

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The enlargement of freedom has always been due to heretics who have been unrequited during their day and defamed when dead."
—George Jacob Holyoake.

JAPANESE ANARCHIST MANIFESTO ON THE BOMB

ON April 11th a congress of the Japanese Anarchist Federation discussed the recent hydrogen bomb explosion at Bikini. Both as the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and because of the fishermen who were showered, sixty miles away, with radioactive ashes, the Japanese people, more than any other look on the atom bomb as a grim reality which they have already felt, rather than as a threat to the future which is now it appears to other peoples. Our Japanese comrades issued the manifesto which we print below.

A PROTEST against the rulers of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. by the Anarchist Federation of Japan, together with all workers, farmers, men of good will the world over who want freedom and peace:

During the recent second world war U.S.A. dropped the first atom bombs on Hiroshima, 6 August, 1945, on Nagasaki, 9 August. In one instant hundreds of thousands of non-combatants were mortally wounded, all other life destroyed. Notwithstanding U.S.A.'s self-justification, this act should be eternally condemned as the most inhuman, most shameful act of history first by the Japanese so criminally attacked, but also by those human beings everywhere who believe in humanity, justice and the evolution of mankind. We, the cruelly victimized Japanese, earnestly desire that such a catastrophe shall never again afflict mankind; let us profoundly criticize ourselves because of responsibility for the war. The post-war Japanese constitution declares for the eternal elimination of war, and the Japanese worker and farmer masses have during eight years defended this peace constitution and have marched eagerly in the forefront of world peace during this period. Despite this, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. intend to seize world hegemony by rule and authority, although their ideologies differ, and both antagonistic forces strive to increase their armaments, especially rivalling each other in the production of A- and H-bombs, each using this destructive power and its menace to force various countries into its bloc, thus strongly exciting the antagonism between the "two worlds" toward world war. Notably, U.S.A., which itself forced the peace constitution of eternal elimination of war and armaments on Japan, now conspires with Japanese bourgeois government to destroy it, thus forcing Japan to become a slavish tool of U.S.A. in a future war. But if a new war with the atom bombs possessed by U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. should break out, it is certain that the majority of mankind would perish, and even the existence of the planet would be in danger. And the atomic damage which we are suffering now seems to prognosticate the future occurrence of such calamities.

On the first of March at about 3 a.m.

a Japanese fishing boat working in the South Pacific, 60 nautical miles from Bikini atoll, had its deck covered to whiteness with ash dust, caused by the H-bomb experiment on Bikini atoll. The 23 fishermen were strongly attacked by death-dealing radioactivity, some of them seriously. Also their lot of tunny fish was radioactivated to an extent dangerous to any who might eat the fish, as shown by Geiger counter; but the fish had been sold before this test was made, thus causing great confusion to shopping housewives in all Japan when announced by radio and newspapers.

We are radically against war and armaments which are detrimental to the Japanese labouring masses, whom the constitution which forever eliminates such war and armaments protects. Therefore we have often strongly declared our opposition to the manufacture of atomic weapons leading mankind to destruction.

Now we must protest first against U.S.A., who savagely ignores international law in making experiments which can wound voyagers on the public ocean sixty miles away from the land it controls, without even warning or consulting other countries, but completely unilaterally. One can surmise from this occurrence that the fall of atom dust from the stratosphere will cause untold damage in various parts of the world if such an experiment is repeated. Particularly the Japanese will be in mortal danger, since the South Pacific is the principal fishing locale of Japanese fishermen, and fish is their chief source of protein. Therefore we believe this to be a great problem for the humanistic world over. Against this Prime Minister Nehru of India and many others who respect humanism, democracy and peace cry out unanimously, demanding an immediate halt to A-weapon experimentation, their elimination and international regulation of atomic energy.

Despite this fact the rulers of U.S.A. shown no sincere self-criticism, but even smear the Japanese fishermen with the

suspicion of spying about A-weapons, and Eisenhower and Dulles still do not want to halt manufacture of and experimentation with accursed atomic killing devices. Their lack of shame and inhumanity is very obvious, but factually U.S.S.R. rivalry and two-world antagonism are the causes for continuing this manufacture and experimentation.

The Japanese people have thus had three experiences of such inhuman killing devices, and now the entire people, which respects freedom and peace, appeals to the working and farming masses of the entire world, and to all who love freedom and peace, that if we permit it the leaders of the two worlds will visit upon all mankind what we Japanese people are now suffering. We appeal especially out of our suffering to Americans and Russians.

Unite your will for peace and freedom and work with us to stop the savagery and cruelty of rulers. We also propose to the world to unite our forces in working together to accomplish the following aims:

(a) The entire mass of the people must bring about the downfall of governments and rulers who want to rule over the world with the menace of such extremely cruel weapons of destruction—irrespective of their ideology or social order.

(b) We must work together to abolish the manufacture of and experimentation with these atomic weapons, using the power of the most advanced scientific progress for mankind's peace and happiness.

Should we fail to accomplish this all social ideals, philosophy, belief and art will disappear. The abolition of atomic weapons will precede all that is true and good and beautiful.

To repeat, we appeal, out of our pain as the first victims of atomic weapons, to the masses of the entire world, and by your agency we protest especially against Eisenhower, President of U.S.A., and Malenkov, Premier of the Soviet Union.

Congress of Anarchist Federation of Japan.

11 April, 1954

Psychology of Mau Mau

ON the question of the Kenya crisis a recurring theme of criticism in FREEDOM has been the almost total failure of the government and the press to seek out the causes of the present conflict. The Parliamentary Delegation to Kenya, it is true, in its report did lay stress on the same fundamental economic and social ills—chiefly land hunger and colour discrimination—which FREEDOM has from many years back sought to stress. But the Report of the Delegation has been given very little publicity and the Colonial Office has continued to rely upon police and military methods, ignoring altogether the more fundamental questions raised.

The economic and social causes behind Mau Mau are therefore pretty well known. But what is much less clear is the motivation of the Mau Mau ritual and terrorism—the violence against individuals which so sharply alienates sympathy from this movement, and which leads anarchists, however much they condemn the social and economic factors behind the Kikuyu revolt, to feel that they must dissociate themselves from the crimes committed in the name of Mau Mau.

Now outright condemnation is a rather sterile activity. It is something one does less and less the more one understands the motivation and psychology behind the thing condemned. When one is content with the "explanation" that people are wicked one may be sure that one is being merely superficial. (It is one of the criticisms of religion that it is content with this failure of understanding.) It is therefore to the credit of the Parliamentary Delegation that, having expressed themselves as completely unable to understand the savagery and ritual obscenities of Mau Mau, they recommended that "an enquiry into all the aspects of Mau Mau, psychological and sociological, should be undertaken."

A very interesting attempt at psychological and anthropological explanation was given in a Third Programme talk by Max Gluckman under the significant title "The Magic of Despair" (this talk was printed in *The Listener*, 29/4/54). The main purpose of Max Gluckman's

talk was to dispel the widely held idea that Mau Mau represented a reversion to pagan religion. Right at the outset he declared, "it seems to me that Mau Mau has been produced by the colonization of Africa, and not by indigenous Africa itself."

He discusses the general function of a religion as to providing answers to certain questions regarding men's relationship with themselves and with their environment. In Africa where communities were small, these questions were answered on a small scale, and they did not embrace the situations which arose when white settlements arose: "Africa has now been swept into the western world. In both South and Eastern Africa tribesmen go to work for Europeans. Money, cash, crops and skills: all these and more involve them in relationships with other Africans and with Europeans. The old homogeneity of tribal life has gone. This has struck heavily at tribal religions. More, these small-scale religions cannot be expanded to cover relations with foreigners and strangers, whether they be black or white. Rituals rooted in particular institutions cannot easily cover alien institutions... (tribal religion) cannot cater for the new multifarious activities in which people deal with strangers. Hence African religions are helpless to aid people challenged by urbanization, by labour migration, by increased competition, by European overlordship."

In order to deal with these threats to their way of life, Africans turned increasingly to magic. "Only part of the answer to the problem of man's destiny, and the source of good and evil, fortune and misfortune, was provided by their religion. They also believed that individual misfortunes were due to the evil nature of fellow-men, witches and sorcerers, and they sought to combat these by magic."

Max Gluckman points out that reliance on magic has increased all over Africa as a result of colonisation. "These beliefs in witchcraft and magic, and their associated actions are not firmly tied to particular sets of relationships, as religious ritual is. They can be applied to all new relationships in which men are involved with strangers, and even whites; and they can be turned into old relationships, from which they were excluded in the past, as these began to break up. Struggles for increasingly scarce land, competition for jobs and houses in the towns, conflicts due to cultural disintegration, fights for power between old and new leaders—all these have loosed greed, envy, hatred, spite, in unrestrained relationships. Fears and accusations of witchcraft multiply in response, and medicine and fetish cults multiply to meet those fears."

These are the general results of the impact of white colonisation and the introduction of trade and the money system upon the static small-scale religious systems of Africa. When this process is seen against the particular background of Kenya one begins to envisage the processes that produced Mau Mau.

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Glimpse from another World

THE year is 1954, in the twentieth century. Queen Victoria has been dead for more than half a century. Full of years and reverence, Havelock Ellis and Sigmund Freud have been dead for more than a decade. The Kinsey research has proceeded for fifteen years already. But... the Pope exalts the spiritual value of chastity.

ROME, APRIL 30

The text is published to-day of an Encyclical entitled *De sacra virginitate*, addressed by the Pope to the Bishops throughout the world on March 25, the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, in which he deals with priestly celibacy and religious chastity.

"The Pope expresses concern at the errors which have become current in recent years on this subject, explains the

Roman Catholic doctrine on the superiority of this state in relation to that of marriage, and gives advice for the practice of perfect chastity, more especially by religious men and women, secular priests, and persons dedicated to works of charity in the world.

Early in the document the Pope emphasizes that to-day there are those who, contrary to the teachings of the Church, "exalt matrimony so highly as to put it before virginity," and scorn priestly celibacy and chastity dedicated to God. It is his duty, therefore, to "proclaim and defend the excellence of the gift of virginity."

SERVICE OF GOD

"After outlining the reasons which induce many to renounce the "legitimate pleasures" of matrimony and to embrace virginity for Christian and spiritual ends, the Pope explains that the Latin Church demands that its ministers should voluntarily accept perfect chastity in order that they may devote themselves entirely to the service of God. He does not wish, however, to ignore the merits of those who work within the Catholic Action movement, since by their works they "can even reach souls which priests and members of religious orders could not approach."

"The Pope rebuts the arguments of those who consider "the sexual instinct is the most important and greatest inclination of the human organism," and who conclude that "man cannot contain for the whole of his life such an instinct without serious danger of disturbing his organism, above all the nerves..." The guiding impulse of reason, he says, must "regulate such instincts."

"The Pope then condemns as a "dangerous error" the doctrine that matrimony can be an even more useful instrument than virginity for uniting souls to God on the ground that "Christian matrimony is a sacrament, whereas virginity is not."

"While not denying the good fruits of an exemplary Christian married life, the Pope says that this cannot be preferred to "total dedication to God." False, too, is the assertion that "persons dedicated to a life of perfect chastity become al-

most extraneous to society."

"The Pope also condemns the instruction by some parents and teachers of boys and girls in the "secrets of procreation in a way which offends their modesty." (*Times*, 1/5/54).

Marriage however is not without its champions although Mr. Justice Denning is tilting not at the Pope but at the adulterers and adulteresses in our midst.

LAX VIEWS ON ADULTERY

"A BAD STATE OF AFFAIRS"

Lord Justice Denning, at the conference of the National Association of Probation Officers at Harrogate yesterday, said that public opinion should condemn adultery. It was not the concern of the parties alone, but of the whole community, because it struck at the foundations of marriage.

"He feared that we had unfortunately reached a position where adultery, or infidelity or misconduct, as soft-spoken folk called it, was considered to be a matter of little moment."

"It is no bar to advancement in any of the offices of the State, high or low, whereas any other form of stealing would mean the end of a career. Friends and neighbours must take no notice of it; even the other spouse is often expected to forgive it. If she cannot come to forgive him she is herself for that reason said to be at fault. If she reproaches him for it she is accused of nagging, and may have to face a charge of cruelty to him."

"This is a thoroughly bad state of affairs, for which the law gives no sanction."

THE CHURCH'S ATTITUDE

"On the Church's attitude in divorce, Lord Justice Denning said: "I often wonder whether the Church is right to set its face against remarriage in the church after divorce. Anyone who has sat in the Divorce Court knows that there are a great many cases where one party is entirely innocent—for instance, cases during the war when the wife, while her husband was away on war service, went off with another man and had a family by him. If the innocent husband should afterwards meet an innocent girl, why

should not the two be married in church?"

"It would give them a much better start for their married life. Is the Church right to refuse it to them? By refusing, it turns them away from their religion, which could be their strength and stay when difficulties arise. Surely the Church itself should show mercy and permit remarriage."

"It was said that it was necessary for the Church to have a strict rule to maintain the sanctity of marriage. He would have thought the sanctity of marriage could have been best maintained by allowing remarriage only to an innocent party, and in order to ascertain innocence the Church could have done no other or better than follow the law of the land." (*Times*, 3/5/54).

Many people will feel themselves to be in a foreign land here. Reasonable people can work up little interest in the health of institutions such as Marriage and Chastity which so plainly fail to serve the creative happiness of men and women. Instead of bothering themselves with what men and women do to these institutions, they are concerned with what such institutions do to men and women.

This National Anthem Business

IT is not often that the quite inane custom of playing the National Anthem in cinemas and other public places is questioned by the long-suffering British public. Indeed we recall that the only signs of life on this subject during the past few years was a protest to the B.B.C. that the Third Programme did not play the anthem at the conclusion of each day's broadcasting. This was hastily rectified without any further discussion, so that now between 11 p.m. and midnight any patriotic listener can hear the anthem at least three times if he feels the need for such uplift.

Surprising therefore was it to find the following letter printed in Monday's *Evening Standard*:

"Why is the National Anthem played at theatres and cinemas at all?"

I have as much respect for the Crown as anybody; but I have never been able to fathom why I am supposed to stand up and affirm it publicly every time I go out for an evening's entertainment."

There speaks the voice of innocence. And in his simplicity the letter writer has uttered as profound a truth as the child in that fairy story of The Emperor's New Clothes when her small voice was heard through the paens of praise at the elegance of the Emperor's new clothes: "But the Emperor has no clothes on." And then suddenly it was realised that the child had said what they all believed but because of their conditioning could not bring themselves to say.

And so with this business of the National Anthem. It is certain that a short and sharp campaign would soon bring it to an end. (Certainly the cinema proprietors would not object. As it is they generally show their lack of patriotic fervour by only playing half the anthem on a very worn record). As we pointed out many years ago all the campaigning needed is for people to remain seated during the playing of the Anthem and just as most of them now stand because they see others doing so, in future they might remain seated for the same reason!

THE ANARCHISTS IN RUSSIA

THE anarchist point of view, and the part played by anarchists in the Russian revolution, have in the past been insufficiently documented. The majority of the anarchist militants who actually played a part in the events of 1917 and the subsequent years never came out of Russia; they died violently and quickly at the hands of the Cheka or perished more slowly in prison or labour camps, and it is very unlikely indeed if any of them survive to-day. Whatever their fate, there was no chance within Russia to express their point of view, and since the final suppression in 1921 of all and every means of libertarian propaganda anarchism has been presented to the Russians in such a way as to suit the interests of the governing Bolshevik (or later Communist) Party. Needless to say, this presentation has been so distorted as to bear little relationship to the truth, and the followers of Stalin and Trotsky have united in trying to justify their own suppression of anarchism by calumniously portraying it as a movement of counter-revolution and banditry.

In fact, the counter-revolution came from the Bolsheviks themselves, who had no sooner established their power after the October revolution of 1917 than they began the construction of a totalitarian State and the systematic suppression of every form of opposition, no matter whether reformist or revolutionary in character. They attacked not only the anarchists, but also the Mensheviks and their own former allies in the October Revolution, the Left Social-Revolutionaries. They slaughtered the sailors of Kronstadt, whom a few months before they had hailed as the "pride of the revolution", and they began, only a short while after their own accession to power, to systematically destroy the movement among the peasants which sought to implement the promises of the distribution of land on which the Communists had ridden to power. With bitter doctrinaire Marxism, they tried to create a society in which the country would be subordinated to urban centralisation and the peasant would be made into the slave of industry. And in all this Trotsky was as malevolently active as either Lenin or Stalin. Indeed, it was he who, despite the pious protests of his later years, acted as the chief and most bloodthirsty hunter of heretics during the persecution of the anarchists and the various other minority groups from 1917 until his own fall from grace.

A few of the anarchists who managed to escape from Russia have told parts of the story of their movement. Nestor Makhno and Peter Archinov described the events in the Ukraine, Maximoff, in *The Guillotine at Work*, documented the persecution of anarchists in Russia, and both Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman gave accounts of their own im-

pressions, which are necessarily incomplete because they themselves actually stood outside the active anarchist movement during almost the whole of their time in Russia after the Revolution.

But, so far as I know, the only book which attempts a complete survey of anarchist and quasi-anarchist activities during the revolution, including such events as the Kronstadt rising and the Makhnovist movement in the Ukraine, is a book called *La Revolution Inconnue*, which was written by the Russian anarchist Voline, and was published in Paris in 1947. A translation of this lengthy work (the French version has almost seven hundred pages) has been prepared in the United States; and is to be published in two volumes, and the first of these, bearing the title *Nineteen-Seventeen*, has just been published through the collaboration of Freedom Press in England and the Libertarian Book Club in New York.

Voline, whose real name was Vsevolod Mikhailovich Eichenbaum and who, having survived the German occupation of France in hiding, died in Paris in 1945, was helped in his task by a wide personal experience of the events he described. He was editing a Russian emigré paper in New York, devoted to anarcho-syndicalist propaganda and called *Golos Truda*, when the revolution of March, 1917, took place in Russia. Immediately he and his collaborators transferred their paper to Russia and started work in Petrograd, where he was at the time of the October Revolution. Later he went to Kharkov to help organise the Anarchist Federation of the Ukraine, and afterwards was a member of the Propaganda Commission attached to Makhno's Insurrectionary Army and took an active part in some of the most spectacular campaigns of that movement. He had also been in close touch with the sailors of Kronstadt and with the anarchist movement in Moscow, and, last but

by no means least, he knew the methods of the Cheka and the inside of Bolshevik prisons, thanks to several periods in gaol. Once he was actually sentenced to death by the orders of Trotsky and escaped only by chance; his last term of imprisonment came to an end in 1921 thanks to the protests of delegates at the Red Trade Union International Congress of that year, owing to whose intervention he and a few other Russian anarchists were deported from their own country.

This wealth of personal experience was clearly great use to Voline in the preparation of his work, for the very circumstances of the suppression of anarchism in Russia have made documents of its history somewhat incomplete, and a comprehensive direct knowledge of the situation was therefore an invaluable guide.

The sections of Voline's book which deal with the Kronstadt uprising and the Makhnovist movement in the Ukraine have been left for the second volume which will be published shortly. The material in *Nineteen-Seventeen* consists of a general survey of the Russian revolution, its nature and its course. Voline shows its basically popular original character and the way in which it was perverted by the various politicians, from Kerensky to Lenin, to suit their own aims. He analyses the reasons for the failure of Kerensky and the reformist socialists, and for the rise of the Bolsheviks, and demonstrates how little the Russian masses were actually aware of the dangers into which their trust in the Bolsheviks was thrusting them. He shows how far the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which gave the Ukraine to Germany, demonstrated the tendencies of the Bolsheviks towards authoritarian government and thus heralded the failure of the revolution.

He follows this with a number of chapters dealing with the activity of the

anarchists both before and after October, their attitude towards the Bolsheviks, their press and the series of suppressions by which their movement was destroyed between 1917 and 1921. Finally, he analyses the nature of the Communist State which emerged after the final consolidation of Bolshevik power.

The last part, on the Communist State after 1921, does not contain a great deal that is new either in argument or information. It puts forward, capably, but with little original material, the case against the Bolsheviks which was argued by other libertarian writers like Marie Louise Berneri and Anton Ciliga. But where Voline does present new material and valuable personal views is in his discussion of the revolution itself and the activities of the anarchists therein, and for this alone his book is well worth reading, since it contains material that is unobtainable elsewhere. And, while the publication of the second volume with its accounts of Kronstadt and of the Ukraine is certainly an event to be looked forward to, *Nineteen Seventeen* is complete in itself and should form a part of the library of any libertarian who is interested in either the history of anarchism or the history of the Russian revolution. You may not agree with every point of view that Voline expresses—I cannot say that I do myself—but the book rests on its factual and historical content far more than on its opinions, and it seems to me that the main outlines of Voline's description of the failure of the revolution are so well supported by his evidence as to be irrefutable.

Voline was not an elegant writer in the literary sense. His work had a kind of prolixity which one usually sees in German academic writings, and the present volume might have been improved by a certain amount of condensation. But this defect in style certainly does not prevent it from being a very important addition to libertarian literature.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

Film Review Piano, Ma Non Troppo

THE 5000 Fingers of Dr. T" at Studio One is one of the best anti-educational films to come our way yet. But the "message" is not obtrusive, and in this science-fiction musical Stanley Kramer has succeeded in giving us some good satire and some good entertainment.

Ten-year-old Bart Collins (Tommy Rettig), whose mother (Mary Healy) has perhaps taken to heart FREEDOM's views on musical education, has been condemned to learn the piano. He would much rather play baseball or go fishing with Mr. Zabladowski, the plumber (Peter Lind Hayes); but instead he has to grind away at the keyboard under the supervision of Dr. Terwilliker, his music teacher (Hans Conried). In Mr. Zabladowski's opinion Dr. Terwilliker is a phoney whose only interest in the music racket is the cash he can get out of it.

Practising the piano can be very boring if you would rather be playing baseball, and it is not surprising that Bart should fall asleep and dream. In his dream the situation is modulated into the key of fantasy, and the action moves to the Terwilliker Institute, which resembles the average boarding-school except that its architecture is a good deal better and its guards somewhat less sadistic than most boarding-school masters, even if they are equipped with ray-guns.

At first sight the music-room looks like the ritzier sort of milk bar, but on closer inspection we notice that the stools are arranged at an enormously long curved piano keyboard built to accommodate 500 players. It is here that Dr. Terwilliker proposes to conduct his 500 pupils in a performance of his masterpiece, "Ten Little Dancing Maidens, Ten Little Happy Fingers".

It soon becomes clear to us that Dr. Terwilliker is either a paranoiac or a too-conscious egoist. His instrument is the piano, and his aim in life is a world fit for piano-players to live in. To this end he has already incarcerated a number of players of other instruments in his dungeons and hopes eventually to get them all there. One sees him strutting around in a uniform that makes the late Benito Mussolini and Herman Göring look like a couple of exceptionally ill-clad tramps, in a brilliant caricature of leaders and leadership.

There is an element of surrealism in the film reminiscent of "Hellzapoppin" and impossibilities of the kind normally attempted only in cartoons are freely used.

Some of the satire may be lost on those who have never sat through a science-fiction serial, but even these deprived movie-goers will be able to appreciate the parodies of some of the more lush American school songs. And I hope that all libertarians will approve the sentiments in the song "Just because you're big and strong . . . you have no right to push little kids around". The music (by Frederick Hollander) could not be called inspired, but the lyrics are a great improvement on the usual banalities.

Our experts on sexual matters will no doubt be interested in the science-fiction equivalent of the chastity belt, the "lock-me-tight", in which Dr. T. imprisons Bart's mother so that Mr. Zabladowski shall not get at her.

After an appropriately atomic ending to the fantasy we find that the situation we started with seems all set to work out happily for everyone (except, possibly, Dr. T.).

The colour (by Technicolor) is good but unimaginative.

It is an excellent film for children of all ages, and I commend it to those readers who believe that revolution begins in the nursery.

EDWIN PEEKE.

American Capitalism

AMERICAN CAPITALISM, by John Kenneth Galbraith. (Hamish Hamilton, London).

MORE than an analysis of U.S. economics as indicated by the subtitle, this study by John Kenneth Galbraith, Professor of Economics at Harvard, is an explanation of the depression psychosis which is afflicting American politicians, businessmen, economists, and readers of the press. The fear of depression, and some of its remedies, do not come from actual economic facts, but, as the author contends, from the application to them of antiquated economic theories. These theories are those based on the classical competitive model, and in particular on Say's law: that the aggregate of demand for all goods must always equal their supply. Thanks to the acceptance of this law the capitalist was relieved of all moral scruples, and economic power was not only considered in no way harmful to anybody, but it was also denied that any person or firm could wield it to any significant extent. No human being was held responsible for poverty, unemployment and exploitation, but the blame, if it could be called blame, fell on impersonal and ineluctable economic laws. The hypocrisy of economic archism is well exposed in the following passage: "The head of a large corporation cannot concede that either he or his firm are possessors of any significant power . . . The competitive model made the firm and its head the automatons of market forces; it is natural that all should stick to the familiar defence. Moreover, any admission by the businessman himself that he has substantial economic power is certain to have uncomfortable consequences. Given the conviction that no man has the right to any control over the prices, wages, wealth or income of a fellow citizen, to admit possession of power is to concede guilt. For any one businessman to make such a concession is to invite the attention of the public and perhaps of the Department of Justice to his firm as a special case" (p. 63).

To show that U.S. economics do not fit the classical pattern is not a difficult task. One has only to recall the business prestige and size of such concerns as General Motors, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Du Pont and the United States Steel Corporation. "A recent investigation by the Federal Trade Commission shows, for the year 1947, that the 113 largest manufacturing corporations owned forty-six per cent. of the property, plant and equipment employed in manufacturing" (p. 41). Thence the impor-

ance of the concept of oligopoly introduced by Professor E. H. Chamberlin of Harvard University and Mrs. Joan Robinson of Cambridge University. Under oligopoly, that is a market dominated by a few powerful corporations, a convention is established which outlaws the use of prices as a weapon of competitive warfare. Instead of price competition, which is reciprocally destructive, oligopolists compete by advertising, salesmanship and technical development, which are by far safer methods.



THE Marxist theory of progressive concentration given by Lenin as the last phase of capitalism is not quite confirmed, however, by the present American picture. The point most stressed by Galbraith in this book is that although a capitalist system is of necessity unstable there is no reason to anticipate its breakdown in the near future, and there are indeed several reasons for its lasting indefinitely. By intelligently

applying the Keynesian formula, increased government expenditures or decreased taxation in times of depression will cause or allow an increase in demand, while a tendency towards increasing prices and wages will be checked by higher taxes and lower government expenditures. In this way the two inner threats to a capitalist system, unemployment and inflation, will not be allowed to materialize to any dangerous proportions. As a contribution of his own, and mainly to account for the post-war economic prosperity and efficiency in the U.S., Galbraith introduces the concept of 'countervailing power'. By this term he means restraints on private power nurtured by the same process of concentration which impaired or destroyed competition, and appearing on the customers' or suppliers' side of the market. Thus "the long trend towards concentration of industrial enterprise in the hands of a relatively few firms has brought into existence not only strong sellers, as

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WAITING FOR GILIAN

"WAITING FOR GILLIAN", the new play by Ronald Millar, adapted from the novel by Nigel Balchin, "A Way through the Wood", is well constructed and thought-provoking; it is concerned, unlike most of the plays of the present day, with the really serious problems of our lives; although the dialogue and development of character are occasionally inadequate, we are always interested to know what is going to happen next.

Jill Manning is a wife whose life in the country is an aimless round of pleasure; she is bored and unsatisfied, as she has nothing to interest her while her husband, a very conventional, successful, law-abiding company director, with complete confidence in the beauty and excellence of bourgeois society, and his own place and achievements in it, who dominates her mind and her will, is away in the city. They have been married for eleven years, but they do not really know each other; the wife has a hopeless feeling that she cannot cope with her husband's moral superiority.

Like most decent middle-class citizens, he is very industrious and yet does not spend his time well, he is warped and narrowed by accustoming himself to hypocrisy and a lying double-faced morality, he does not worship truth, but the reflection of truth. "Business" is the bourgeois' god, his absolute. He lives

through the ready-made, and he acquires nothing through a creative spiritual power. His faith calls forth no higher spiritual energy but is necessary for promoting worldly success.

When their maid's husband is run over by a car, James Manning is anxious to assist the police to discover the person responsible. He suspects his neighbour, the Hon. William Bule, a good-natured rake, who defines a boulder as "someone whose weaknesses are different from one's own." People are fond of calling each other selfish; but selfish really means to be devoid of consideration for the selfishness of others.

Manning forces the truth from Bule, whom he insists must tell the police, as the man he ran over has since died. If Bule doesn't, then he will. Bule promises to, although he asks what good it will do if he is sent to prison, this piece of bad luck has caused enough unhappiness already. But Manning says it isn't a question of what he wants, or Bule wants, but of "common justice". He is obsessed by that absurd abstraction, the law.

The first act has a very effective curtain speech; the wife confesses that she was with Bule when the accident happened, and what's more she was driving it. The husband is now not prepared to risk having her imprisoned, and, al-

though Bule offers to take the blame, they decide to keep silent about the whole thing.

His self-assumed duty to society conflicts with his desire to protect his wife. Bule comments that being a good citizen makes things so much more complicated for you than if you don't bother about duties and responsibilities. "Here we are, three babes in the wood, each of us in search of a way to salvation." Jill has been Bule's mistress for some months, and, after a quarrel with her husband, for whom she has lost respect through his compromising by lying to the police, she goes away with Bule.

But she is unhappy and disturbed by being caught in this web of concealment, and comes back to expiate her guilt; she

Continued on p. 3

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WE ARE ALL HANGMEN

"Sydney Dernley, aged 33, a colliery maintenance worker and assistant public hangman, was sentenced at Nottinghamshire quarter sessions yesterday to six months' imprisonment, was fined £50, and was ordered to pay £25 costs after pleading Guilty to 10 charges of publishing obscene books and photographs by running a circulating library.

"Dernley was said to have advertised for an old-type hangman's rope and offered in exchange an antique whip."

THE above quotation appeared under the headlines "Obscene Books and Photographs—Assistant Hangman Sent to Prison" in the *Times* of April 28th. To a modern mind the association here will not seem surprising, for few people can speculate on the hangman's attitude to his work without feeling that the execution of condemned felons is not a possible employment for a normal person.

FREEDOM has often discussed the death penalty, and it has not seemed unsuitable to describe this punishment as *obscene*. And not only is the scene in the execution chamber obscene, but the attitude of the crowd at the gates, or of the mass readers who consume the Sunday papers' revelations about the condemned man or woman. The whole business provides an outlet for feelings the beholding of which provokes an uncomfortable sensation in normal people. One feels oneself to be in the half-stifled world of the obsessional unconscious.

No doubt there was a time when men were more inured to a callous attitude to human life, and when a religious attitude towards "wickedness" excluded sympathy for the condemned. But that time was centuries ago, and official recognition of the obscenity of public execution caused its abolition a hundred years ago.

This brings us to the question, can society, or the State, retain officially an office which requires almost of necessity an abnormal person to perform it? Can it do so, that is, and retain a sense of ethics. Of course, such questions are purely rhetorical, for the answer can only be no.

It may be objected that the death penalty is an exceptional case and represents a compromise of necessity in dealing with the problem of murder. Those who have examined the arguments against the death penalty will not easily accept such an objection. Indeed, one often feels that the arguments of those who favour its retention are only thinly disguised rationalizations of the same scarcely creditable unconscious longings which may fairly be called obscene. The fact is that to carry out such an office, the State must call on an individual, from whom normal people shrink, and whose attitude to the office required of him can only be tolerated by an abnormal outlook.

But the question is much wider than simply that of filling the office of public hangman. If one transfers the discussion from the negative one of what society ought not to do to that of what a good society should do, one can say that public offices should attract the best kind of men and should be of such a nature as to bring out the best in them. Public work should bring with it the satisfaction of "a good job well done". By such a test our society scores hopelessly low marks for public work is, typically, bureaucratic. The very term *official* implies activity from which all human and humane attributes have been drained away. Far from attracting the best and enhancing the humane attributes of an individual, "official" duties attract

Behind Soviet Foreign Policy

NOW that the Geneva conference is gloomily under way, most people will have already forgotten the farce which took place at Berlin a few months ago.

Some political commentators, in Britain at any rate, have led us to believe that the possibility of war has receded as a result of the Berlin conference. If the likelihood of war has been postponed, we can be sure that the policy makers in the Kremlin and the West did not come to their decisions at Berlin, but merely made public policies which had been formed in secret long beforehand.

The same holds for the conclusions which will be conveyed to us after Geneva, and one does not even have to search beyond the headlines for evidence of this. The statements made by the American Secretary of State on Indo-China, an important item on the agenda at Geneva, indicates clearly enough where America stands.

It is not therefore to the conferences that one must look for a guide to policy, but to events which lead up to them.

To return to Berlin then, an interesting series of articles by Isaac Deutscher published by the *Manchester Guardian* on Soviet foreign policy throws some light on the not-too-obvious moves often made by the Soviet Union.

Two of Deutscher's main points which we will deal with here concern the possibility of a Russian withdrawal from East Germany and her opposition to West German rearmament. He commences his series by commenting on how the results of the Berlin conference were conveyed to the peoples of Russia and Britain. The Soviet people were told that the deadlock was due to the refusal of the West to consider any of the Soviet proposals. On the other side, *vice-versa*. These tactics of putting the blame on the 'enemy' are not new, but it is astonishing considering our comparatively free press*, how Governments issue these simple stories and expect people to believe them. It seems that they either depend on people not reading the full report of events or their being too disinterested to follow them thoroughly. The unfortunate truth is that the majority of people are so confused that it is easier to accept that it is all the fault of the 'other side'.

Ideology Does not Govern Policy

Deutscher continues, making a point which anarchists have always stressed, without necessarily applying it only to Russia, namely, that within the framework of a fundamentally different attitude towards the West "Russian rulers can pursue the most divergent policies; and it is on those policies, as well as on

*For a first-hand description of the Soviet Government's ability to suppress news, see *The Yogi & The Commissar*, by Arthur Koestler.

the colourless, the dried-up life-denying individual whose attitude of playing safe is the very antithesis of the expansive warm activities which draw admiration in life and imagination.

The guards at Belsen and Buchenwald, the officers of secret police organizations are plainly recruited from the ranks of psychologically abnormal persons, and the office they perform obviously enhances their abnormality. The society that employs them therefore must bear a very large part of the guilt for their activities. But only a difference in degree separates these people from those other State employees who deal, unmoved, with human misery: policemen, prison officials, labour exchange and assistance board officials. People whose job it is to act as intermediary between the cold machinery of the State and the individual in trouble or misfortune. Who cannot see that such employment attracts a certain type and that the job itself must make the individual performing it callous, inhuman, if only to protect himself from sharing in sympathy the human misery that flows through his hands. The brutalizing of such people—for that is what it comes to—is the responsibility of the State, no less than in the case of the public hangman. It is therefore also the responsibility of society which permits the State to claim to act in its name. The good society must free itself from all such offices with their power to perpetuate, to create, evil.

the policies of the West, and not on fundamental ideology, that peace and war depend." He illustrates his point by reference to the devastating wars between Catholic and Protestant Powers, and then to their long spells of peace "without ever revising their theological notions at the transition from one state to another".

His observations on the East German revolt of June 1953 are worth considering. He points out that all events before that date indicated that the stage was being prepared for a Soviet withdrawal from East Germany. After June 16th, plans for this were immediately abandoned resulting in a consolidation of the Pieck-Ulbricht régime. The Russians reasoned that if they continued with their plans to withdraw from Germany, it would have been taken all over Eastern Europe, as well as in the West, as a sign of weakness. The American broadcasting stations were calling on the people of Eastern Europe 'to rise', which would have meant support for uprisings in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Bulgaria and the Ukraine. It was therefore necessary that they should remain in Germany so as not to give the impression that they had been routed. This was rather different from the effects of the revolt of June 16th as expected by most Western observers. Deutscher stresses that it would be a mistake to conclude however that Soviet diplomacy is playing from a position of weakness. He makes this point for several reasons.

A Formidable Alliance

The formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, which stretches from Norway to Turkey, has, to some extent been "counterbalanced by the Communist victory in China, by some consolidation of the Communist régimes in Eastern Europe" and the fact that the manpower reserves of the Soviet bloc have been nearly trebled. Thus Russia has not the burden of maintaining military forces on her Far Eastern frontiers.

Further, he says that the Soviet rulers envisage that in about ten years time, China, with the tremendous aid given to her industrial growth by the Soviet Union will make a formidable alliance. This seems quite possible, but it is just as likely that after China has benefited from Russian aid, she will no longer be interested in such an alliance.

However, all this is in the future, and too many changes can take place in the life of political allegiances for us to do anything but speculate about the future. We have never regarded ourselves as prophets, but as anarchists with a little knowledge of political history, we can safely prophesy that the allies of to-day can be the enemies of to-morrow.

Against the background outlined, and the ability of the Soviet Union to produce Hydrogen weapons, Deutscher suggests that Molotov's alarm at the Berlin conference over German rearmament was a little hard to believe. A consideration of Russia's industrial and man

power ("Russia's aggregate industrial capacity is now between two and a half and three times as large as Germany")—makes it quite clear that even a unified Germany 'armed to the teeth' cannot constitute an independent threat to the Soviet Union.

Benefits of German Rearmament

What really causes headaches in the Kremlin is the might of the American military power, and her bases surrounding the Soviet Union. Deutscher writes: "Paradoxically, a revived Wehrmacht may well be expected in Moscow to help in speeding up an American withdrawal from Europe. From the Russian viewpoint this might be the redeeming feature of Germany's rearmament by the West. They hold that once Germany's armed forces are reconstituted Western Germany will cease to be a well-behaved, democratic, and European-minded adherent to the Atlantic block. Rearmed, she will aspire to play an independent rôle. Only then, Moscow apparently hopes, will the real contradiction between Germany and the West come to the surface; and only then will it be possible for Western Germany to resume a policy of balancing between East and West and of bargaining with both. Once the bargaining begins, Germany may be even more eager to make deals with Russia than with the West, because she will be more afraid of Russia, and Russia may have more to offer in territorial adjustments, concessions, and trade. Thus it may be that only a Germany rearmament by the West can become the neutral buffer that Mr. Molotov wishes her to be."

(Our italics).

One of the main propaganda themes of British and European communists is opposition to rearmament of Western Germany. If, as has been suggested by Deutscher, the Soviet Union has nothing to lose by a revived Wehrmacht, we can be prepared for a dying out of the present noisy campaign.

The point of an economically strong Germany trading with the East (they have already started) has been made in FREEDOM, and has been advanced as the most important reason for the British Government's acceptance of German rearmament. Thus if Germany is carrying some of the military burden she will be

less of a threat to British markets. If however, one accepts Deutscher's interpretation of Soviet policy, which seems very likely, even this is no safeguard for Britain against German competition.

Economic Division—or Unity Through Fear?

The point is that in a capitalist society there comes a time when events can no longer be determined by even a simple application of capitalist formulae, and no political chicanery can reverse a situation already out of hand. Britain's only hope it would seem is to come to terms with Russia first.

This series of essays concludes by an interpretation of Soviet policy determined by an expected economic crisis in the West. This expectation is partly genuine, based on a Marxist analysis of economics, and partly fake for home consumption. Thus in 1946 Professor Eugene Varga was denounced because he foolishly maintained that a slump in the West was not yet in sight. The policy of the Government in Russia was to distract attention from their domestic crisis by pointing to the greater calamities of the West, which at that time did not exist because of the post-war boom on capital and consumer goods.

Nevertheless under serious consideration in the Kremlin as a guide to foreign policy is that the "West's productive forces . . . have once again outstripped the absorptive capacity of the world's markets." So, they reason, in time of crisis economic and nationalist interests may well divide the Western Powers. In case however, the fear of communism proves to be a greater unifying force, Soviet Policy has been devised to lessen anti-Soviet sentiments in the West.

Deutscher cites as proof of this the Korean armistice, the avoidance of an aggravation of the German issue and readiness to discuss the problem of Indo-China. The recent moves made by Russia just before the Geneva conference in joining two U.N. organisations which she had hitherto cold-shouldered gives weight to this argument.

In conclusion Deutscher points out that in the long run the success or failure of Soviet Foreign Policy will depend on the stability of the Government and the support it gets from the people.

R.M.

American Capitalism Continued from p. 2

economists have supposed, but also strong buyers as they have failed to see" (p. 118). The same process of concentration elicited in the labour market the countervailing power of trade unions. Trade union leadership, whether American or British, is well aware that a rise in wages can only be obtained with impunity when the increased production costs can be passed on into higher prices on sale, giving capitalists a further opportunity to reap profits. If an increase of wages should press too much upon industrial capacity the result would be a loss in production volume, and therefore unemployment. Thus in the modern capitalist system trade unionism and management, far from being irreconcilable enemies, are united in securing higher returns at the consumers' expense, a fact that is not overly disturbed by an occasional trial of strength between them over the division of profits.

Another point of interest to be gleaned from Galbraith's book is that the Great Depression of the thirties disappeared in the great mobilization of the forties, and that a serious depression after 1945 was never possible partly as a result of continuing high military expenditure. Also, as the United States proceed to higher levels of well-being there is a steady retreat from social experiment. The State, on the other hand, has developed and exercises a function which is perhaps its most important one during peace time: that is the support of countervailing power such as it has given to organized labour through the Wagner Act, to unorganized workers by a minimum wage legislation, and to farmers by providing price guarantees through government subsidies, purchases and loans.

★

THE emotional condemnation of the State on the part of anarchists is necessary and distinctive, but to be effective and to gain ground, especially in a country where reason and fair judgment are always required, at least as a façade, it must be supplemented by an ideological condemnation, and this must be based on factual knowledge of the modern State and its functions. It is particularly important not to confuse the State with social functions most of which it has usurped in order to justify its existence, and a few it had to take over in order to preserve it. Some of these fall under the heading of countervailing power, and until a practical and con-

vincing formula has been found by anarchists that will do away with all economic power, provisions must be made to check it by countervailing power of some sort, and it is quite on the cards that the experience and techniques evolved by the modern State in the exercise of this function will be found most useful and instructive by anarchists contemplating a society without State.

The purpose of reviewing a book like this one by Galbraith is simply to call attention to present-day economic and State reality, which is not only considerably different from the one the great exponents of anarchist thought had under their eyes, but also contains social and economic complexities which will most probably survive under an anarchist dispensation after the fall of Statism and capitalism.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI

Waiting for Gillian

Continued from p. 2

tells the police about the accident. The last scene of the play is in a café. Manning is waiting for his wife: she is to be released from prison that morning. He has grown more sympathetic and understanding, and they are no longer strangers to each other, but he cannot persuade her to return to him.

She says that she must find herself first. As she is leaving the café, it is beginning to rain. He offers her his umbrella, the habitual carriage of which is the stamp of respectability. She smiles, but says: "No, I shall like the rain," and the curtain falls. We feel that the rain symbolises freedom, that she no longer looks to him to make up her mind for her in all matters great and small.

Google Withers acts excellently, especially in this last scene. John McCallum skilfully retains our interest and our sympathy as the husband, who is rather a priggish bore, but is never intentionally unkind. D.M.M.

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A Minor Skirmish in the Sex-War

ONE of the great tragedies of the money system and private property is that it divides man from man, making purely artificial distinctions where none would exist in nature. There are natural divisions between men enough as it is. Men are divided against each other by differences in temperament, intelligence and interests, and it is just impossible for some people to like other people who for some reason possess characteristics that result in mutual antagonism. A social system based on power, which in turn is based on property, introduces a whole fresh lot of distinctions that help to make social life abominably difficult for everybody. But the worst form that this takes is the antagonism that our system creates between men and women.

One begins to despair when one reads this sort of thing.

"Women's equal pay demands are described as a threat to family life at the conference of the National Association of Schoolmasters which ended at Porthcawl, Glam., yesterday.

"By a unanimous vote a resolution was passed reaffirming unqualified opposition to equal pay. The claimants were referred to as 'selfish career women taking advantage of a delicate political balance.'

"The resolution, moved by Mr. E. Rushworth, the association's treasurer, expressed the belief that the rights of the family should be upheld. It called on the Government, the political parties and responsible organisations to consider this question and its implications with a view to amending their policy on equal pay, to avoid injustice to the family."

Mr. Rushworth, of the Calder and Ryburn Schoolmasters' Association, Yorkshire, said that arguments having failed, the feminists had turned to the technique of the pressure group and the ceaseless claim of the slogan shouters.

The demand for equal pay threatened the earnings of the husbands of those women who did not go out to work. There were 250,000 single women who earned £4 to every £5 men earned. They were the best paid quarter of a million women in Britain . . ."

(Daily Telegraph, 24/4/54).

It usually happens that cats get let out of bags sooner or later. We may be sure that those in power, "the Government, the political parties and responsible (?) organisations" are opposed in fact to equal pay. The usual line they take is that though they favour it in practice it is not possible to introduce it. There can also be no doubt that if the feminists were to take suffragette action, as some have threatened, there "responsible" people would suddenly find that it was possible after all. However, it does not do to adopt the attitude that women should not have equal pay and there's an end of the matter. But in these matters there are always a handful of diehards who have the courage of their convictions, and who have the knack of popping up at just the wrong moment and saying bluntly what all the others of their camp think but dare not put into words.

These enfants terribles are exceedingly interesting to revolutionaries and reformers. They show us what we are up against, and prevent false optimism. In this case moreover they show us the real reasons why women's equal pay claims are rejected so persistently. The simple fact is that the men who oppose equal pay do so because they want to keep the women down. The economic arguments are a blind, to a large extent, to mislead the public, and perhaps the anti-feminists themselves as well. It is rather like the banning of coloured people from living in Australia, even when married to Australian citizens. This also is a mainly psychological problem disguised behind economic arguments that fool both the layman and also the person who puts them forward. Most people nowadays are ashamed of appearing in the rôle of reactionaries even to their secret selves.

The inferior status of women arose as a result of many different factors. Probably we do not know them all. However, it does seem likely that the development of the concept of private property had a good deal to do with it, although other factors were at work as well, most likely, helping to speed the process. The end-product has been a series of societies all over the world, in which the antagonism of the sexes has been in varying degrees and ways a most important factor in social life. Its effects have been felt in the tendency of keeping the sexes apart, thus making youngsters shy and difficult when the time comes for them to mate, even though this is done with social approval. It thus leads to continual misunderstandings and makes a union between a man and a woman fraught with needless difficulties. Since the man is always the dominant sex, in theory at least, the attitude of the woman is that of a slave before his master. This may lead to attempts, often successful, to trick the man, to bully him when he shows himself too weaknatured to resist or retaliate, and the general result is that the sexes, instead of co-operating in love and comradeship, are always suspicious of each other: the woman feels always, even if only a little bit, inferior, while the man feels an uneasy need to stress his own superiority and masculinity the whole time.

This is not to say, as I have heard it said, that a real companionship between a man and a woman is impossible. Far from it. The need for each other is so strong in the two that they will do all they can to achieve such a relationship. And they often succeed. But many fail, and if one doubts it one has only to look at the statistics of divorce cases, and at popular humour (that great guide to what people really think—just see how it portrays women and men in a state of continual hostility). As you would expect in a man-ruled society (officially one at least), the women are more often shown in an unfavourable light than men.

This all comes out in the schoolmasters' infamous resolution. The pay

demands made by the women mean in effect that women will no longer be dependent on their husbands, or even less dependent than they already are. If a woman cannot make a success of her union she will find it even easier than before to walk off and fend for herself. Daughters too will be able to get away from their fathers. A man can hardly control "his womenfolk" if he does not hold the purse strings.

It is easy to see how the independent woman is emotionally equated with the "immoral" one. Else why this blast of fury in the phrase "selfish career women"? How can one explain an attack so disproportionately savage, except by saying that it means, if it means anything at all, that a woman who supports herself is no better than a prostitute?

And yet in a way one must agree with the schoolmasters. For the increasing independence of women does in fact mean the end of the kind of family they favour. It means the end of the kind of compulsive family usually known as Victorian, though the Victorians were not the only offenders in this respect. It means the end of the family dominated by the husband and father. It means that a new, and possibly less permanent, union is taking its place, though of course many free unions last for the lifetime of the partners.

"The demand for equal pay threatens the earnings of the husbands of those women who did not go out to work . . ." I don't understand what this means. In the past employers were wont to sack men and take on women, because they could pay them less for the same work. Men were often much afraid of losing their jobs to women, and this no doubt kept anti-feminist feelings alive among the workers, thus dividing the proletariat and hampering it in its struggle to emancipate itself. However, I suppose this is all ancient history, and the laws of economics are different in the teaching profession.

Is it not perhaps that in our society, as Margaret Mead suggests, men have a tendency to associate their ability to support their families from their own earnings with their validity as men, and even with their sexual potency? In some head-hunting tribes men cannot marry till they have killed an enemy in battle and taken his head. "If a man has not taken a life how can he give a life?" Many men lost their faith in themselves when unemployment became widespread, and the situation was not eased when they found that their wives and daughters could still obtain work, and indeed ended by reversing "the natural order" of things by supporting their lords and masters. During the great social changes that convulsed Chinese society in recent years fathers of families sometimes found themselves dependent on the earnings of their daughters, who took advantage of the situation to emancipate themselves from the old man's authority. For a man brought up according to Confucian principles this situation was about as humiliating as it well could be.

That there are 250,000 single women earning £4 to every £5 earned by men

First Night at the Malatesta Club!

MAY 1st, appropriately, saw the inauguration of a new anarchist club, with premises conveniently placed in the centre of London. Such a venture makes one reflect that it is over 40 years since the last anarchist club flourished in London. The last one was the Jubilee Street Club which closed its doors as a repercussion of the so-called battle of Sydney Street. It was said to have been frequented by the shadowy individual known as Peter the Painter, but this whole episode has been so thoroughly wrapped in penny dreadful colours that it is difficult to know what the Jubilee Street Club was like or what function it performed for the movement in London. What we do know is that it existed at a period when the Jewish anarchist movement in the East End was particularly active and exerted considerable influence.

It seems likely that the desire for a social centre for anarchists reflects also the increased activity and influence of anarchism which has made itself felt in this country since the Spanish Revolution. Despite various setbacks during and since the war the influence of anarchism on contemporary thought in all levels of society has regained some of the ground lost during the years between the wars and is once again a force which is at least perceptible. No doubt the need for the new Malatesta Club reflects this position which the movement has regained.

Anarchism has always stood out from the merely political movements in the breadth of its outlook and interests. It is a movement which attracts very varied types of people, and the integration of its various currents requires continual discussion for they can never be hardened into simple dogma. For many years the need for a centre for such informal discussion has been felt in London and the new Club will fill this need admirably.

Already, at the informal inauguration of the Club on the evening of May Day when some fifty-odd members and guests attended, there were many meetings of old acquaintances whom the

seems to me to be one of those typical irrelevancies that reactionaries love to throw out to fog the issue. To say that they are "the best paid quarter of a million women in Britain" proves just nothing at all, except that women are not paid enough, which is not what the speaker intended.

An analysis of this silly piece of prejudice might seem a waste of time to some, but to me it seems that we should realise that the battle for sex-equality is far from being won. I should imagine that the National Association of Schoolmasters is a fairly influential body, and also that it represents the opinions of the majority of the older generation of schoolmasters. I should think that it has a good deal of importance and power, and is not to be regarded as a collection of cranks who can safely be ignored. The oldest war in the world, the struggle between the sexes, still continues. It is as well that we should realise this.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

passage of years had separated. Appropriately, too, many nationalities were represented. The atmosphere was friendly, warm and expectant, auguring well for the future development of the Club. (The refreshments too augured well for the quality of the fare to be available there!)

At the close of the evening, Philip Sansom, in a short speech, outlined the teething problems of the Club, and the hopes and ambitions of its initial promoters. Donald Room then called for a vote of thanks to Philip Sansom as the prime mover and organizer during the very difficult problems of bringing it to birth, and this was accorded with warmth and acclaim, after which, cheerfully but reluctantly the meeting (should one say, the reunion?) broke up.



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A Note on Important Affairs

FREEDOM's staff of leader writers announce that they feel unable to deal with the progress of the enquiry into allegations about Senator McCarthy's activities by the U.S. Army, until it has been authoritatively determined whether Mr. Secretary Stevens was smiling (albeit grimly) or not when he was photographed with Private Schine (and a third party, since cut out).

The Geneva Conference provided so many new features, such as intransigence on the part of the Russians and Americans, and tremendous travelling activity on the part of Mr. Dulles that it is felt that these novel developments cannot be rashly dealt with. They will therefore be left over—most likely, indefinitely.

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M. Kramisch, on
Women, Propaganda and the Revolution

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French Police Brutality Exposed

OBSERVERS of French life have always been amazed and disturbed by the power of the police and the impunity with which they abuse it. On very few occasions has publicity been given to cases of police brutality in France, yet so many people know of its existence. The first case for many years in which an attempt has been made to prosecute the police for brutality to prisoners or suspects, ended last week in Bordeaux, with, it is reported an acquittal for the individual policeman but not for the police.

It has taken eight years to pin responsibility for the death of one Robert Grangé, a second-hand dealer, aged 28 who was suspected by the police of having received a watch knowing it to have been stolen. Grangé was not charged with the offence, nor had he a "record". He died of cerebral haemorrhage with marks of serious bruises on his head after a few hours spent in the police station. This not even the police defence denied. Indeed Maitre Floriot for the three policemen agreed that the French police often beat up suspects in order to obtain confessions from them. "You will never stop the police from doing so. It is distressing. It is regrettable, but it is so", he said, summing up French fatalism on this subject. At a distance of eight years it was difficult to prove that the three policemen in the dock were responsible for the death of Robert Grangé. But in spite of the acquittals the public will still want to know why, for instance, the day after Grangé's death the police tried to persuade his widow to say (quite untruthfully) that the

dead man was an alcoholic and an epileptic who might have fallen down and damaged himself; why it took eight years against the resolute resistance of the police officials and Préfecture of Bordeaux and also of part of the judicial machinery to have the case tried at all.

The Manchester Guardian's Paris correspondent draws attention to the frequency with which confessions are obtained by the French police through the use of violence.

"Only a few months ago two men and a woman were condemned in Nantes for a murder which had been laid at the charge of a perfectly innocent man three years earlier. He had been beaten and induced to confess and condemned to a ten years' sentence of which he served two. There has as yet been no news of either a public inquiry or an indictment of the police who induced him to make his forced confession. Other cases of the police being accused of having extracted confessions by violence have been numerous. They have greatly disquieted responsible persons—lawyers and others—who are concerned about the manner in which justice is administered in France."

And he sums up on the Bordeaux trial thus:

"At least it is being noted with satisfaction that the Court has acquitted on the ground that the facts of the indictment could not be certainly proved. The case might, superficially, have looked stronger if the three accused men had received the same treatment which has in the past so often been given to accused men by the police. Perhaps this fact will be recollected on some future occasions when French Courts are faced with a 'confession' by an accused man who is not a member of the police force."

Psychology of Mau Mau Continued from p. 1

Mau. Max Gluckman gives an appalling and moving summary of the Kikuyu situation:

"This then is the general scene in which I see Mau Mau. For many years Africa has been a turmoil of religious movements and magical practices. These have to be set in a continent where men are always on the move between rural homes and white centres of employment, separated for long periods from wives and children, crowded in slums, seeing their land reduced and eroded, their culture decaying. They live under an alien overlordship which is often unintelligible to them. All too frequently when they have attempted to form political and industrial unions these have been proscribed and their leaders arrested. The military strength of their rulers is dominating. Sporadically, rebellions occur: magic is then called on to turn bullets to water, as in the Zulu Bambada Rebellion in 1906 . . ."

"All the evidence indicates that Mau Mau is a nihilistic movement of desperation—kill and be killed. Its adherents, to quote a Czech doctor on whom the Parliamentary Delegation relies, 'murder but not for the sake of furthering a cause, they just kill on being instructed to kill . . . Death for them means only deliverance.' Its savagery is not specifically African: all too recent history shows that European nations with a long tradition of Christianity can be savage in this way, too. From what we know of the rituals, we can see two strains.

One is the use of magic, to counter overwhelming force, and of Kikuyu-type oaths. But these oaths are now based on fantasies of what sorcerers and secret societies in other parts of Africa are reputed to do. And the result is not a reversion to pagan rituals, even what we call obscene rituals. For the second strain is a regression to instinctual desires which we now know are universal. These oaths use, as all secret oaths must, a few limited themes: sex, excreta, bestiality, the instinct to murder near kin."

Enough has been quoted from this penetrating and perceptive talk to give an insight into the psychological motivation of Mau Mau. On the deeper plane we see a release of despairing energy derived from various taboos and repressions; the same energy that drives the neuroses of civilized individuals. The African societies are thus subject to the same criticism as Western ones when it comes to consideration of basic social patterns, upbringing of children, control and limitation of sexuality, etc.

On a more superficial, but more immediately pressing plane one finds that the old rule, "the more understanding the less condemning" still holds good. What could be more finally futile than the use of physical force against "the magic of despair"? Yet the Government knows no other methods than these. Furthermore it even ignores the social and economic findings of the Parliamentary Delegation.