, would find sex activity outside of marriage intolerable.

But why the majority of people (neither rich nor intensely religious) should wish to take vows and pay a tax at the commencement of cohabitation (or at some time during it) is rather obscure.

Most people, in my experience, asked why they wish to marry, give as their reason fear of the law, or of social ostracism, or of economic insecurity, but when it is pointed out to them that such fears are ill-founded, they of course

persist in the desire to marry. For these fears are not reasons, but excuses; rationalizations of a vague fear, which those who have it do not understand.

There is in our society a real fear of sexual freedom; an unconscious wish, even in those who are promiscuously inclined (even, be it admitted, in many of us who desire free love), to be sexually shackled. This fear of sex, implanted in children by society, is the fear which makes people desire marriage. And it is a fear which anarchists must seek to dispel, in themselves and in others.

For the evidence of anthropology is that the sexually free are ungovernable, and that only sexually repressed populations submit willingly to domination and destruction.

D.R.

**The Homosexuals - Some Facts**

**HOMOSEXUALITY**, like so many other difficult social and psychological problems, can hardly be dealt with adequately in the pages of FREEDOM. I feel, however, that where they touch upon the more general aspects of psychology the remarks of "Psychologist" (rather vague in its connotation) call for some reply, especially since they appear under the heading of "Some Facts".

There is no evidence to support the assertion that "a deep analysis is probably the only known cure". On the contrary, even impressionistic clinical data show how ineffective in treating homosexuals is the psycho-analytical method or any of its variants.

Psycho-analysis is one theory of psychological function and a technique for treating psychological disorders. To the scientifically trained psychologist it is known that as a theory it is "a shambles", a superstructure of speculations upon speculations; and that as a therapy it is like "a drug addiction—only rather more expensive", to quote one eminent professor of psychology, not only quite impracticable for dealing with the behaviourally disordered (numbering half of our hospital population and a great number outside the hospitals) but quite unvalidated. Indeed, the only available figures, inadequate though they may be, show that patients who have only received custodial "treatment" do better than those who have had eclectic psychotherapy, whereas those who have undergone a full analysis have all their chances of recovery slightly more diminished. (Since this is not a technical journal, bald statement without references must suffice).

It would be a pity if the readers of FREEDOM were to have their knowledge of psychology limited to the notions of Freud—some of which have, of course, been positive contributions—and to the bizzareries of Reich.

A CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST.

*[These two letters illustrate some of the difficulties of discussion on this topic. One plunges us straightaway into the hostile struggle between orthodox psychiatry and orthodox psychoanalysis without contributing much of positive value. The other introduces that very moralistic approach which we are at such pains to try and avoid. As will be seen neither contributes a jot of positive value to the discussion.—Eds.]*

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**Spanish News**

**R**eaders of FREEDOM will perhaps remember an appeal signed M. Salgado which appeared in the 17th October issue under the title "Can you help Franco's victims?" The names of 13 members of the C.N.T. were given, some of them threatened with the death penalty, and others with life imprisonment. They were accused of armed rebellion, of reorganizing the C.N.T. inside Spain, and of being responsible for the May 1951 strikes in Barcelona. Appeals of the kind published in FREEDOM appeared in many other papers abroad thanks to the zeal of the C.N.T. in exile. A deputation of M.P.s left this country with the purpose of asking Franco's judges for clemency, and if a report is to be believed Colonel Bymer, the presiding judge, kept on receiving so many letters of protest from various parts of the world that he exclaimed: "These bandits abroad have moved the whole world against us." After more than one year in prison the trial has at last taken place, and Spanish comrades are relieved by the news that none of the 18 accused has been condemned to death. The appeal did not include the names of Juanita Iglesias, Sebastián Calvo, José Esteve, Francisco Hernández, Agustine Barrera, and Miguel Castell. Although mentioning 13 accused it only gave the name of 12, and one of them, José Aparicio, should have been given as Tomás Aparicio. The French socialist paper *Le Populaire* commenting on the trial during which the accused were not allowed to say a word, says that "it is necessary to intensify the protest of all free men in order to call attention to the cynicism and mediaeval savagery of the Franco régime. All anti-totalitarian organizations should be able, at least in these matters, to make up a workers' and democratic front with power and efficiency".



**T**HE Spanish comrade Daniel Albrich has died this month in the Castres Hospital in France of an illness contracted in his six years of imprisonment in Spain. He had escaped into France for the first time in 1939, and from that date he acted as the main liaison agent between the Catalan movement and the movement in exile. It was on one of his many crossings that the Guardia Civil

Society cannot but be weakened by such practices, and we have the striking example of Greece—indeed a classical illustration!

The more the individual is free to encourage these habits, the wider the practice may become. A healthy society must condemn the vice, but not the individual. He is a part of itself.

By obliterating the possibilities for this practice, society can but help the individual, who can be helped—i.e. wishes to be helped, and at the same time ensure its moral health.

If all regard "normality" as desirable; indeed essential, the individual will tend to conform. Individuals form society, society forms people—man is the product of his heredity, his environment, and his will.

M. A. LEADBITTER.



*"If you can get a really secure grip on him like, my dear friend, I'd feel a whole lot safer"*

caught him after a fight in which he was wounded in the arm. Brutally beaten up he was tried and sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment under the name of Juan Puig. Released before he had finished his time he still managed to cross the frontier clandestinely on 16th November, 1953 but only to be taken to the hospital where he has just died. To him, and to many unknown martyrs of the Syndicalist cause against Franco, goes our deepest respect, and to the Spanish C.N.T., thus mutilated, the expression of our unstinted sorrow.

JUANITO.

**THEY'RE ALL AT IT**

**R**OMAN CATHOLICS worshipping at churches in the Woolwich area last Sunday were warned: Communists are trying to get control of the local Co-op. The Co-op is the Royal Arsenal Society—third largest in the world.

The Communists had at least two known members among the 21 candidates standing for election on Thursday to the seven-strong general committee.

But the Catholics also had two candidates. And they were being backed from the pulpit. Priests read their names at Mass and urged Catholics to support them.

**The Kenya Report**

Continued from p. 1

almost 9½ million in 1952. Exports in the same period rose from approximately £3½ million to £26¼ million". These figures we are sure must be of considerable satisfaction to the Kikuyu peasants!

But this general picture of Mau Mau is not confirmed by remarks dotted about in the report. "Mau Mau is a secret society which has its origins among the Kikuyu people to whom it is still largely confined" (para. 4). Earlier we gathered that the Kikuyu represent nearly one fifth of the African population of Kenya. "The influence of Mau Mau in the Kikuyu area, except in certain localities has not declined; it has, on the contrary increased: in this respect the situation has deteriorated and the danger of infection outside the Kikuyu area is now greater, not less, than it was at the beginning of the State of Emergency" (para. 19). "The problem of developing responsible political leadership for Africans by Africans has been rendered exceptionally difficult in consequence of the Emergency. Many of those who previously held leading positions in African political organisations have been discredited by direct complicity in Mau Mau and others have drawn suspicion upon themselves by their failure to rally effectively to the side of Law and order during the early period of the Emergency" (para. 51) (my italics; if I were an African I would re-write that sentence thus: "and those of us who wouldn't swear the white-man's oath were sometimes beaten, or shot as suspects trying to escape, or are kicking our heels in detention camps").



**T**HE section dealing with the Colour Bar is typical of the whole of this report, which at a first reading sounds a plausible, fairly reasonable document, but which a more careful reading reveals as a

hypocritical, fence-sitting piece of work. This is how the problem is presented:

"There are over five million Africans in Kenya of various tribes whose interests do not always coincide. Alongside them there are Europeans, Asians and Arabs and a sprinkling of immigrants from other parts of Africa. The task of welding the racial communities together into a pattern of nationhood is further complicated by religious and cultural differences" (para. 63).

How overwhelming does the problem seem when presented in this way. Notice that here we are told of the number of Africans, but not that the "Europeans, Asians and Arabs" in fact represent a mere 155,000, or less than FOUR per cent. of Kenya's population. How cynical therefore does the appeal to end the colour bar by the "deliberate collaboration of all races, determined to end the colour bar in the spirit rather than merely in the letter". We are reminded that after all even in the "United Kingdom, as in many other metropolitan countries, the colour bar has by no means disappeared". This is quite true, but we have yet to hear of a colour bar in the metropolitan countries in which the 4 per cent. minority imposes "the arbitrary exclusion of men from the full use and enjoyment of their lives because of the pigment of their skins" on the 96 per cent. majority!

And here is the crux of the matter: that the non-African minority will never agree to the ending of the colour-bar because by so doing they would cease to enjoy all the privileges of the *herrenvolk* to which they have become accustomed at the expense of the African majority. For this reason they are opposing the suggestions put forward to introduce multi-racial government in the Colony, at least, a large section is resisting. And because one can understand the very strong, almost life and

death reasons they have for this attitude, it is clear that they will have no change of heart in any near or distant future. The Colonial Office on the other hand has a less dogmatic attitude because its interests in Kenya are rather wider, and it therefore seeks to offer tit-bits to the African majority, but it cannot at this stage "let down" the white settlers. As it is the threat of a "split" among them over the proposed reforms will perhaps mean postponing any action and this in its turn will help the Mau Mau cause. That is the vicious circle as we see it in Kenya. And the Parliamentary Report makes no attempt to face these real issues.

We will conclude with one more sample of this meaningless parliamentary language of theirs. They set out the proposals for developing agriculture, and then, as to its execution, write:

"These plans are imaginative and bold in conception. A guarantee that they can be started with confidence has been provided by the grant of £5 million recently made by the United Kingdom Exchequer to the Government of Kenya, earmarked for this purpose. It is doubtful whether this sum, generous though it is, will be sufficient to carry the impetus of the new agricultural programme and guarantee its execution as fast as is undoubtedly demanded by the circumstances."

In this one paragraph we are told both that "the scheme can be started with confidence" and that it is doubtful whether it can in fact be carried along with the necessary "impetus" because the five million pounds is both "generous" and also obviously grossly insufficient to even get started! When will these gentlemen learn to call a spade a spade? That is perhaps asking too much from politicians and particularly from a mixed Lab-Con delegation falling over each other to publish a "Unanimous Report". V.R.

**The Malatesta Club**

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