

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The trade of governing has always been monopolized by the most ignorant and the most rascally individuals of mankind."

—THOMAS PAINE.

INDO-CHINA

IN recent months the war in Indo-China has increasingly occupied the attention of the daily newspapers and it is plain that this may well become as important as that in Korea was. It may be as well to remember that it has been going on now almost since the end of the last world war.

On the face of it it is an armed struggle between the French Colonial Authorities and Communist dissidents. But the issue is really much more complicated. The French forces are allied with those of the Emperor Bao Dai who might therefore be thought to be loyal to imperial France. In fact however, the Emperor heads a section of the Indo-Chinese population which is strongly nationalistic and opposed to the colonialism of the French, but which is unwilling to throw in their lot with the Viet-Minh under Communist leadership and enjoying assistance from China. These "loyalist-nationalists" want to see as the price of their military collaboration with the French that they achieve political independence and freedom from French Colonial rule.

The Viet-Minh are represented as "Communists", much in the same way as the Malayan resistance forces. But, originally, at all events, they were composed of nationalist elements who were prepared to fight to achieve independence from France. Of course such a movement was bound to receive attention from Communist quarters and there seems little doubt that the Communists have achieved the leadership within it.

Control by Outside Intervention

If one were to break off such a summary account of the contestants in the Indo-Chinese war at this point, one would be leaving out of account factors which are becoming of major importance and the same factors which came to dominate the

war in Korea. Inevitably Communist control of the Viet-Minh forces was achieved with assistance from outside, from the Communist government of China. The Viet-Minh have been supplied with arms and money and technical instruction from this source.

The power of the French Government to sustain a prolonged war in the Far-East has always been limited and the war is very unpopular in France. Inevitably, therefore the French side of the conflict has received increasing amounts of American assistance. The new political moves which have dominated political news in recent weeks have been simply a manifestation of the U.S. Government's determination to intervene decisively in this war. Thus the situation in Indo-China has become, within almost a matter of weeks since the conclusion of the Korean war, an identical one with the Chinese and their puppets on one side and the United States and their puppets on the other. The theatre of war has slightly changed, but the main contestants are the

same. It may well be that neither the Chinese nor the U.S. Governments want to get their own troops involved this time, but at least as far as the Dulles journeys and speeches would lead one to expect. The American administration is determined to exercise a controlling rôle in the war.

Eden-Dulles Talks

The recent visit of Secretary of State Dulles to France and to Britain to confer with Mr. Eden has had the object (which it seems likely to have realized) of ensuring the political ability of America to enter the war. On the surface it is reported that the French Government has been persuaded to take the political steps necessary to secure the continued collaboration of Emperor Bao's forces. Substantial concessions such as the right of the Emperor to secede from the French Union appear to have been given. No doubt these political concessions are part of the price of economic aid from America and mean, in effect, that the American Government has assumed control and dictated policy.

Political commentators say that Mr. Eden's rôle has been to seek a

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Round the Conferences

Are the Communists Human?

AT the twenty-third national congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, held at Battersea over the Easter weekend, leader Harry Pollitt threatened us with a new Communist secret weapon: humanity.

Just as Stalin, shortly before he died, boasted that the Soviets were producing a new kind of man and woman, so now Pollitt is urging the C.P. here to produce a new kind of party-liner. Gone will be the firm-chinned, steely-eyed leader of the progressive elements of the working class; gone the dedicated and ruthless revolutionary.

Instead we are to be convinced that Communists, just like ordinary mortals, are only human after all.

"It is high time," claimed Harry, "that we stopped creating the impression that does so much to frighten other people from joining the party, that we are some kind of human beings who never eat, sleep, play, dream, or make love—but somehow or other that we are inhuman people, unlike in every respect those we are in daily contact with."

So all those Stalinists, with whom we are so familiar, wearing their lean and hungry look, ulcerated through frustration, red-eyed for lack of sleep, dull boys every man jack of them because their

lives are all work and no play; all these frightening cogs from the party machine from which ordinary people like you and I shy away like frightened horses; all these are to be replaced by fat and satisfied smilers whose chief interest is no longer dialectical materialism but—how's your wife and kids, and how does the garden grow?

Which attitude will prove the more nauseating remains to be seen.

For the rest, Harry Pollitt's statement (25,000 words of it) boiled down to the usual hot air ("Communists must prove by their methods of approach, contact, and activity that they were not out to dominate, not out to form cliques to push things through that others disagree with," and "There will never be a fundamental change in the policy of the Labour Party, not if you have a hundred Aneurin Bevan's, unless that change is brought about in absolute and intractable association with the Communist party. The sooner that is understood the better for all concerned.") bound up with the usual plea for unity between the C.P. and the Left wing of the Labour Party. Pollitt pretended to hope that there may even be some form of alliance possible between the Bevanite faction and the C.P.

Whatever Bevan's plans may be, however, we are certain he is too wily a bird to put his head in that particular noose—and, of course, equally wily Pollitt knows that perfectly well. But, heck, he's got to talk about something.

The party line for this year turned out to be the following revolutionary programme:

The General Council of the T.U.C. should endorse wage demands, and insist on the end of the use of troops in industrial disputes. The social security system must be improved. East-West trade expanded, the Rents Bill campaigned against, armaments reduced, and the period of conscription reduced to twelve months.

Co-op Party Oppose German Rearmament

AT Blackpool the Co-operative Party conference resolved by 5,092,000 votes to 2,410,000 its opposition to German re-armament and the European Defence Community.

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The Case of Professor Oppenheimer

JUST to what lengths the security fever has reached in America could hardly be more dramatically shown than in the case of the suspension of Professor Robert Oppenheimer, their top atomic scientist, as a security risk. Oppenheimer will not be "exterminated as a betrayer and wrecker" but the situation does in many respects recall the purges in the Soviet Union. What is more fundamental is the nature of the charges against him and the manner of them.

Oppenheimer more than any other scientist was the builder of the whole Los Alamos project, that ex-

traordinary organization located in a remote desert. Strangely enough, despite all the hostility with which normal people are coming to regard the scientists who created the atomic bomb, Oppenheimer's own statements carry great weight and conviction as coming from a man of great sincerity. Apart from their bearing on his own case they dispel the idea of atomic scientists as twisted intellects conceiving of horror weapons for the destruction of humanity. Instead we get the really much more terrifying picture of normal men engaged on this appalling work because they believe it to be right in the particular circumstances of our age.

Oppenheimer has been director of the Los Alamos plant since its inception. He has therefore been examined as a "security risk" very thoroughly in the past. It was known to the F.B.I. and to the Atomic Energy Commission that he supported the Anti-Franco forces in the Spanish War: that he was engaged to a Communist; that he married a woman whose former husband had been killed on the Anti-Franco side in Spain: and that his brother had been a member of the Communist Party. All this has been gone into before, and the *Times* said of the charges:

"Most of them have been well known for years and were certainly known when he was given a clean 'bill of health' on earlier occasions by such men as General Groves, who was head of the Manhattan Project during the war, and Mr. Lewis Strauss, the present chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Strauss was a member of the commission some years ago when Dr. Oppenheimer's case was considered and then voted in his favour, later recommending him to the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, of which he is now director." To the English way of thinking he has been "tried" before on

these charges and has been "acquitted", and it is quite wrong to go on raking them up. There is, however, a new "charge" against him which might justify, in security eyes, the re-opening of the case, were it not that this new charge is altogether extraordinary. We quote the *Times* once more:

"The charge that appears to be new, and the charge that must somehow have come to Mr. McCarthy's attention, as it was the basis of his statement, is that 'in the autumn of 1949, and subsequently, you strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb: (i) on moral grounds; (ii) by claiming that it was not feasible; (iii) by claiming that there were insufficient facilities and scientific personnel to carry on the development; and (iv) that it was not politically desirable."

This charge is all the more extraordinary inasmuch as Dr. Herbert Maass, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton has declared "Throughout his service with the institute we have never had any occasion to doubt his complete loyalty and sincerity". And Mr. Nixon, the Vice-President of the United States, has declared his opinion that Oppenheimer is "a loyal American citizen". Yet since December 23 this man has been suspended for alleged opposition to the development of the hydrogen bomb in 1949—five years ago.

Oppenheimer points out that the committee of scientists of which he was chairman was asked to advise on the development of the hydrogen bomb. After due consideration his committee unanimously stated its opposition to this project.

The administration now say that "fortunately" they ignored this advice (they appear to ignore also that these same scientists thereupon produced the bomb for them), and that nevertheless Oppenheimer's opposition held up the production of the H-bomb, and so reduced the American lead in atomic weapons.

It is obvious that this kind of attack can only make scientists do in America what they already do in Russia: think of their own interests

before they open their mouths to express an opinion. According to the *Times* (19/4/54):

"The Federation of American Scientists yesterday issued a statement in which they said that the charge that Dr. Oppenheimer's continued public service threatened the security of the United States 'has shocked the nation and the scientific community in particular.' It was 'especially disturbing,' they said, to find that attitudes and opinions on technical and policy matters expressed by Dr. Oppenheimer in the normal course of his official advisory duties were cited as the basis for questioning his veracity, conduct, and loyalty. This kind of attack threatens to stifle at its source the expression of independent views by Government personnel, advisers, and consultants."

The final note of fantastic hysteria is reached by the reflection that for the American administration, the man who was the chief scientific administrative architect of the bomb is now regarded as unfit to hold his post. Somehow therefore his knowledge and his ability must be neutralized. It is not difficult to see that the logic of the Soviet method of simple extermination will force itself upon the U.S. administration as well. How many months go by nowadays without some frightening parallel with "1984" being thrust upon us?

EASTER MESSAGES

ON religious occasions, the editorial columns of our newspapers, so often the expression of intolerance and pettiness, are piously turned over to the resurrection of old myths, thereby releasing the editors from the tedium of finding something new to talk round for at least one day, as well as providing an excuse to hold up the Christian way of life as superior to all others. Thus at Eastertide, Christian principles, conveniently forgotten for the rest of the year, are held (with certain reservations) to be the only answer to man's dilemma.

With the news of the latest hydrogen experiments still fresh in the minds of men, they are seeking an answer to the fear of annihilation and what precedes it, but the reiteration that "sin and death are swallowed up in victory, and the road to Calvary is the road to salvation" (*Evening News*) offers little consolation for those who want to live. Even the faint hope expressed by the *Manchester Guardian* "that fear, or wisdom, or sheer moral scruple may hold back the men in power" provides little more comfort than prayer since men in power are rarely motivated by moral scruples.

On this occasion however, it will be to the religious leaders that many people will be looking for "a way out", rather than to our newspapers, which seem to have been "rumbled" even by the most devout reader. Alas, they will find nothing of value in the utterances of the mediators between Man and God. From the Vatican and Canterbury (these divided nations should taken an example from the unity of the Christian World!) have come condemnation for weapons of mass destruction, and the hope that the Christian rule of universal charity will

be adopted by the divided nations, "in justice voluntarily applied rather than extorted".

Poor martyrs of the Middle Ages burned at the stake for the harmless propagation of ideas unacceptable to the Church! Oh, to have lived to-day to enjoy the just period through which the Mother Church is passing!

We are not at all convinced that the Christian Churches have suddenly become pacifist, unless they themselves feel that they are in danger. A few lines squeezed in between two long speeches from the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury will allow the reader to judge for himself.

THE POPE: For our part we will tirelessly endeavour to bring about by means of international agreement—always in subordination to the principles of self defence—the complete proscription of atomic warfare.

THE ARCHBISHOP: To abolish the bomb you must agree with others and others with you to lower all threats and barriers. Until then the world must bear the hideous burdens of their own sins. (Our italics).

In other words both leave a loophole whereby in the event of war they will have a legitimate reason for not condemning it should expediency so demand.

Although it would be incorrect to say that all the leaders of the Church are cagey on the question of war (notable among the consistent pacifists is Dr. Soper) it is obvious that the leaders of the biggest Church organisations in Christendom are taking their usual expedient stand. It is one of the jobs of anarchists to continuously expose this. R.M.

GOD'S CHOSEN PEOPLE!

"America is the greatest force that God has ever allowed to exist on his foot stool . . ."—GENERAL EISENHOWER.

A DEFINITION OF VALUES

IF an agreement should be reached on what is meant by values, then perhaps the ground could be clear for an enquiry as to what values are essential to or compatible with anarchism. It is often felt by sympathisers, even more by opponents, and sometimes by anarchists themselves, that anarchism is as negative as the word implies, and that it is consequently insufficient as a philosophy, and unpracticable as a way of life. It is felt that it concentrates mostly on exploding false values or, rather, on revealing the hypocrisy and bad faith of most upholders of values, while it is too reticent or too vague about the values that are its own. Not infrequently one even meets with the opinion that anarchism is but a crude variety of scepticism or materialism, a childish or perverted delight in attacking and denying all values. The purpose of this essay is to serve as an introduction to an axiology or theory of values that would not conflict with the basic anarchist principle of opposition to compulsion and coercion while at the same time providing for those few cases to which the principle does not apply: such as the use of physical force, to stop a child from falling into a river.

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VALUES can be defined as affect-loaded ideas. An idea is affect-loaded when it is the representation or sign of something that engages one's will and emotions. That not all affect-loaded ideas attain the status of values will be

made clear, I hope, from what follows. I say ideas and not concepts because they are the result of a process of synthesis rather than abstraction, and are personal rather than impersonal. Value judgments, moreover, are not identical with logical judgments. The idea I have of my friend John, for example, is not the same as the concept I have of him, for the concept is satisfied with stating the minimum of difference that will permit to distinguish my friend John from any other John one may think about. My idea of John, on the contrary, includes much more, and especially what he means to me. Whatever John may do will not alter the concept I have of him, but it may radically change my idea of him, and thence it will readily be perceived not only that ideas are subjective but also that they are richer than concepts, never completely detached from the peculiarities of the mind in which they develop and more closely connected with the behaviour, and supposed motives of behaviour, of the outer object to which they refer.

Though the idea I have formed of John and according to the importance he attaches to this idea I am in a position to influence his character and his destiny while my concept of him will leave him unaffected. It is so that my idea of John is already a value in the

etymological sense of the word, that it is endowed with strength, it has power. Its power and strength are further enhanced if that idea is shared in its essentials by a number of people, all more or less closely connected with John. Only a Platonist would say that an idea of John is possible without some person to have it, but insofar as it is susceptible of indefinite communication and not any particular person is needed for the idea to exert its power, it is convenient to deal with it as though it possessed separate existence. We say without qualms that an organism has separate existence although we know full well that it is not separable from its natural habitat, sun, air, water, earth and food. So ideas can be said to have separate existence although they are not separable from their mental habitat.

By not being emotionally neutral as concepts are, and by playing an important part in the co-ordination of acts of will thereby affecting behaviour, ideas are of phenomenological or existential import. In order to convey their place and rôle in the total structure of the person they can be described, according to the analogy one chooses, as compounds of reason, feeling and volition or as their focal points, points of innervation or centres of integration, centripetal loci, magnetic fields or sources of

irradiation. In them, and by them, will, reason and feeling are one or tend to be one; they are or tend to be what instinct is for other animal species, that is a constant pattern and motive of behaviour, the form in time of the human individual as instinct is *sub specie aeternitatis* of an animal species.

An idea becomes a value in the generally recognized sense of the word not simply because it has power but because its object of reference and application is multifariously instanced in space and time, and not limited to one single specimen. Reasonableness can be one such idea and value, and have the final word in a man's likings and dislikes, control his actions and his reactions to other people, and finally unite him with other men in an effort to promote instances of reasonableness and to strike down or gradually confine the power of anything causing unreasonable behaviour. Values also, it will be noted, are rooted in inner experience or subjectivity and all are primarily a recognition and identification with one or another form of the power of subjectivity demanding to be strengthened and extended, to reveal or to transfigure the world of objects.

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TO transfigure or reveal the world of objects is to infuse it with subjectivity or to recognize it as endowed with subjective dignity and to treat it accordingly. It is this task more than any other that gives validity to an idea and makes it a value. The full operation of values, therefore, is intersubjective. Confined to the first person, in fact, an idea is absorbed into a narcissistic or solipsistic system, and when carried into the third person it is objectified and impersonalized. Only when applied to or affecting the second person, when defining a relationship between 'I' and 'Thou' does it fully become a value. Freedom, for example, when limited to the first person may be just a sublimation of selfishness, and when dealt with in the third person it may appear wonderfully articulated, but will not in truth express or communicate freedom. So inwardly defence and exaltation of abstract impersonal freedom is relatively easy, a little more difficult is the defence if not the exaltation of my personal freedom, but recognition of another per-

son's freedom when it affects me directly and more often than not demands the sacrifice of a wish, an idea or a mood of mine, is difficult and valiant.

Inersubjective relations are possible, of course, without any explicit recognition of values, and ideally men should be able to live harmoniously together without moral effort or sacrifice. Since, however, there is a natural tendency to consider others as objects, and no man is entirely free from fear of other men and without means of overcoming it through some mechanism of aggression, values need be developed enforcing ethical obligation at the price of conflict and sacrifice, even though one aim of their development, that of endopsychic integration, is to smooth out conflicts and take the sting out of sacrifice.

The definition of value as an affect-loaded idea may imply that the idea is primary and the affect adventitious. More near the truth is that the affect is primary and prompts the idea. Supposing the two to originate independently an affect seizes upon that idea which seems most suited to define and to retain its purpose. Values, therefore, are irrational, although usually rationalized. Irrational as they are they are not altogether arbitrary. They are approximately in the nature of axioms and postulates, for in the same way as some conceptual principles appear self-evident as soon as they are enunciated (because some concepts are identically related to one another whatever the mind that conceives them) so, owing to a basic similarity of affects corresponding to the same biologic pattern in all human beings, values can lay a claim to universal assent.

That they do not obtain universal assent is not surprising when we consider that even postulates and axioms do not and are found contradictory as soon as they are transferred to an order of concepts or phenomena other than the one for which they were originally intended. Thus in a non-Euclidean space, parallel lines meet, and in the modern wave theory of light no transmitting medium is postulated such as it was originally necessary to develop the theory. Phenomenic reality is too vast and complex to be comprehended by one simple concept or principle, and so is the reality of human dynamics for any single value to affirm a singleness of direction. Never-

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Laissez-Faire, Laissez-Aller

"It is the compelling force of anarchy in the production of society at large that more and more completely turns the great majority of men into proletarians; and it is the masses of the proletariat again who will finally put an end to anarchy in production." — FREDERICK ENGELS, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific."

IT is quite impossible for the proletariat to put an end to anarchy in production, because the capitalist system is not anarchy at all, but is really organised theft, exploitation and oppression, supported by the violence of the State. The horrors of England's industrial life in the nineteenth century furnish a standing brief for addicts of State intervention. But the misery and degradation of the people did not lie at the door of individualism, of anarchy; they lay nowhere but at the door of the State. The famous saying of Gournay, "Laissez-faire, laissez-aller!", which was later to serve the Manchester school as a motto, had originally a quite different meaning; it was an outcry of the human spirit against the iron compulsion of State guardianship, which threatened to smother every demonstration of social life. The Manchester school adopted this motto in order to disguise the robbery it upheld—robbery with the violence of the State. Child-labour and woman-labour in the mills and mines; Coketown and Mr. Bounder-

by; killing hours; vile and hazardous conditions of labour—all these are glibly charged of by reformers and Socialists to anarchy, unrestrained competition and laissez-faire. But, on the contrary, they were due to the positive intervention of the State.

The police force of this country was first organised by an industrialist, Sir Robert Peel. The great majority of men were turned into proletarians in the nineteenth century, because the land, means of production and distribution were monopolised by the bourgeoisie. The slavery and degradation of the people was caused by the State's primary intervention whereby they were removed from the land. When the factory system came in, these hordes of miserable beings had already been created by the Enclosure Acts; they had been expropriated, and they went into the mills for whatever Mr. Gradgrind and Mr. Plugson of Undershot would give them, because they had no choice but to beg, steal or starve.

"Quite a lot of people, mostly a very amiable mild sort of people, call themselves Communist-Anarchists, which Conservatives interpret as Double-Dyed Scoundrels. This is very much as if they called themselves Roman Catholic Protestants or Christian Jewesses, or under-sized giantesses, or brunette blonds, or married maids, or any other flat contradiction in terms; for Anarchism preaches the obliteration of statute law and the abolition of Governments and States, while Communism preaches that all the necessary business of the country shall be done by public bodies and regulated by public law. Nobody could logically be in favour of both all the time." — BERNARD SHAW, *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*.

True Communism means the abolition of private property. "Anarchist Communism, Communism without government—the Communism of the Free. It is the synthesis of the two ideals pursued by humanity throughout the ages—"Economic and Political Liberty." — PETER KROPOTKIN.

It is those who believe that the means of production and distribution and the land should be held by the community, and yet maintain that the necessary business of the country should be regulated by the State, who are really illogical. Because once the community has driven away the capitalists and exploiters, what justification is there for setting up a new ruling class? Is society to give up all its power again to the State, to a new State bureaucracy? A real revolution cannot be brought about by the State. No, it can only come as a result of the determination of the people. A real revolution means the destruction of the State by society. The State is a parasitical growth which destroys the health and initiative of society. After the Anarchist revolution, the social system dominated by brute force will give place to the new free society, born of and kept in existence by the free co-operation of those who form it. And is that the end of all things? No, that is the foundation of our future greatness, for Anarchy is the necessary condition for human progress. Anarchy is the only medium in which the average human mind can grow undeformed and to its full stature.

Wilfred Trotter, who was for many years an outstanding figure in the world of British medicine, was not an Anarchist, but in his book, *The Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, published in 1916, he writes:

"Let us consider, for example, the intuitional doctrine of philosophic anarchism. The nucleus of truth in this is the series of perfectly sound psychological conceptions that all social discipline should be, as experienced by the individual, spontaneous and voluntary, that man possesses the instinctive endowment which renders possible a voluntary organisation of society, and that in such a society order would be more effectively maintained than under our present partially compulsory system. This nucleus, which of course is not understood or expressed in these definite psychological terms by the anarchist, is apt to be associated with dogmas which altogether obscure its strictly unassailable truth."

Trotter does not explain what he thinks these dogmas are, but it is possible he is referring to the Individualist Anarchist of Benjamin Tucker and Max Stirner.

D.M.

Book Review

What is a Catholic Anarchist?

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CATHOLIC ANARCHIST by Ammon Hennacy. (Catholic Worker Books, New York, \$3).

I SUPPOSE in a way Ammon Hennacy has gone one better on me. I started to read this book, *The Autobiography of a Catholic Anarchist*, in a rather cold and detached way, with the intention of trying to find out just why a typical died-in-the-wool American radical of the old school like Hennacy should end up in the arms of the Catholic church—and, more than that, should still be spouting as much fire-and-brimstone anti-governmentalism as any two ordinary anarchists I know. And when I got to the end of the book I was not much wiser on this particular subject than I was when I started, at least in an intellectual sense, for Hennacy is clearly a man of impulsive action rather than of deep thought, and the few rationalisations he puts forward at the end of his book only reveal the somewhat confused way in which he suddenly slid into conversion after years of working unconverted—and even apparently sceptical—with the *Catholic Worker* group.

However, I think when one reads through his *Autobiography* certain threads do become evident which, if they don't add up to an explanation, at least give some pretty strong hints as to why he did slip from anarchism into Catholicism. In some ways it is a fascinating, though patchy book. The first part, dealing with Hennacy's early life up to about 1930, was obviously written especially for the autobiography, and is done in an economical and very vivid style, which gives a good picture of his youth and of his adventures during the first world war, when he was an active resister and spent a considerable time in prison—he was in Atlanta with Alexander Berkman and did some months in solitary confinement while he was there.

It was in solitary that Hennacy had his first conversion, his first feeling of the need to dovetail Christianity into his anarchism. He became a Tolstoyan, and declared for what he has since called the "one man revolution". This needs a little explanation. It is actually based on the ideas that Tolstoy put forward in *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, and declares that the revolution within

each man is the really important and primary revolution. After the man has really decided within himself for a radical attitude, then he will be all the better equipped to fight for radicalism in the world around him, and there is no knowing what he will achieve.

At one time I thought this was a somewhat arrogant and egotistic attitude, and perhaps it is, but it certainly seems to have great effectiveness, for one of the few encouraging things in the world today has been the number of men who have managed single-handed to get the best out of their fellows by their example and inspiration. Father Pierre of Paris is the last in this succession, and there are probably many like him whose names never reach the international press.

Hennacy's particular brand of one-man revolution has been the propaganda for refusal to pay taxes that will assist the war machine. He has carried out this struggle with a marvellous consistency for many years in the West of the United States, and there is no doubt that his propaganda has made a great many people think about the whole question of war.

The section of Hennacy's book which deals with his tax campaigns is rather boring, with occasional cases of vivid action or of rather pleasing Thoreau-like description of the simple rural existence of voluntary poverty and hard toil which he had made the basis of his propaganda. I think the general flatness of this part of the book is due to the fact that it is mostly pasted together out of old *Catholic Worker* articles, with little real effort to weave them into a coherent narrative.

Hennacy's association with the *Catholic Worker* dates back about twenty years, to days when, since all the anarchist papers in existence then were hopelessly doctrinaire, it was about the only place where an independent Tolstoyan could let off steam. The association has continued, and it seems evident that, for all his great show of self-sufficiency, even one-man-revolutionist Hennacy has felt, as the years have gone on, a greater need for a group in which to sink his roots. The *Catholic Worker* people were the closest, by association and by personal relationship, and so he became converted. This is probably a gross simplification of feelings which Hennacy has not been

able to express thoroughly in his book, but I am sure it gives a rough idea of the truth.

One reason why the *Catholic Worker* group attract a good many lost radicals is that they do not spend all their time arguing about theory, but get down to doing practical things. Dwight Macdonald recently wrote a long article in the *New Yorker* on their activities, which had clearly impressed him and could not help impressing the reader. At least, one felt, these people were really trying their hardest to put what they believed into action, they were being real, practical Christians—in the more radical sense of that word—and they had quite obviously done a vast amount to give derelicts and down-and-outs material comforts accompanied by a genuine brotherhood that cannot usually be found in the Salvation Army and similar organisations. On the side, they had managed to put in a fair amount of propaganda for causes, like war resistance, that no Anarchist could quarrel with. Of course, I, like many other people, find it impossible to accept their religious beliefs, and cannot understand how they reconcile their anarchism with their acceptance of the Catholic hierarchy, yet I cannot help respecting their activities.

And I cannot help feeling that, instead of sniping at the *Catholic Worker*, as FREEDOM very undignifiedly did a couple of years back, it would be better if Anarchists were to realise that one of the reasons for the comeback of the church is that everywhere there are Catholic priests and laymen getting on with mutual aid jobs, and doing all the things which Anarchists should be doing. Father Pierre and his activities in Paris, the priest who set up the colonies for homeless children in Italy, the Jesuits who started the almost Proudhonian co-operative movement among the Nova Scotian fishermen—all these men are doing things we should be watching and learning from. For what Catholics, with the limitations of their church, can do well in the way of mutual aid, there is no reason in the world why Anarchists as free men should not do better.

And so, to come back to Hennacy, as long as he continues to put up a good fight against the State, I personally don't feel like being self-righteous about the eccentricity of his banner.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

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INDO-CHINA

Continued from p. 1

truce "roughly similar to the Korean cease-fire" before the Geneva Conference. One such commentator writes: "It is recognised that Mr. Eden has obtained only a breathing space in which an end to the fighting can be sought: if there is no peace in Indo-China at the end of the Geneva Conference the American pressure on Britain to take 'united action' against the Communist troops in that area will be overwhelming."

The official political bargain is stated to be that in return for the British Government agreeing "to consider the security of Indo-China as a vital interest", the American Government has "provisionally agreed to take some responsibility for the security of Malaya and Hong Kong which in the past she has always refused to do".

The Attlee section of the Labour Party put forward the view that any Pacific Pact must guarantee the independence of the Asiatic peoples. Bevan claims that American interference is purely imperialistic and must be restricted and rejected.

Economic Driving Forces

No newspaper or political spokesman openly discusses however what is almost certainly the governing factor in this as in every other post-1945 war—the economic driving forces. FREEDOM always stressed the economic character of the Korean War. It saved America from depression when it started, and its ending precipitated another depression. Anarchists, therefore, on the basis of past history felt justified in predicting that American economy would look out for a new field for military activity. Such a viewpoint is in character with the conception of the "permanent war", the institutional character of war in capitalist economy to-day. The emergence of America as the would-be controller of the Indo-Chinese war has justified these expectations and serves to confirm the analysis of social and economic forces on which they are based.

There seems to us therefore little point in opposition to such a war or to American participation in it based on the kind of objections made by Attlee or Bevan. Still less can we be concerned with the nationalist aspirations of the collaborationist Viet-Nam (Bao-Dai) or of similar nationalist aspirations of an armed resistance character now sold entirely to Communist control. The Indo-Chinese war like the Korean war cannot be stopped just by wishing for it. Nor is the problem solved when the theatre changes from Korea to Indo-China or wherever it moves to after that. The problem is the world-wide one that the present organization of production and distribution cannot be maintained without the economic stimulus that war provides. Opposition to this war, as to any other, can only be securely founded on opposition to the system of market economy itself.

A Definition of Values

theless, as axioms and postulates are indispensable for men to share in reasoning and to build their science, so values are indispensable for men to will and act together beyond the mechanisms of stimulus and response, and thus build their ethical life.

With a different terminology and other assumptions values can and have been differently defined. It is with them (as with all inner experiences) as it is in physics with the movement of a body, whose measurement varies according to the system of co-ordinates that is arbitrarily or conveniently chosen. Definitions

SEX IN HISTORY, by G. Rat-tray Taylor. (Thames and Hudson, 21/-).

THE editor of "The Past in the Present" series, of which this book forms the first volume, was wise to start off with this subject. Sex of course is of overriding interest to everybody. It is the one subject that will always find an audience, and as a subject for lecture or discussion it can always be relied on to fill the hall. This is a measure of its importance, despite the efforts made by some to put it in the background, and their talk of its being an "over-rated pastime".

Although there are a great many books on sex on the market now, this is almost the only one dealing with it from a historical point of view. Considering the amount of material available for a study of sexual ideas and attitudes throughout history, this is an amazing situation. As the author tells us, "... there is an enormous bibliography of printed matter which is crying out for systematic investigation and analysis. Gay's *Bibliographie des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Amour, etc.*" runs to 2,500 pages in double column and is devoted primarily to works in the French language. Hayn's *Bibliotheca germanorum erotica et curiosa* runs to eight volumes, not counting the supplements. Many of the works listed are rare or unobtainable of course, and others are irrelevant; but even if one confines one's attention to the 4,000 odd volumes contained in the private cases of the main British libraries, and listed in Reade's *Registrum Librorum Eroticorum*, a useful start could be made ..."

Compared with this mass of literature the present volume is little more than a pamphlet, but even so it is packed with information.

The first part of the book deals with the sex life of the Middle Ages. It makes depressing reading. It completely demolishes the popular myth of this period as a time of chivalry and idealism, to be set up as an example to be followed by our more materialistic period. The people of Medieval Europe were licentious to a degree that is difficult for us to grasp now, nor must it be imagined that it was sexual freedom of the type the anarchist would like to see. What happened was that the Church had spent centuries trying to

crush down the pagan sexual libertarianism, and the result was wholesale neurosis, and every sort of perversion. Europe became a mad house only comparable to Aztec Mexico.

The pre-Christian Celts were very different. The original legends of the knights of King Arthur, not as edited for the nursery, make this abundantly clear. "At King Arthur's court, when a magic mantle is produced which can only be worn by a chaste woman, none of the ladies present is able to wear it."

Women courted the men as aggressively as the men courted them. One girl seizes her lover by the ears, telling him that she is a young cow and wants him as her bull, and will not let him go till he has promised to elope with her. Nakedness too was not regarded with shame, "... the Queen of Ulster and all the ladies of the court, to the number of 610, came to meet Cuchulainn, naked above the waist, and raising their skirts 'so as to show their private parts', by which they showed how greatly they honoured him."

There was no stigma in illegitimacy. It meant that one's mother had been a sufficiently attractive woman to be loved by other men than her lawful husband. If her lover were a valiant knight it was an honour. History books being bowdlerised for the young do not stress the fact that William the Conqueror called himself proudly "The Bastard". This attitude still survives in some quarters even to-day. Women would even boast of their lovers to their husbands, and the latter would be ashamed to interfere. Trial marriages too were common.

With the rise to power of the Catholic Church this healthy attitude was crushed, not at once, but after a long struggle. The consequences we have with us to-day. It is quite impossible for any normal man to look back on the period following the Church's victory without horror. It was a nightmare. Quite apart from the appalling sadism and cruelty, there was the equally distressing way that the healthy free sexuality of the past had become turned into prostitution.

"The influence of the clergy can best be summed up by the comment made by Cardinal Hugo, when Innocent IV left Lyons after a visit of eight years duration. In a speech of farewell to the

citizens, he said, 'Since we came here we have effected great improvements. When we came we found but three or four brothels. We leave behind us but one. We must add, however, that it extends without interruption from the eastern to the western gate.'

Needless to say if the priesthood was in the lead the laymen were not far behind, and even those who tried to repress their sexuality were little better. The Middle Ages was full of hysterical manifestations, which afflicted monks and nuns who took the teachings of their Church seriously, as well as lay-folk. Very often these mystics became complete masochists, compelling their associates to torture them most horribly. Virginity was glorified, and a ban was placed on all forms of sexual activity. In some of the "penitential books" issued to priests which described all the sinful actions a person could perform, and the penance he had to do for them, fornication was declared to be worse than murder. Even to-day it is permitted to write about murder, but not to describe the sexual act. Peter Lombard maintained ("De excusatione coitus") that for a man to love his wife was a sin worse than adultery.

Sexual issues became mixed up with heresy, and homosexuality came to count as a form of it. The great witch hunt, started towards the end of the Middle Ages, was a form of antisexual crusade. Against the Church's attitude to sex a revolt was inevitable. The Cathari of Languedoc and Provence tried to sublimate sex instead of repressing it, while the so-called "witches" adopted a sex-affirmative outlook and continued the old pre-Christian fertility rites and sex worship. Needless to say the Church fought both tendencies with the utmost fury. One can understand it taking a strong line against the "witches", but it is not so easy to see why it opposed the sexual theories of the Cathari. Doctrinal differences apart, it seemed probable that the Church was so obsessed with the need to fight sex that it detested a religion that tried to ignore it instead. (The Cathari, whose doctrines came from Persia and the East, seem to have had a Gandhian attitude to sex).

The cornerstone of the Medieval cam-

paign against sex was the masturbation taboo. The penitential books devoted a large amount of space to this. "In the five comparatively short mediaeval penitential codes, there are twenty-two paragraphs dealing with various degrees of sodomy and bestiality, and no fewer than twenty-five dealing with masturbation on the part of laymen, to say nothing of others dealing separately with masturbation on the part of the clergy." Even then the Church realised that a successful anti-sex and anti-pleasure campaign must start with a severe taboo on infantile masturbation, and if the fear of this form of sexual activity could be inculcated into the parents, they in turn would hand it on to their children, and it would become rooted into everyone's way of life. The attitude of the reactionary moralist of to-day towards masturbation really dates from this period.

With the Renaissance a more rational attitude became widespread. Books began to appear on the excellence of women, a complete reversal of the mediaeval idea that they were snares of the Devil. But the effect of centuries of Catholic Christianity could not be undone in a day. Nor were the new Protestant Churches much better, if they were not in fact worse. Indeed it was Renaissance Italy, with its loose morals, that horrified Luther and drove him to make his rebellion against the Church. With Protestantism came Puritanism. Calvinism was its most extreme form. England had a short dose of it after the Civil War, and the reaction after the Restoration is not at all surprising. Calvinism was its most extreme form. revolt against sexual restraint, but it was an unhealthy rebellion. Sadism and masochism became popular. Flagellatory brothels became fashionable, and their owners made vast fortunes and retired to end their days in respectability. They were patronised by royalty. Mrs. Colet's being visited by George IV. It was during this century that flagellation became known as the "English vice", though it had been a tradition in our great public schools since the sixteenth century, and in fact continues there to the present day. It will be remembered how indignant the late Joseph Stalin was when he learned that in England children were often beaten. (Thus opposites approach each other, and the self-tortures of the mediaeval saint are rivalled by those of the pleasure-loving rake).

The eighteenth century continued the revival, though it was a form of Puritanism very different from that of the time of Calvin and Cromwell. It was repressive of all emotion, and extremely hypocritical. It tried to do away with social evils by ignoring them, and it applied this to sex, which it regarded as undignified as well as evil. It sought to cover it up, as it covered up the legs of the piano and dining-room table.

Aquinas had maintained that masturbation was a greater sin than fornication, which, as we have seen, was thought by some to be worse than murder. The Victorians rationalised this, and said that it was so unhealthy to masturbate that it would drive you mad, cause your teeth and hair to fall out, and deprive you of energy and working capacity. No doubt the fears that these teachings caused did in fact produce some of the very results prophesied. These cases could then be held up as horrid examples. I have even read somewhere the assertion that Czgolz, who shot President McKinley was insane because of a "schoolboyish vice", obviously masturbation is meant.

Quite a number of devices were developed to prevent boys masturbating, especially at night. Fathers fitted small cages on their sons, a sort of male chastity belt, some were even armed with spikes, the key of which they kept. Another gadget ensured that any erection on the part of the son ran an electric bell in the parents' room.

Women were supposed to be sexless, and any woman who showed her sexual desires was considered to be bad or abnormal. It was easy for a woman to lose her "reputation", and this often meant that she ended up as a prostitute. The Victorians did not speak about prostitution if they could help it, and were furious when someone pointed out that in fact the prostitute was the safeguard of the family, because she gave the male

Continued on p. 4

SEX IN HISTORY

Revolution and Anarchism

IN order to decide the correct action to be adopted by anarchists in a revolutionary situation it is first of all necessary to be perfectly clear as to what we understand by 'revolution'. There is a danger of confusing revolution with rebellion, and of optimistically thinking that civil disorder is ever-pregnant with revolutionary potentialities.

Whilst revolution, to the anarchists, means the complete overthrow of government and the State and the abolishment of every form of political authority and coercion, the socialist political bodies have an altogether different conception of it. To them, the concept of government is not in the least objectionable, they merely object to those who govern; and, so far from the State being an object of disgust, they treat it with reverence and awe.

It would be hypocritical, rather than paradoxical, for anarchists to compromise themselves in any alliance with the socialists against what they loosely term 'the common enemy'; for it is the State—the State itself—which is the enemy of mankind, and it is this very edifice that the socialists themselves are so anxious to maintain!

To speak of compromise, as a matter of political or revolutionary expediency, is to negate the very principles for which we stand; for let us not deceive ourselves into believing that the objectives of anarchists will find any sympathy with those whose sole ambition is to seize the reins of power. France, Russia and Spain have clearly shown the folly of com-

promising principle in the name of expediency, whereby power-hungry cliques have sacrificed the masses for their own despicable ends.

So far from government resulting from civil war being weak, it has ever (for its own protection) proved bloody and ruthless. It has filled its slave-camps and kept its firing-squads fully occupied and has indulged in every infamy and tyranny to consolidate its position.

It is only in the conscious aspirations and inflexible will of the masses that the revolution can succeed. Revolutions are not achieved upon the street-barricades nor in the fields of bloody conflict, but in the intelligence and capacity of the working class to seize and control the means of production and distribution, and to replace capitalist economy by the industrial syndicates and agrarian communes. These are the first fruits of the revolution, and upon the organising ability and the numerical strength of the workers to consolidate these gains the success of the revolution depends. But, if the workers allow these first fruits of victory to escape their grip and relegate them to the control of a centralised, political authority, the dry-rot of counter-revolution will have already set in, and the progress of revolution arrested, if not completely frustrated.

In a situation of political and economic chaos, it is necessary to accurately assess the readiness of the workers for revolutionary change. Is it revolution they want, or merely a change in the set-up of government? Have they reason as well as despair? It is not enough that the workers should have a grievance: they must understand the whys and wherefores of it; and unless, or until, they do the chances of successful revolution are negligible.

The political and social consciousness of the working class is an imperative factor in the revolutionary struggle; without it, there is the ever-present danger of their falling for the surreptitious propaganda and machinations of the authoritarian political parties, who are ever-watchful and ready to fully exploit the bewilderment and indecision of the masses. In the name of unity and expediency they will be ensnared into accepting the 'necessity' of a 'provisional' government, whereby the struggle will be subjected and directed not in the interest

of revolution, but to the furtherance of ambitious party ends, and to the aggrandisement of political opportunity-seekers.

A revolutionary-conscious working class needs no political directives. With one bloodless sweep it could take over the complete economy of society and utilise it for its own communal ends. With its organising capabilities, and solidarity of purpose, it could cripple with one unified blow the whole structure of capitalism and the State! In the face of such solidarity and strength the faction of counter-revolution would be rendered impotent.

Once the fields, factories and workshops are in the control of the working masses, and the economy of society has been transferred to the free federation of syndicates and communes, none but a madman would attempt its disruption, or could have the slightest hope of successful counter-revolution. Indeed, counter-revolution would only be possible by divisions in the ranks of the working class itself; by preferential treatment and privileges being extended to one section of the workers over others, and by bureaucratic powers being ceded to political hirelings. This is exactly what the Marxists yearn for, and in favourable circumstances never fail to achieve; and it is with them that the greatest danger of counter-revolution lies.

It is by non-collaboration with any centralised authority—whether it calls itself a 'National Assembly' or a 'Workers' Government'—and by the defiance of those political office-seekers who aspire to exercise their authority over us, that the revolution will be consolidated, and counter-revolution rendered impossible. "The land to the peasants, the factories to the workers"—and to hell with commissars!

GEORGE NICHOLSON.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

THE STATIC SOCIETY

I HAVE welcomed the recent appearance of Arthur Uloth's down-to-earth articles as a salutary change from some of the more dictionarified contributions which always seemed to me to need a vulgarisateur to re-write them. He realizes the insidious effect of those cheap magazines written for mass circulation, such as lurid "science" and gangster fiction and women's journals, and their importance in any consideration of social questions. (Incidentally, could not one of our women anarchists write something on women's papers in particular, as these are probably the most powerful and firmly entrenched defenders of the *status quo* being published?) However, I think Uloth is right off the mark in his article "The Static Society" (FREEDOM 10/4/54).

I do not think that the ideal of science as the great emancipator is by any means "a bit fly-blown now". True, it has produced new horrors of war, but that is through the irresponsibility of state-prostituted scientists and their part in the *trahison des clercs*. But it has also produced the radio and other rapid means of communication which make an efficient anarchist society more possible and desirable than ever before. The old objections about the impracticability of anarchism and syndicated industries have been out-moded by scientific advances. To me the static society does spell stagnation, in all but the physical sense.

I'm afraid Comrade Uloth's anarchist society sounds dull to me. It's a happy one of course, with an integrated communal life and lots of loving, but so unadventurous. There can be no progress without experiment. Apart from the fact that there are people who like flying for itself (I do for one), as long as the moon and the stars are there some people will want to reach for them, out of sheer curiosity and not necessarily because of sexual frustration. Some of the more intelligent objectors to anarchism, who claim that anarchists look back to a glorious but non-existent primitive utopian past, may think to find confirmation of this in Arthur Uloth's article, and it would be a pity if this were the case.

Middlesboro, Apl. 11. DOUG WILSON.

ARTHUR ULOTH'S article, "The Static Society", (FREEDOM, April 10) was refreshingly idealistic, but it seems likely he would be prepared to agree that the social evolution he envisages would not be without its dangers.

"News from Nowhere" attracts us because in this book we can see a society based on co-operative effort in all spheres of human activity. We like such characters as Dick and Ellen, as we recognise the natural sincerity and warmth that they display. But in Morris' England, the society is *absolutely* static; there is a reference to people occasionally manufacturing things, but no one appears to be engaged in research, and everyone is so busy explaining the society to "I" that we never hear if speculative thought is indulged in.

Man is an animal who thrives on experiment. If he becomes satisfied with his environment and no longer wishes to advance in any way, he withers. One sees this in individuals; much more in the societies which Arthur Uloth quotes as static. There is something "wrong" with all these civilisations, otherwise they would have an audible voice in world affairs. (Is Arthur Uloth rather over-estimating the Noble Savage?)

What ensures the psychological virility of man? It is largely the capacity of receptivity; the ability to conceive new ideas, gestate them, and produce the fruits of them. It is this capacity which

Money and Wealth

I THINK that Comrade Nicholson and I are giving certain words slightly different meanings, and that many of our disagreements are semantic. If I explain my concept of the capitalist money system, I think these differences will resolve themselves; at least, I hope their nature will become plainer.

Dr. Norbert Wiener examined several homeostatic (i.e. self-stabilising) systems in his book "Cybernetics" (Wiley, New York, 1948), and developed a theory accounting for their behaviour under varying conditions. Simple examples are governor-controlled steam engines and thermostats, where the homeostatic action is almost instantaneous, and their behaviour is easily predicted.

Amongst the systems he examined were the automatic steering mechanisms of ships, the human nervous system, audio amplifiers employing negative feedback, and electronic computing machines, in all of which the homeostatic action takes place after some delay. He also deals with the application of cybernetics to societies under the heading 'Information, Language and Society', and mentions briefly the financial system. He is very critical of those who practise free competition, and I think many anarchists would find his book interesting.

Extending his remarks logically, to a viewpoint which would probably engender emotion only in the U.S.A., I would say that the capitalist system, until the beginning of this century, was a homeostatic system. That is, that without governmental or other external interference, it worked in such a way as to promote a relatively stable level of prices and employment, although not a very high level of reward for those employed, despite wars, plagues, bumper harvests and bad ones. There have been several occasions when governments prohibited the importation of corn at the behest, and to the benefit of, wealthy home producers, and to the distress of the poorer people, but these were not financial manipulations. The cost of corn rose to adjust demand to supply, stimulating corn production, and certainly not causing famine. The severe drop in the value of gold and of the sovereign in the 17th century caused by the importa-

leads to social and political advance, to scientific research, to exploration. (Incidentally, some authorities maintain that this quality diminishes or disappears altogether in societies primarily concerned with satisfying bodily needs and appetites).

It is the experimenting instinct which produces men of the calibre of Newton or Pasteur, of Marx or Bakunin. The urge which causes mankind never to be entirely satisfied is one of the most valuable we possess. This, therefore, is the *motif* of our would-be space explorers. It seems unlikely that any great "profit" will be derived from such voyages, but surely our outlook has widened since 1492?

Exeter, Apl. 12. M. A. LEADBITTER.

tion of large quantities of gold from Southern America could have disrupted a more rigid system, but the capitalist system adjusted itself. In fact, before this century, the capitalist system reduced fluctuations in prices and employment, usually caused by government interference with trade. It was never necessary for a government to act to reduce fluctuations caused by the capitalist system. Adam Smith, with static analogies, produced a theory of the action of the system and his theory was accepted as a natural law for lack of any contrary evidence.

Cybernetic theory shows that a system involving delayed action which is stable with a certain level of homeostasis may oscillate violently of its own accord under a higher level. This is well known in audio amplifier design, and is borne out by the higher frequency of neurosis in humans than animals, and by analogous disorders in the more complicated of electronic computers. The homeostatic action in the capitalist system is carried out by men on the receipt of information, and involves a time delay. A dynamic model is required to understand it, and cybernetic theory, being based on a dynamic model, is thereby appropriate to it.

The nature of the homeostatic action is primarily that of a change of the interest rate at which individuals will lend and borrow money, an activity indulged in by everyone who saves with the Prudential, buys a house on a mortgage, or buys savings certificates. It may be thought that most individuals have little choice of interest rate, but they have the choice of whether they save or spend, and that is what influences the rate offered. It can even be said that the housewife's choice of paying a few pence extra for Tide or of continuing with Persil influences the interest rate, for demand for a new product creates a demand for money borrowed to buy plant to make it. And the predicament of the U.S. government with its agricultural surpluses is a reminder that it is only another wealthy individual while it obeys the orthodox capitalist rule of (relatively) free trade.

It is my contention that the capitalist system, either through its growth, or through the increased number of people taking a part in its money-lending activities, has changed from being a stable system to being an over-stabilised system which oscillates violently of its own accord. The upward swing is restricted by full employment, and the amount of

work which people can and are willing to do. On the downward swing, when employment has fallen so far that governments fear revouition, they usually try to influence the system. They may start by currency devaluation and import control. The next step is large scale government spending, on public works, on food (for destruction) or on arms. But these actions, although beyond the power of individuals, only provide palliation, and after a pause, the downward trend continues, or threatens to continue. The sure way to stop it is to suspend the system, and war provides almost the only acceptable excuse for doing this. Unfortunately, only in our country has war caused the death of the capitalist system. Elsewhere we go back to where we came in.

On these grounds, I believe that the capitalist money system now produces violent fluctuations in employment and prices through its inherent nature, and that the financial wizards could only temporarily disturb the pattern at great loss to themselves and without having any effect on the subsequent course. In fact, it is undoubtedly the great loss involved in opposing the tide that leads everyone to swim with it and thus to assist it. I agree with Comrade Nicholson that widespread misery results from these fluctuations, and I agree that inflation will reduce drastically the value of money. But inflation is the manipulation of money by governments, and leads usually to their downfall and the ruin of the wealthy rather than the poor. It is a one-way process, forced by events, not chosen voluntarily, requiring fiscal, not occult powers. Without the need of wizards to account for fluctuations, and with no direct evidence of their existence, I'm afraid that I can't believe in them. An understanding of disease has displaced the medieval demons—I believe the wizards deserve a similar fate. Kent, April 10. M.S.F.

Round the Conferences Continued from p. 1

Co-op Oppose German Rearming

The Co-operative Party has more than 9,500,000 members affiliated through the Co-operative Societies at which they shop. It has 18 M.P.s who accept the Labour Whip in Parliament.

In constituencies it has an organisation of local parties parallel to those of the Labour Party and, in general, sharing the same membership.

Although the executive tried all they knew to get acceptance of official Labour Party policy on German re-arming, the rank and file pushed through their own decision, which will oblige Co-op M.P.s to argue and vote against Mr. Attlee's policy in the Parliamentary Labour Party. It will make it more difficult for the "shadow cabinet" to take a tough line with its critics.

Teachers

Urge Smaller Classes

AT Cardiff, the National Union of Teachers held its annual conference.

The president, Frederick Evans, suggested that psychologists might do some good work on ways and means of testing intelligence, but everyone had to remember that "the child mind is something on which no one can speak with finality."

Children, said Mr. Evans, could not be improved by measurement.

"The most urgent need in the schools to-day is a reduction in classes. It is our first priority.

"I would rather my children were taught in a class of 15 by a good teacher in an improvised barn than in a class of 50 by the same teacher in a palace."

On the cost of education Mr. Evans suggested national economies could be made in other places as well as schools.

He said: "If the eagle eye that scrutinises the education estimates were cast over those of the Services, many millions of pounds could be saved each year with no loss of efficiency."

Mr. Ronald Gould, general secretary, told the 2,000 delegates: "Last year there were nearly three million children registered in oversized classes."

Doctors Urge Industrial Health Service

AT Edinburgh, Dr. D. G. Evans, asst. secretary of the Medical Practitioners' Union, told a conference of the Socialist Medical Association that casualties in industry were three times more than on the roads, but little was being done in the way of safety campaigns in industry.

Dr. Evans, who is prospective Labour candidate for Buckingham, said that in two-thirds of the Union's factories heating, lighting, and ventilating could be

FREEDOM

Malatesta Club

OPENING TIME!

AT last we are able to announce the opening of the Malatesta Club. We hope that readers have not been too bored by the somewhat repetitious "Progress Reports" that have appeared over the weeks of steady effort—but here is the Report most of us have been waiting for.

Final touches still have to be completed, but all the decorating and furnishing is now done, and we open our doors on May 2nd. On this date the London Anarchist Group commences a season of public lecture-discussion meetings, and from then on the club will be available for the use of members and visitors seven nights a week from 7 to 11 p.m. Refreshments and light meals will be on sale always, except when lectures are in progress.

The success of the Club depends in part on the attendance at the L.A.G. meetings—which will be supplemented by informal discussions every Thursday evening.

Needless to say, we are not yet free from financial worries and the Treasurer will gladly receive donations—even after we are open! P.S.

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May 2 Arthur Uloth

THE AGE OF ANNIHILATION

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ASPECTS OF ANARCHISM

(1) INTRODUCTION

★

Informal Discussion Every Thursday at 7.30.

Sex in History Continued from p. 3

an outlet, and prevented him to some extent from seeking satisfaction by seducing girls who were still "respectable".

Our own century has been one of increasing freedom. The author sees history, at least European history, as a continual swing between two tendencies. These he labels *Patrist* and *Matrist*.^{*} A *Patrist*, according to his definition, is restrictive in his attitude to sex, hard, puritanical, and conservative. He has solved his Oedipal conflict by identifying with the father, so he tends to despise women and to dress as differently from them as possible. He has a great fear of homosexuality.

The *Matrist* on the other hand is free and easy and everything the *Patrist* is not. He is spontaneous and accords to women a high status, he tends to dress in bright colours, and in fact it sometimes becomes difficult to tell the sexes apart. He likes pleasure, and does not think homosexuality wrong. But he does have a deep fear of incest. He had solved his problem by identifying with the mother.

The book traces the influence of these two outlooks on our history, sometimes the one has been dominant, sometimes the other. The *Patrist* has the advantage of drive and intolerance. That is why the *Matrist* pagan society could not stand up to the *Patrist* Catholic Church. However the tense *Patrist* cannot keep it up forever, human nature cannot stand it, and gradually society swings back to *Matrist*. Even in the Church itself

this swing back has manifested itself in the cult of the Virgin, who at one time nearly became a fertility goddess. She was said to restore fertility, cure sores with her milk, to have delivered a pregnant abbess painlessly and hushed up the subsequent scandal, and to aid wives engaged in the pleasant pastime of adultery by taking their place in their husbands' beds.

It is an interesting theory, but it is from the man's point of view. The writer also accepts Freud's later theories of the "Death Instinct" (Thanatos), which is forever in conflict with the instinct of life and love (Eros), a conflict that apparently will never be resolved. This is a sort of Zoroastrian dualism, the conclusion to which it leads being the profoundly pessimistic one that nothing in our world can be fundamentally changed. Freud himself seems to have reached this conclusion anyway, and, as has been mentioned in FREEDOM not long ago, his reply to Einstein's open letter on war was not very helpful. I feel sure that close investigation would reveal that every manifestation of the "Death Instinct" is nothing but a perverted "life instinct".

However these are minor points. This is a most important book for anyone interested in sexual questions (and who isn't?). Those who wish to free men from the burden of superstition and ignorance in sexual matters will find it exceedingly helpful to know just how the taboos against which they fight originated and developed. In sexual as in other matters the shadow of the Middle Ages still hangs heavy over Europe.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

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^{*}Not to be confused with the terms 'matriarchy' and 'patriarchy' of course.