

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

A man is not a chattel to
be directed from Union
to Union

Q.C. at Truro

Vol. 16, No. 29

July 16th, 1955

Threepence

THE SCIENTIST'S DILEMMA?

THE Statement issued to the world by nine scientists of international eminence on the dangers of complete annihilation of the human race in the event of an H-bomb war is an important document in that it presents the problem unequivocally: "Shall we put an end to the human race; or shall mankind renounce war?"

For these scientists there is no third way. To those who believe that "war may be allowed to continue provided modern weapons are prohibited" they say "This hope is illusory" for

Whatever agreements not to use H-bombs had been reached in time of peace, they would no longer be considered binding in time of war, and both sides would set to work to manufacture H-bombs as soon as war broke out, for, if one side manufactured the bombs and the others did not, the side that manufactured them would inevitably be victorious.

An H-bomb war would no doubt result in the obliteration of the capital cities. If everybody in London, New York and Moscow were exterminated "the world might, in the course of a few centuries recover from the blow". But this mass-murder would represent only a fraction of the lethal effects of an H-bomb war.

We now know, especially since the Bikini test, that nuclear bombs can gradually spread destruction over a very much wider area than had been supposed.

It is stated on very good authority that a bomb can now be manufactured which will be 2,500 times as powerful as that which destroyed Hiroshima. Such a bomb, if exploded near the ground or under water, sends radio-active particles into the upper air. They sink gradually and reach the surface of the earth in the form of a deadly dust or rain. It was this dust which infected the Japanese fishermen and their catch of fish.

No one knows how widely such lethal radio-active particles might be diffused, but the best authorities are unanimous

in saying that a war with H-bombs might quite possibly put an end to the human race. It is feared that if many H-bombs are used there will be universal death—sudden only for a minority, but for the majority a slow torture of disease and disintegration.

If from the factual point of view, in terms of the stark reality of what it will mean if an H-bomb war is released, the scientists' statement is, as we have said, unequivocal, the same cannot be said of their political approach.

Although an agreement to renounce nuclear weapons as part of a general reduction of armaments would not afford an ultimate solution, it would serve cer-

tain important purposes. First: any agreement between East and West is to the good in so far as it tends to diminish tension. Second: the abolition of thermo-nuclear weapons, if each side believed that the other had carried it out sincerely, would lessen the fear of a sudden attack in the style of Pearl Harbour, which at present keeps both sides in a state of nervous apprehension. We should therefore welcome such an agreement, though only as a first step.

There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death, because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal, as human beings, to human beings: Remember your

Continued on p. 2

WHAT'S BEHIND MOSCOW'S NEW LOOK?

WHAT are the reasons behind Moscow's new look foreign policy? The politicians are making their speculations, blinkered by their own particular prejudices and by their social and economic interests. We too can only make speculations, without blinkers, we hope, but based on certain assumptions: (1) that the new look in Moscow (as well as in New York) comes from above and is not forced on the respective governments from below; (2) that politicians as politicians are not fools whatever we may think of them as human beings; (3) that the new look applies to tactics, to means, only and leaves unchanged the fundamental struggle for power which is the basis of world politics to-day.

Our first speculation is that for some time the political leaders have been aware of all the facts as given in the Scientists' Statement (see this page), and have decided that large scale war as a political weapon has become obsolete. Short of one country finding some means of

surrounding itself with a belt of atmosphere through which no heavier-than-air machine can penetrate and through which no H-bomb "fall-out" can seep through, war means total annihilation . . . of governments as well!

Our second speculation arises out of Mr. Dulles' secret report to Congress last month (since made public), in which he said that the Russians were disturbed at the ability of the United States to carry the burden of a multi-billion dollar programme and "still maintain a very high degree of prosperity, indeed mounting prosperity." "They [the Russians] are only able to do it at the expense of the livelihood of their people: the denial to them of things which we regard as elemental for everybody". The publication of Dulles' report has been viewed as a diplomatic blunder. What however is more important, and the political writers do not seem to have bothered to ascertain is whether Mr. Dulles' analysis is factually correct. If it is, we can draw the conclusion that Russian economy is in fact radically different to American capitalism. "Prosperity" in America is dependent on an economy which devotes a large portion of its production to armaments (what for instance would be the unemployment figure in the United States if armament production and armies—and their satellites—were to be drastically curtailed, when we know that in spite of the present war economy there were, last week, 2,600,000 workers unemployed?) According to Mr. Dulles Russian "prosperity" decreases with increased armament production, and he implies that the Russian economy would undoubtedly benefit by an end to the arms race.

If this is factually correct, and if war is being discarded as a means to world domination, then is it not possible that Russia's new tactic will be based on a call for world disarmament, offering every facility to the United Nations for inspection and all the other safeguards which she was apparently loath to concede at previous talks on disarmament? For if Mr. Dulles' analysis of the two economies is a correct one, a policy of disarmament should considerably ease the economic situation in Russia, and strengthen the government, whereas in the capitalist countries so-called, such a policy could create chaos, unemployment and slumps.

We do not doubt that the politicians of the West are aware of these possibilities and are prepared to

THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE UNION UPHELD - BY A JUDGE

MANY Anarchists have for long held that the real threat to a libertarian revolution comes more from the politicians of the Left than from the Right. Those who claim to 'lead' or to represent the workers most seem the most ruthless in dealing with workers when they have power.

Thus it is that we see the Trade Union Congress ruthlessly withholding from its own rank-and-file the right to choose for themselves to which union they shall belong—but that same right is legally established by a High Court Judge!

An action was brought by Mr. Richard Andrew, a 62-year-old ambulance driver from Truro, Cornwall, who changed from the Confederation of Health Service Employees over to the National Union of Public Employees.

After an objection by the former organisation, the TUC disputes committee ordered Mr. Andrew and six other men who left with him to return to his first union. They refused to go and so were eventually expelled from the NUPE, which Andrews then sued, claiming the expulsion was illegal.

In the Chancery Division, Mr. Justice Wynn-Parry granted a declaration that the expulsion was void and that Mr. Andrew was still a member of the National Union of Public Employees. He was also granted an injunction restraining the union from acting on its expulsion decision.

Test Case

There was nothing in the union's rule book, said Judge Wynn-Parry to give the TUC power to enforce its decision through expulsion.

He said: "Expulsion from a trade union is a serious matter and it has always been the policy of the courts to see that the right to expel is only upheld if the terms which give that right are strictly followed."

Mr. Andrew had been expelled under a rule dealing with misconduct. No allegation could be laid at his door that he was other than a good trade unionist.

On behalf of the union it was claimed that when Mr. Andrew joined the union he knew or ought

to have known that if the TUC ordered him to return to his former union he would have to go or his new union might be expelled from the TUC.

It is certainly rather fantastic to what lengths the TUC will go in order to maintain the status quo in the unions. But this action by Mr. Andrews is a test case, and has provided the legal answer to the mix-up concerning the dockers two unions, too.

And they are not wasting time before acting upon it. The day after Andrews' case was reported, the northern leaders of the 10,000 dockers in the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, who are under TUC orders to return to the TGWU, announced that they will seek an injunction to restrain their executive from expelling them.

They Won't Go Back

However the legal action goes, it appears that the 10,000 men themselves are determined not to return to the TGWU. At a mass meeting in Liverpool, the men were told of their delegates' decision to seek an injunction, and Tom James of Manchester declared: "We would rather be non-unionists than go back to the Transport and General Workers' Union."

We may be sure that the TUC will try to find ways to stop the gap. Already a TU official has been reported as saying: "As far as I can see the only way out is for all unions to incorporate in their rule book a clause saying members will go back to their former union if the TUC demands it." And what could the learned Judge do then?

When we find a High Court Judge upholding a principle of freedom which the workers' own organisations suppress, it is surely one more indictment of these organisations. It remains however for the rank and file to decide whether they are going to remain mere card-holders to be under dictation from above, whether they can create something satisfactory out of the existing unions, or whether they must start again with a different approach altogether.

THOSE USEFUL NAZIS

ANOTHER ex-Nazi general is proving his usefulness to the conquering powers of the West, in the person of former Brigadier General Reinhard Gehlen.

This name was never lauded in the Nazi Press for service to the Third Reich; its owner never led any panzers in any spectacular military putsch. He was nevertheless one of the most important men in the Nazi Wehrmacht—and, to show that there are always opportunities for the right men, is again one of the most important men for post-war Germany.

Reinhard Gehlen is head of what the Germans now call *Büro Gehlen*, an anti-Communist spy organisation with something like 4,000 secret agents throughout Europe, Russia and the Middle East. A Prussian regular soldier, Gehlen found his opportunities during the second World War to rise to the top of the German intelligence organisation 'Enemy Army—East', co-ordinating the efforts of the vast network of German agents which ranged the Nazis' eastern front from Leningrad to the Caucasus.

When the Russians threw back the Wehrmacht, Gehlen fled West, somehow survived and later when the Cold War developed, placed his records (carefully made in triplicate and hidden in three separate addresses for safety), at the disposal of the U.S. Intelligence.

The Americans flew him to Washington and when he returned to Germany it was with the secret understanding that he would rebuild his intelligence apparatus and set it to work for both the U.S. and Western Germany. Reportedly, his terms included that he never would have to operate against the "German interest",

and he himself would be the judge of that interest.

Washington does not admit that the U.S. has financed Gehlen's activities (the preferred phrase is that he enjoys a favourable relationship" with U.S. intelligence agencies).

Outside the headquarters of *Büro Gehlen* south of Munich (and not far from Dachau) however, fly the Stars and Stripes and the West German flag. The organisation has now at last (now that West Germany is a sovereign state and entitled to all the amenities her position demands), been admitted to exist by the Bonn Government, which until now has pretended never to have heard of anyone by the name of Gehlen.

The Communists claim to have captured scores of 'American paid Gehlen agents' in East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia, but no member knows more than two or three other members, so the organisation goes on.

Members of the organisation include ex-Communists as well as ex-Nazis—and quite a few characters who have been both at once, the fantastic double agents who sell information from and to both sides.

There is no doubt that, as *Time* magazine tells us, 'the newly sovereign West German Federal Republic will inherit one of the most efficient intelligence organisations in the world'.

Nice work isn't it? Government work. Whether it's America's CIA, Britain's MI5, Russia's MVD, France's Deuxième Bureau, the Gestapo or the *Büro Gehlen*, it's all lovely Government work. And the Gehlens of all the countries so love their work that whether it's for Nazism or Democracy they really don't care. And neither do the Governments.

Vatican Negotiates with Peron

THE "quiet talks" which have commenced between the Papal Nuncio and the Argentine Foreign Minister confirms our earlier impression of this uncertain union, that the Vatican acted too hastily in the matter of Peron's ex-communication in the mistaken belief that his days were numbered as rival dictator of the Argentine people. The topic for discussion now opened is reported as being a concordat between the Argentine State and Rome.

The recent prayer sent up by the Pope on behalf of Peron in the hope that "God will illumine and move your heart so that the beloved people of Argentina

may freely live their Catholic tradition" indicates that God has not been entirely cut off from Peron by the Church, and, more important, opens the way for new negotiations.

Peron it seems intends meeting the Church half way, and as a prelude to the concordat has thrown out of office two known anti-church campaigners who held the posts of *Minister of the Interior* and *Minister of Education*, as well as Eduardo Vuletich, head of the Labour Unions. These have been replaced by three other stooges sworn in in the name of "God, The Fatherland and the Holy Gospels".

It is clear that Church and State while jockeying for position during the June uprisings crashed into each other and have since come to the conclusion that neither are strong enough to act independently. The new policies which will emerge may well follow the familiar pattern, and if we may use an apt cliché, the State will have their bodies and the Church what is left.

In the meantime the devout are lamenting over the ruined Churches (so are we, senseless destruction of beautiful buildings which could be used for other purposes is a waste), and one priest demonstrates his sense of the fitness of things by commenting:—

"Not even in Russia did they do this," he said. "They hanged priests, but they did not destroy the churches!"

meet any large-scale attempt by the Russians to call their bluff. But we feel that if the Russians were to play the card of disarmament unconditionally they could throw the diplomacy of the West off balance, or if the West accept then we can expect to see in coming years a drastic transformation in the economic set-up in the West. Whether such a transformation will come from above or will be the result of an upheaval from below is a speculation we are not prepared to make, though as optimists our hopes are that it will come from below!

BOOK REVIEW

Stones from a Glasshouse

THE IRISH AND CATHOLIC POWER. Paul Blanshard. André Deutsch, 18s.

PAUL BLANSHARD, author of *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, is a high-minded and serious critic of Catholicism—particularly where it encroaches on such secular fields as education and censorship. His standpoint is that of the American liberal Democrat and his bible the American Constitution. His books provide much valuable information on the methods adopted by the Catholic Church and its priests in their continual struggle for increased power over their flocks: information the more reliable for being mainly culled from Catholic sources.

Mr. Blanshard does, however, take his subject terribly seriously. In this latest book (first published in America two years ago) he wears a continuous air of indignant surprise at how far the influence of the Church extends and at the passivity of the Irish in accepting this potential dictatorship. But is it so surprising when ninety-five per cent. of the population are Catholics? In a country where the majority has been Catholic for centuries and has suffered persecution (the very Scotline of the faithful) for it? It is rather naïve to imagine that the Irish are straining to cast off the yoke of the Church; a yoke on the spirit of freedom it certainly is, but to the Irish, more than to any other so-called Catholic people, it is an integral and vital part of their lives.

The author uses the U.S.A. as his yardstick against which to measure the inadequacies of Ireland. But taking into account that most Irishmen enjoy a much lower living standard than most Americans, the difference between the two nations is not so great as he would have us believe. He says that young people in Ireland have the virtues of chastity and the impureness of sexuality so frequently preached at them that they are afraid to walk out together in case the priest should see them; and that this sex-negative attitude accounts for the high age at marriage and the low birthrate.

Obviously poor soil in which to germinate the seeds of a free society. But is American soil so much healthier in this respect? Is the peculiar moral code of the Hays Office fundamentally so different from that of, say, the Knights of Columbanus (the Catholic youth organisation)? Both recognise the power of sexual feelings and the threat which such emotion, if undirected, represents to their ideas and adapt their methods accordingly. In both countries those who wield power are out to prevent the full realisation

of sexuality: the one by titillating the sexual appetites and at the same time using them for commercial profit through the 'cheesecake' approach; and the other by direct suppression, by equating sexuality with sin, and virtue with chastity. Both can rightly claim a high degree of success in the frustration of sexual fulfilment amongst the majority of their populations; the difference between them is one of approach and degree rather than purpose.

HOWEVER, such general criticisms apart, the book gives many revealing insights into the aims and methods of the Catholic Church in Ireland.

The Lord's instructions to Moses in the second Commandment about not making any 'graven images' nor bowing down to them must place some Catholics in a quandary when they find such a multitude of statues in their churches which are very much bowed down to. The Irish church manages to avoid this difficulty quite simply. In *The Catechism of Catholic Doctrine*, which is a standard textbook in Irish Catholic schools and is 'approved by the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland', the second Commandment is entirely omitted. 'The version of the Ten Commandments used in the schools covers up this deficiency by splitting the tenth Commandment into two'. Elementary.

God is also put to good use in the Constitution of the Irish Republic where it is stated that 'all powers of government . . . derive under God from the people'. He has, so to speak, a general lien on democracy and since the Catholic Church is the only authentic voice of God on earth this gives the Bishops their theoretical justification for interference in politics. Further, under the heading 'Religion', the Constitution says that 'the State recognizes the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of the citizens', though other clauses guarantee not to 'endow any religion' and not to allow religious discrimination. But what is the position in practice?

Mr. Blanshard quotes the Dr. Browne incident as one answer. Dr. Browne, it may be remembered, was the Irish Minister of Health who in 1951 proposed a free maternity education and child-care scheme somewhat on the same lines as that operated in this country. The Hierarchy instantly took exception to this and insisted that any government medical programme should first be submitted to them before being made public. Dr. Browne, who is a Catholic, was forced

THE recent series of articles in *FREEDOM* whilst entertaining and educative as to prevalent moods in Psychotherapy seem to me to miss an important point of view, that of the Social Psychologist.

The ills of the individual are largely a reflection of the ills of society, and *vice versa*. There is no separating cause and effect; for each new stage in the development of the social organism, brings with it both liberating and repressive tendencies towards the individual.

Hence it follows that where psychological ailments are predominantly social protests in disguise, and where social protests are usually psychologically based as is most certainly the case in our society, no effective cure for individual disorders can be anything more than a palliative, as long as the root causes of social frustration remain. Equally, a case can be established for believing that

to resign and was publicly repudiated by practically every member of the government. The Prime Minister admitted that his disapproval of the scheme was entirely due to the opposition of the Hierarchy and that he could not approve such a scheme until the Hierarchy was satisfied. The incident was sufficient to show where the effective power lies.

Catholic power in other lands is also not inconsiderable. In the U.S.A., for example, there are nine major cities, which provide nearly half of the electoral college vote needed to elect the President, where the Catholic influence is often decisive. Tammany Hall, the very symbol of corruption in American politics, has often been bossed by Irish Catholics: Mayor Jimmy Walker is perhaps the best known among a string of names. Irish Catholics also hold dominating positions in other spheres. Of the seven Cardinals in the English-speaking world (four of them in the U.S.A.), all are of Irish extraction. Irish Catholics control nearly all the American Catholic newspapers—and so the catalogue could be continued.

Mr. Blanshard has given us a well-documented study of the phenomenon of Catholic power in Irish life to-day. It is informative, and useful in keeping us aware of just how much power the Church has acquired for itself: it would be all the more useful if Mr. Blanshard would admit that American democracy also has faults, and that power, exercised by man over man, is always abused.

M.G.W.

An Idealistic Approach to Psychotherapy

THE corruption of power will pervert or redirect most libertarian-minded individuals into ultimately repressive social behaviour in the event of their achieving power (through some miracle).

The attitude of Medicine and Psychological Medicine in this country and most others is that of **patching up and alleviating**, but not curing, the individual who is suffering from maladjustment to society. The Medicos and their orthodox and unorthodox hangers-on cannot face up to the social problem of neurosis and psychosis within our modern society. To recognise the problem of maladjustment as being one of a fundamentally diseased society would be too revolutionary. In any case there is no scope in our Welfare State for a thoroughgoing character analysis and case study of each maladjusted individual (under the age of 40) so as to find work which is more satisfying and allowing of a greater creative scope. The brutal fact of our modern Treadmill Society is that 90% of the population are condemned to repetitive, servile and in some cases dangerous and dirty work. There is only room for approx. 10% of the population to indulge in the arts, to find work which suits them, and not to work if they don't feel like it. That is not to deny that many people through hobbies find the creative outlet in their spare time that is denied to them in their work, whilst some millions of poor wretches are so psychologically stunted by childhood and subsequent repression that they can fulfil all the personality that is left to them in some exceedingly humdrum task.

Civilisation as we know it is about to collapse. There is an inner decay which goes on long before the outward signs appear. It has happened to many previous civilisations, and there is no reason to assume that our own can escape. The

disease which we are suffering from is fundamentally Overspecialisation, leading to ultimate inability of mankind to adapt himself to new circumstances. There is a balance in nature between the species which if seriously disturbed can have terrible results. Man with his exploiting economy has been very good at changing the face of the world, but not so clever in disregarding some of the more obvious consequences.

City dwellers are the most specialised section of the modern nation State, and it is they who will be exterminated first in the next world war. Maybe it is not their fault, but now that the means of mass destruction have so vastly improved, it will be due to their own blindness if they do perish. They cannot say they haven't been warned. Those who die instantaneously will be lucky, but there will obviously be millions who will be in the fringe areas, some of whom will die lingering deaths, others who will be driven mad by the carnage they witness.

Lewis Mumford has described the growth of the Metropolis, and its development into the Necropolis—city of the dead. Even without destruction by hydrogen bombs, the big city is so unhealthy from the view of the Social Psychologist that it and its civilisation must sooner or later perish. (There are interesting parallels with the extinct Mayan Civilisations).

The boredom of industrial wage slavery creates a desire for death—Freud was certainly most perceptive when he wrote of the existence of a death instinct. To condemn mankind to boring futile work with no adequate means of social and artistic expression is to breed a nation of walking corpses who are unconsciously waiting for the cosmic butcher to put them out of their misery.

Continued on p. 3

THEATRE

ONE-MAN SHOW

LAST week I had the privilege of seeing Emyln Williams in his solo performance as "Dylan Thomas Growing Up" (Globe Theatre).

Mr. Williams has done so much more than build up a memorial to a great poet. By most skilful adaptation and exquisite execution he has woven the stories into a composite picture of the man, bringing him vividly and agonizingly to life. As we listen to him we are more than ever aware how much we have lost by the premature death of this glowing, bubbling Welshman.

Mr. Williams holds the theatre spell-bound for two hours and a half which seems no more than twenty minutes. He has only a chair on the stage, he comes on with a bundle of manuscripts, exercise books, which he leaves unopened. From that moment we are completely in the grip of Dylan Thomas' imagination and Emyln Williams' magnetism. It is a masterpiece of characterization and creative vitality, and we go wherever he pleases in the company of this young dog of a poet: to the sea-shore at Swansea for a paddle with his friend Ray; to his stuffy little home with the snapshot of mother 'shopping forever' on the mantelpiece, to the station buffet at Paddington with its cardboard cakes and its odd unhappy riff-raff of characters.

The encounter with the furniture-dealer and the subsequent visit to the store room is hilariously funny and has a Dickensian flavour. To transport an audience with such ease and perfection of style, what could be more satisfying as a creative experience, both to ourselves and the actor? Moreover, we are treated to such a feast of prose, that, like gourmets, we'd like to retain the words and roll them over and over on our tongue. This too can be achieved, as practically all the material here used is published and obtainable.

I do not doubt that this virtuoso performance of homage has brought the poet a great many new admirers. It is a noble and infinitely rewarding task. The last item on the programme is most moving. Leaving the empty chair and the manuscripts on the stage Emyln Williams walks off speaking the poem "And Death shall have no Dominion". A poet's world and his immortality are here before us. The echoes ring in our ears long after the curtain has fallen.

The only excuse for a solo performance is perfection. As audiences we have been spoilt, for apart from Emyln Williams' tremendous achievement now running, have we not Danny Kaye, Beatrice Lillie, Ruth Draper, and some of us still cherish vivid memories of Yvette Guilbert, perhaps the greatest of them all. This makes me wonder all the

more at the sheer impudence and overwhelming conceit that has led Mr. Arthur Klein to expose himself as a solo performer (New Lindsey). His programme, entitled "Skits and Sketches", was apparently given in Paris under the title of "Comedies a une voix", and indeed Mr. Klein possesses only the one voice, harsh, strident and grating. He gives us three producers, an American, a Frenchman and an Englishman but only the indication in the programme serves to differentiate them! The Frenchman speaks with an accent heavily American and the Englishman is not within a mile of Kensington, Oxford or even Bloomsbury! We can see better revue sketches any day on any of his chosen subjects: An American sailor in England, An American's view of England, Commercial T.V., etc.

But when it comes to Tchekhov's *On the Harmfulness of Tobacco* (a most pathetic monologue, which I have never yet seen properly done), Mr Klein has thought up the brilliant notion of giving away the entire point of the story before he actually starts on it, the reason being, that he cannot do this particular piece without the aid of a veritable map of wrinkles, lines, moustachios, side-whiskers and the rest, so he decides to kill two birds with one stone, and while relating Tchekhov's story in his own words, he proceeds at the same time to show us how clever he is at disguising his face with make-up. During this he also does some quiet publicity on the side, while he tells us of the number of army camps all over Europe he has visited with his little piece, and these poor uneducated soldiers, why they never even heard of Tchekhov. A really embarrassing twenty minutes or so follow, in which he tears Tchekhov's quiet pathos to tatters in a grotesque Russian accent and using a sort of walrus-snort to emphasize each point. One can hardly blame any soldier if he decides to give Tchekhov a wide berth after this.

But the prize of the evening is still to come! It is hard to believe that Mr. Klein, clad to the chin in a puce Cardinal's outfit, has intended his rendering of Edgar Allan Poe's "The Cask of Amontillado" to be taken seriously. As a demonstration of the amateur 'ham' reciter of a bygone day it is hilarious. He strides and blunders up and down the tiny stage being two people, his own grating voice disguised for 'the other one' by a positively 'acking cough. At one time he gives us his two voices with his back view only, like a ventriloquist who dare not face his audience. But this has to be seen to be believed. What a pity Mr. Klein is unaware of the effect he creates. His one-man programme may yet become a riot!

CINEMA

THE MARAUDERS

NOW and again, a film with the anarchist point of view, manages to escape from America. Whether the film was made by an anarchist producer or written by an anarchist script-writer is not the point. Accidentally, by its situation, it somehow manages to put over in very plain words and scenes, everyday occurrences. And although the setting is Arizona in 1875, it might easily be Shadwell, 1955, or Kenya 1955, or Malaya, or anywhere else in the world where a man sticks out against an opposition in defence of his home and liberties.

Such a film is "The Marauders". A Western of the highest order, easily surpassing "Shane" in its direction, script and simplicity. From the very first minute you are enthralled by the scenic grandeur of the sun-baked Arizona desert and in full sympathy with the lone rider who, seeing a deserted farm-house, attempts to get a drink of water. He is stopped in his tracks by a set-faced, tough-looking villain who fires a rifle and demands to know why the stranger has come here. Behind the back of the man with the gun, every window in the house is brandishing two or three more guns as though in support of him. The stranger asks for water.

"Get it—and get out," he is told, and immediately all sympathy is lost for the stranger, when he fills his water bag, but doesn't offer his horse any. All of a sudden as though you had forgotten, commercialism rears its ugly head in the form of the credit titles. I was so enthralled by the opening scenes, I had forgotten all about them. But nevertheless they soon go. You are left with the opinion that the person or persons in possession of the farm-house are villainous, by comparison to the nice-looking bunch of riders who are planning to attack the farm-house and regain possession for an old man and his son who are the clean-cut American family type.

You are on their side instinctively until the son tells his father that why should they attempt to take back this little plot of land. Haven't they got enough? But Pop is on the side of the Law. What's right is right. Then there is a sudden feeling that maybe the old man (who appealingly asks his son to support him, for after all didn't he carve out this land with his "own bare hands"?) is just another landlord, and the tension and suspense is maintained throughout the film until you begin to realise whose side you really are on. It is as though you were there. As though this very situation was happening to you. And the script could easily have been written by Malatesta, Orson Welles or Phil Sansom. This film must be seen from the beginning, and please don't think it is just another cowboy film, because it isn't. Each character was picked as though the director knew just what people would do and say in this contingency. The script is sparkling. The break-down of characterization is such that every type of emotion is shown in its true perspective. *A film that should not be missed.* Also, there isn't one kiss in the film!

Unfortunately it is the second feature, although the other film, "Jupiter's Darling", a satire on Hannibal the Great, with Howard Keel, George Sanders and Esther Williams is very entertaining. Also in CinemaScope, but having more name stars, it must of commercial necessity be the top attraction. But nevertheless a good programme and one not to be missed. Showing at ABC Theatres the week of July 11th in North and West London.

MONTY.

[Our reviewer writes that "every type of emotion is shown in its true perspective" yet also informs us, with approval, that "there isn't one kiss in the film". We would not like it to be believed that all anarchists disassociate even film kissing from the "emotions"!—EDITORS].

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

OPEN DAILY

Postage free on all items

New Books . . .

- The Coloured Quarter M. P. Banton 21/-
- Community and Association F. Tonnies 21/-
- The Lovers' Handbook Ovid (new trans. by Wright) 12/6
- Power Over Things Harry Hooton 13/6
- Second-Hand . . .
- Diary of the Besieged Resident in Paris (1871) 5/-
- The Education of the Countrymen H. M. Burton 3/-
- The Importance of Living Lin Yutang 4/-
- The Epigrams of Oscar Wilde Alvin Redman 3/6
- The Jacket (The Star Rover) Jack London 3/-
- John Barleycorn Jack London 3/-
- Listen Comrades El Campesino 3/-
- Return to Night Mary Renault 2/-
- We, the People Leo Huberman 3/-
- Ann Vickers Sinclair Lewis 2/-
- Australia—the Unpromised Land I. N. Steinberg 3/-
- Advances in Understanding the Child (Home and School Council) 1/-
- Behind the Spanish Mask Lawrence Dundas 2/6
- Marxism and Democracy Lucien Laurat 3/6
- Lover under Another Name Ethel Mannin 3/6
- Living Thoughts of Tom Paine presented by Dos Passos 2/6
- Living Thoughts of Montaigne Presented by André Gide 2/6
- Living Thoughts of Thoreau presented by Dreiser 2/6
- Living Thoughts of Tolstol presented by Stefan Zweig 2/6
- Publications . . .
- Mail Vol. 1, No. 2, June-July 4d.

Obtainable from

27, RED LION STREET, LONDON, W.C.1

THE SCIENTIST'S DILEMMA?

Continued from p. 1
humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death.

The Statement ends with a resolution which reads:

"In view of the fact that in any future world war nuclear weapons will certainly be employed and that such weapons threaten the continued existence of mankind, we urge the Governments of the world to realise and to acknowledge publicly, that their purposes can not be furthered by a world war, and we urge them, consequently, to find peaceful means for the settlement of all matters of dispute between them."

At a Press conference at which the Statement was made public, Bertrand Russell, one of the signatories, expressed his hope that the Governments to whom the statement had been sent would express their views on it, and that this might be followed by an International Congress of Scientists which would meet to consider the resolution appended to the statement.

To our minds the political part of the Statement lacks the objectivity of the section dealing with the results of a nuclear war. The scientists talk of "tensions" and of "forgetting our quarrels" as if these really existed between the ordinary people of the world and were not, in fact, created by the social and economic systems under which these people live, and of which governments are the principal expression. "The abolition of war—the scientists declare—will demand distasteful limitations of national sovereignty". Distasteful for whom?

"People scarcely realise in imagination that the danger is to themselves and their children and their grandchildren, and not only to a dimly apprehended humanity. They can scarcely bring themselves to grasp that they, individually, and those whom they love, are in imminent danger of perishing agonisingly. And so they hope that perhaps war may be allowed to continue provided modern weapons are prohibited."

Allowed by whom?

★

WE do not seek to be critical on principle, nor to underestimate the importance of any attempt by distinguished citizens to shake world opinion. Indeed we recall having written in these columns that the rôle of the intellectuals should be to express "the conscience of the people". But we have never believed in the efficacy of appealing to the conscience of Governments! Have we not sufficient evidence in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti when world opinion was not sufficient to shift even the Governor of Massachusetts? Perhaps he, as an individual felt the impact of world feeling, but the issues at stake went much deeper than the lives of two innocent men; issues which do not allow of a social conscience.

Similarly to-day we do not expect that Governments will pay much attention even to eminent scientists if the national and economic interests which they defend conflict with appeals to humanity and conscience. And this the Statement essentially is, and for this reason it should have directed its appeal not to governments but to the people. The solution to war lies with the people; they produce the weapons and fight the wars. It rests with the scientists to lead a mass revolt against war preparations. It is not enough for them to warn us of the potential dangers resulting from their researches, or to inform us of "what was going on" in their laboratories, as Dr. Bronowski suggested at a discussion held

SCIENCE NOTES

TEDDY BOYS & PEACOCKS

THE Edwardian suit is attracting much attention from writers to-day and according to Dr. J. McAlister Brew writing in the *Family Doctor* the teddy boy suit has the same significance as the gorgeous plumage of the peacock. She dismisses the idea that they are the uniforms of young gangsters and suggests that it is an attempt to attract the opposite sex by personal adornment. There are half-a-million more men than women between the ages of 15-64 and the preponderance of young men over women is increasing. This leads to a tendency for the men to dress distinctively while the women can afford to be more casual or even sloppy.

The anti-social behaviour and occasional gang fights are explained as the result of the surplus of boys being in sexual competition.

A Study of Pathan Paternalism

THE Pathans, Moslem tribesmen living in the arid mountains of the north-west frontier province of Pakistan and across the border into Afghanistan, have been studied recently by an eminent American sociologist. Their behaviour pattern would appear to have all the characteristics of an extreme patriarchal society according to the account of this work given recently by Mrs. Taya Zinkin in the *Manchester Guardian*.

From the age of seven the male Pathan lives among men and is dominated by the tribal chiefs. All signs of individuality are suppressed. The accumulated frustration explodes from time to time in acts of violence, so that the Pathans, poor at constructive work other than weapon making, have acquired a reputation as fighters. The Pathan shops include many gun, knife, and rifle shops where real weapons are on sale in sizes to suit all ages from the toddler upwards.

In sociological terms they are described as having an acute father complex. The only exceptions are those with no dominant father figure, such as orphans, or sons with fathers in poor health.

The warmth of mother love is exchanged overnight for the strict subjection of the male tribal hierarchy and the operation of a strict Purdah and the resulting female ignorance of a man's world deprives him of maternal help and affection.

According to the sociologist, such children failed to give normal answers to

STRIKE BY MEDICAL CERTIFICATE

STOCKHOLM, JUNE 28.

Almost half of the policemen of Stockholm were still "sick for more pay" to-day—five days after they first reported sick in what the authorities believe is a demonstration pressing their claim for an 8 per cent. wage increase. Policemen are not allowed to strike.

The 500 absentees have sent doctors' certificates showing that they are unable to report for duty. As some doctors have certified as many as 80 policemen to be unfit, the Swedish Medical Board has started an inquiry.—Reuter.

last week in London by the Atomic Scientists' Association.

Dr. Bronowski is reported as also having said that:

The public should not demand of scientists that they make decisions which were for the nation to make by saying "you should not have invented this" or "you should not have disclosed that".

If we are to accept this view, then no man is responsible for his actions, nor can they be determined by any personal code of values. Yet the goal of Bertrand Russell and his friends, of "continual progress in happiness, knowledge and wisdom" can, in fact, only be achieved by the widespread development of a sense of individual responsibility no less among workers in armament factories. If the nation (what does Dr. Bronowski mean by "the nation"? To-day surely it can only stand for the ruling class?) decides that one of us should "in the national interest" become the public hangman would Dr. Bronowski bow to the demands of the nation? We think not. Why should the scientists then have no will of his own when "the nation" demands that he should use his knowledge of atomic energy to develop weapons of destruction?

leadership tests, had disintegrated personalities and low intelligent Quotients. This slowness and backwardness was absent in children where circumstances had deprived them of a dominant father.

The Dangers of Mass Miniature Radiography

MASS radiography is now accepted as a useful way to discover unsuspected cases of lung tuberculosis in the general population, but it is only just being realised by the medical profession that as a method it is far from infallible.

It has been calculated that if the films are examined by a single competent radiologist as is done at present, about

a quarter of the abnormal cases will be missed. If the films are read by two radiologists independently there is increased accuracy, and as many cases are detected as would be found by the single observer with the large-size film used in hospitals, but this means that at least a fifth of the active cases of tuberculosis would still be missed. The most efficient method is to use the large films read twice but this has been rejected as too expensive to apply to the general population. So quite a large number of people may be lead into ignoring signs and symptoms of active tuberculosis because they believe themselves cleared by a recent miniature radiograph.

Propaganda and the State

ONE of the most powerful weapons in the hands of a ruling bureaucracy is their ability to manipulate public opinion by their influence and control of the press, radio, etc. Sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists are employed to study group behaviour and individual needs and desires. Governments can then present their policies in a form which is acceptable to large sections of the population.

If on the other hand a potential enemy country is studied, ways can be devised to undermine the morale of the people more effectively than by the use of saturation bombing.

The necessary techniques are as yet in their infancy, but were applied occasionally in the last war. An outstanding example was the recognition that the surrender of Japan without a fight to the last Japanese soldier would only be achieved if it was agreed that after the surrender, the Emperor could remain at least nominally, as the spiritual and temporal head of the country.

In this country public opinion is by no means completely conditioned. But although the means of propaganda are not entirely in the hands of the State, a

remarkable transformation of opinion has been achieved, from the pro-Russian war-time attitude to the present anti-Russian attitude.

It is naïve to assume that the people always want peace and only governments want war. The success of government lies in convincing people that in a particular situation their needs can only be satisfied at the cost of a war. The publicity given to the H-bomb is making this increasingly difficult.

Alex Comfort's claim that the people in this country have been instrumental in forcing the big four powers to hold the forthcoming top level conference is far fetched if taken literally, but there is nevertheless an element of truth in it. No government willingly starts a war unless it expects to win, which implies that it has convinced the people of the need to fight with enthusiasm or at least desperation. Therefore the more feeling there is against war then the more likely that the governments will hold conferences, negotiate, and postpone the actual outbreak. This is the immediate function of an anti-war movement, and this is why we should welcome Alex Comfort's appeal to people to express themselves in favour of peace; the statement spon-

Idealistic Approach to Psychotherapy

Continued from p. 2

One paradox of the big city is the tremendous loneliness to which it condemns so many inhabitants. It is so vast that no one knows their next door neighbours, no one is interested in their life or death. All the forms of social communication with one or two exceptions are commercialised. The exploiting society we live in has reduced almost everything to the commodity level. A man or woman is not respected for his or her own personal qualities, but for good looks, wealth, sex appeal, and other attributes which are largely superficial and accidental. The values of our modern civilisation are debased and corrupted, so we must try to build anew on a firmer basis. Anarchists must not only think in terms of anti this or that—they must not want merely negative freedoms, they should strive for a positive set of values on which to base their ideal of a new society. My own suggestion is

that they should study man and his social relationships with some care—find out what technological level of society can best satisfy the needs of man for direct contact with nature, whilst relieving him of sufficient of the drudgery to have enough leisure for cultural pursuits. Needless to say some repetitive work would be necessary but in a decently ordered society everyone will take a share of such repetitive work as they are capable of doing. Mass production should be limited to non-durable consumer goods. There should be no need for cars, telephones, television sets and a hundred and one other items of a largely useless nature. With adequate public transport provided there would be no appreciable traffic problems.

Modern society gives the worker television sets and wars. Mass entertainment and mass production, commercialisation of nearly all social relationships, prostitution of the arts to financial criteria, half-baked education and over-specialisation.

Creativeness is dammed up in its social repression and finds outlets in sex and sadism—hence the readiness of men to enlist in wars when they break out, and the way in which women encourage their menfolk to join in the slaughter. Women are indeed to an extent less affected by modern society than men, but they make up for this by being less interested in social problems, apart from their own particular family, than the menfolk. The competition for men to satisfy their procreative instincts leads many women to endure a lifelong prostitution to one man under the disguise of matrimony.

The creative (or would-be) intellectual is exposed more than others to the disintegrating effects of modern society, and he frequently becomes split-minded. The person who comes from a home where he has received ethical teaching, finds the jungle of the world of Commerce and Industry very much more inexplicable than the person whose sole instruction in life is to look after himself and devil take the hindmost. The well-educated person who makes a "success" of life has to come to terms with the forces of reaction—to sell out in one form or another. The payment of lip-service to ideals whilst in substance deserting them has proved the most profitable line for intellectuals and politicians, although morally disastrous for the individual concerned.

Much psychological illness can be

sored by Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein pointing out the disastrous effects of a war and calling on mankind to renounce war; and to Dr. Bronowski's appeal to people to demand the removal of the secrecy ban on scientific matters: "When the public believes that it is not to be trusted then totalitarianism is on the doorstep."

Although the active opposition to war is confined to a small minority their influence can be considerable, and widespread lack of enthusiasm is more effective than a highly organised minority movement. In the immediate future, preventing a war is more important than working for a revolution, for we may then live a little longer and dead men cannot build a free society.*

Bios.

[*In view of what we wrote last week in our editorial THE BIG FOUR AND YOU it is perhaps unnecessary to point out that we do not share Bios' views in this instance. Further, we believe that there is a fundamental contradiction in Bios' argument. For he recognises that "public opinion" is manipulated by governments—in which case it can hardly be considered as a force obliging governments to take action which is contrary to their interests.

We have never maintained that "the people always want peace and only governments want wars". We have all along maintained that no-one wants war to-day because it creates more problems than it solves. And an H-Bomb war threatens to wipe out governments as well! The question is whether the problems connected with capitalist economics and power politics can be resolved by new techniques other than war. Again, as we have always been at pains to point out, wars are not ends in themselves but means to an end. And once they cease to serve those ends they will be discarded by the ruling class in favour of other methods. The New Look in Russian—and not least in American—politics, is to our minds a recognition that the H-Bomb has made war an obsolete weapon in the political struggle. But on this question we shall deal at greater length elsewhere.—EDITORS].

traced ultimately to a lack of social purpose. But if the present society is corrupt, what good can come of trying to give the neurotic a goal in terms of the status quo? Let us not deceive ourselves and think that the free society will remove all tensions and strains in us. Of course there will always be private problems perhaps connected with sex difficulties and inferiority feelings, etc.

I am convinced myself that much neurosis is due to misdirection of energy within the personality. This arises from conflicting demands at different levels in the human ego. The sexual instincts compete for expression with other aspects of the personality, but the person who is sexually satisfied is not necessarily at all creative in the social sense. A great deal of sexuality is intensely selfish and anti-social in its effect.

The later theories of Otto Rank (famous for the Birth Trauma) stress the importance of closed circuits of energy consuming neurotic and psychotic patterns within the maladjusted individual. If the energy that is being wasted in internal conflict can be redirected in the form of creative will for the achievement of a social ideal, then both the individual and society are the gainers. Rank regards much of the stress on sexual release as a means of liberation from neurosis as regressive. The final content of social gratification is the abnegation of responsibility by the return to the womb. This aim is in itself very necessary as a refreshment, but if carried to extremes and made an end in itself, has the effect of making an otherwise intelligent person sex- and self-obsessed.

The Rankian Therapeutic technique does away with the non-involvement approach of Freud, but does not lay down specific forms of suitable social ideals around which the ego can be regenerated, but by the liberation of the personality from the unconscious conflicts, and by the complete absence of being anti—the therapist rapidly gives the patient a chance to develop his own ideals.

R.C.

THE DEFICIT

All hands to the
pockets!

see page 4

VIEWPOINT ON THE Monopolies Commission Report

THE long-awaited report by the Monopolies and Restrictive Practices Commission was published on June 29th, 1955, and has generated a considerable amount of discussion in many spheres. Reaction to the Commission's findings has been in general favourable, and almost all newspapers have dealt with it in a responsible manner. Certain aspects of the report have received varying degrees of emphasis, but the large measure of agreement as to the report itself will probably ensure that some sort of action will be taken by the Government fairly soon. The main points of discussion have been as to what steps should be taken to produce the greatest good effect in the public interest.

choice is not always so easy. There are many instances throughout industry where it is advantageous for prices to be maintained at a certain level to ensure the continuance of a high standard of production. Whilst there may well be (and often are), less noble motives for doing so, the argument in favour of the more expensive but better quality article is often unanswerable; the cheap and shoddy product is often the more expensive in the end.

Perhaps the most important result which will stem from the Commission's report will be its gradual impact upon the general public. It has often been said that the British do not really mind monopolies, hence their unrestricted continuance, but in actual fact it is probably because the public is unaware of the widespread existence of monopolies that they thrive in such profusion. The *Manchester Guardian* made the following remarks the day after the report was published:

"Arrangements between manufacturers to fix prices and to force retail traders not to sell below these prices are far more widespread than the public suspects. . . . It is not at all certain that consumers would be so contented if they knew how many prices are fixed by agreement between groups of manufacturers and how often their maintenance by the trader is enforced by heavy sanctions."

For anarchists the main conclusion which may be drawn is the one which has been only too obvious all along—the inherent stupidity of capitalism as an economic method. The alternatives, monopoly or private enterprise, are both so devoid of "sweet reasonableness" as to make the whole system of money, profit, "fair competition" and the rest quite hopeless propositions in terms of efficiency. Such considerations as the right product ending up in the right place are of secondary importance to the business of higher profits and the creation of a false demand to make higher profits still. But if one looks at the report of the Monopolies Commission from the point of view of the "here and now" situation, totally unrelated to that which one really wants from society, then one cannot help but agree in general

terms with its findings and recommendations.

One important point, ostensibly unconnected with the Restrictive Practices' Commission, one wonders why the rather curious practices of Trade Unions have not come under review in this connection. The findings of the Disputes Committee of the T.U.C. in the case of the N.A.S.D. (Dockers) and the T. & G.W.U. suggest that it is time they were investigated. The committee has found that the N.A.S.D. is not permitted to represent dockworkers in Manchester, Birkenhead, Liverpool and Hull because those parts 'belong' to the T. & G.W.U. Hardly surprising that the comment from Merseyside is as follows: "The T.U.C. has left out one important factor: that is how the men themselves feel about it."

The established structure of Trade Union "monopolies" (Bridlington Agreement—1939), is as restrictive as any private agreement among manufacturers. It talks of "spheres of influence", and into the document is written that no union shall: "Commence organising activities at any establishment . . . in which another union has the majority of workers employed and negotiates wages and conditions, unless by arrangement with that union." So it is all a nice, exclusive business, with no competition from rivals who may have better benefits and services. But what about the men involved—are they to be treated as so much merchandise? H.F.W.

For the purposes of the enquiry the Commission considered separately six broad categories of collective agreements:

1. Collective discrimination by sellers (without any corresponding obligation on the buyers).
2. Collective discrimination by sellers in return for exclusive buying.
3. Collective adoption by sellers of a policy of maintaining resale prices or imposing other collateral trading obligations on the buyers.
4. Collective discrimination by sellers to enforce resale prices or other contract terms.
5. Collective discrimination by buyers (without any corresponding obligation on the sellers).
6. Aggregate rebates.

By a majority of seven to three the group which conducted the inquiry concluded that all these types of agreement adversely affect the public interest, some to a greater degree than others. In their recommendations the majority suggest that practices of this type should be generally prohibited, though certain exceptions might be made where a case for doing so is established. Involved in these recommendations would be the creation of new criminal offences. The minority of three members is not prepared to go so far as the majority in stating that the practices are generally injurious to the public interest, and they do not think that industries should be prevented from using them without the opportunity to have their cases examined individually.

Although at first glance one might suppose that all restrictive practices be condemned out of hand, there are sometimes good reasons for their maintenance (in terms of the existing industrial set-up), and indeed if one considers the alternative—"unadulterated" private enterprise (or cut-throat competition), the

MORALS (AND ANALOGIES) SHOULD BE MADE OF STERNER STUFF

LORD HAILSHAM'S forthcoming appearance in commercial T.V. which appeared a little inconsistent to some, in view of his leadership of the opposition to it in the House of Lords, has been justified by his Lordship with the following analogy: "I did not approve of nationalisation of the railways, but it does not stop me going by train, does it?" His answer is undoubtedly up to the standard of the best of panel games: sparkling but empty, quite apart from the fact that the analogy is false. Lord Hailsham in taking part in Commercial T.V. is working for them in return for a fee and a contract. The railway analogy would therefore read "I did not approve of nationalisation of the railways but it has not stopped me accepting a post with British Railways".

It is a strange kind of morality which pervades all political parties and organisations in this country which are based on rule by the majority that the opposition has a right to express its views in debate but that once the vote has been taken everyone must abide by the decision. This was the argument used in the Bevan struggle in the Labour Party and is used in the Trades Unions. It relieves the individual from personal responsibility and encourages the kind of cynicism of which Lord Hailsham's *volte face*, brushed off with a smile and a false analogy, is but one small example.

SUMMER SCHOOL

Applications for accommodation and meals during the Summer School (August Bank Holiday weekend, Malatesta Club, London), must be in EARLY.

All correspondence to:

JOAN SCULTHORPE,
68 Kenninghall Road, London, E.8.

FREEDOM PRESS

- VOLINE :**
Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12s. 6d.
- E. A. GUTKIND :**
The Expanding Environment 8s. 6d.
- V. RICHARDS :**
Lessons of the Spanish Revolution 6s.
- HERBERT READ :**
Art and the Evolution of Man 4s.
Existentialism, Marxism and Anarchism 3s. 6d.
Poetry and Anarchism cloth 5s., paper 2s. 6d.
The Philosophy of Anarchism boards 2s. 6d., paper 1s.
- GEORGE WOODCOCK :**
Anarchy or Chaos 2s. 6d.
New Life to the Land 6d.
Homes orhovels? 6d.
Railways and Society 3d.
What is Anarchism? 1d.
The Basis of Communal Living 1s.
- JOHN HEWETSON :**
Sexual Freedom for the Young 6d.
Ill-Health; Poverty and the State cloth 2s. 6d., paper 1s.
- PHILIP SANSON :**
Syndicalism—The Workers' Next Step 1s.
- PETER KROPOTKIN :**
The State: Its Historic Role 1s.
The Wage System 3d.
Revolutionary Government 3d.
Organised Vengeance Called Justice 2d.

27, Red Lion Street,
London, W.C.1.

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 27

Deficit on Freedom	£415
Contributions received	£314
DEFICIT	£91

July 1 to July 7

Sheffield: G.P.* 5/-; London: D.S. £1; London: Anon.* 1/-; Headcorn: H.K.H. 5/-; London: D.O. 1/6; London: D.R.* 5/-; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Glasgow: J.W. 3/-; Whitehead: D.F.M. 8/-.	
Total	2 13 6
Previously acknowledged	312 4 9
1955 TOTAL TO DATE	£314 18 3

GIFTS OF BOOKS: Abingdon: S.T.; London: M.C.; Sydney: D.L.

The Bhoodan Movement A Village Exhortation

"YOU see profound changes taking place around you in the world. The British Raj which you knew for many years has gone, so have the Maharajah. The zamindar who was with you till the other day has also gone now. Do you think the world will now remain as it is for eternity? is there any reason why it should now stop changing? I can assure you it is not so. That is not the nature of the Universe, in which there is constant change. For one thing the landless will not let it rest as it is. Some people have too much land, while others have none. Land must and will be more justly redistributed. Further changes must come, one way or the other.

In Russia they came with violence, brutality, and murder. They have done no one any good. In Telegana a similar effort resulted in at least three thousand people being killed and millions of rupees worth of property being destroyed. The bigger revolution is to bring about change peacefully and through love. Let those with a lot of land give away the surplus, let the middle peasants give away a sixth part of their land, and let even the poor give just a tiny bit as a token of their participation. Certainly, let laws be passed to redistribute the land fairly. But what merit is there for the man who waits to be dispossessed by virtue of law? Does anyone remember his name or sing his praises? Do you need a law to be passed before you desist from theft? Of course not. Self-redemption cannot come from above or without. There is little difference between the sword and the law. Both are coercive . . .

"BHOODAN" is a great mass movement of conversion and the creation of a new climate of thought and values of life. It brings about a living and immediate revolution in the minds of men and their mutual relationships. It attacks and corrects here and now the system of exploitation and inequality. It teaches men to share what they have with their fellowmen.

This revolutionary process could have been started in any other sphere than the agrarian. But this field was taken first because land is a primary source of production; the land problem is a most urgent one; it affects the vast majority of our rural country. But above all because it was possible through the medium of land to put across the new economic idea and the new social ethics much easier than through the medium of any other kind of property. What Bhoodan says about land is, according to Gandhiji, true of all our possessions, including even knowledge and skill. All wealth is a social product and no earning is possible without social co-operation. Whatever we possess, therefore, belongs to society. We are no more than the trustees of what we have, implicitly charged by

society to take good care of our trust and use it for the benefit, not of ourselves, but of all our fellow men. But whereas in the agrarian sphere the idea that land, being a gift of nature, belongs to the community is easily accepted, in the commercial, industrial, or professional field, the corresponding idea would be difficult of general acceptance. But when Bhoodan has sown the seeds of this idea in five lakhs of our villages and persuaded lakhs of land-owners to accept it in practice, even if partially, a psychological climate will have been created for the idea to take root and grow in other fields also.

"BHOODAN does not aim at capturing the State in order to use it for its ends. As a corollary, it does not wish to create or become a political party in order to capture the State. It aims rather at persuading the people, independently of what the State may or may not want, to carry out a revolution in their own lives, and through that a revolution in society. It aims further at creating those conditions in which the people may manage their affairs directly, without the intermediation of parties and parliaments. Gandhism, like anarchism or communism, visualises ultimately a Stateless society. In the present world the State not only in its totalitarian form but also in its welfare variety is assuming larger and larger powers and responsibilities. The welfare State, in the name of welfare threatens as much to enslave man to the State as does the totalitarian State. The people must cry halt to this creeping paralysis. The fact that the welfare State is a creature of the people, in the sense that it is set up by them, does not affect the matter. The device of democratic elections cannot equate 500 representatives with eighteen crores (counting only the adults) of the people. To the extent that the eighteen crores look after their affairs directly, to that extent the powers and functions of the State are restricted and real democracy is practised.

The response of Bodh Gaya has been wonderful. But it is not enough. The work to be done is stupendous. Not less than 50 million acres of land have to be collected. The donated lands have to be distributed. The landless have to be provided with the means of utilisation. In the villages where Bhoodan has succeeded, a new order has to be created. Gram Rajya (village rule in 500,000 villages), Sampati-Dan (gifts of wealth) in the towns and cities, ultimately transformation of capitalism into trusteeship. And many other things."

—A SPEECH BY JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN AT THE VILLAGE OF KALPA, JAHANABAD.

*One lakh=100,000.

§One crore=100 lakhs.

The Criterion of Anarchist Propaganda

IF ever a letter should have been suppressed it was that of Joffre Stewart in last week's issue, or at least the first part of it, which contains the assertions (a) that to point out that tax-evasion by capitalists has nothing to do with anarchism is equivalent to justifying forced labour, and (b) that if the person concerned is also not a pacifist they must approve of the conscription of women. This kind of deductive smear is just the same as saying that anyone who attacks capitalism is a bolshevik or that all critics of the Communist Party are agents of fascism. Perhaps that is why the writer feels such an affinity with the arch-conservative.

The arguments advanced regarding the pitch and tone of anarchist propaganda are however interesting. Anarchist activity should have as its goal the freeing of the person from the constrictions of authority, either immediately, e.g. evasion of military service, or on a long term basis, by propaganda designed to make society as a whole more anarchist. If, in addition, certain individuals derive pleasure from shouting in the wilderness, and being martyrs to a glorious cause, it is a good thing that they should do so, but they should not make insulting insinuations against other anarchists, or try to rationalize their motives by pretending to be the last word in effectiveness.

If a person refuses to pay taxes, and is imprisoned in consequence, he has lost personal liberty, rather than gained it, and as the propaganda value of such activities is negligible, he has not furthered his cause either. Tax refusal will become an effective weapon when sufficient people are behind it to allow them to resist the coercive measures which governments employ to exact taxation. I personally advocate refusal of military service in England, but I would not be so enthusiastic if I were French, for the more severe laws make the above arguments applicable. Boycott of war industries is a feasible proposition, and in fact the London Anarchist Group have produced a leaflet advocating it and FREEDOM has often pointed out that wars depend on the consent of the working people. "Refuse to Vote" is a worthwhile slogan because an election presents an opportunity to concentrate on a particular aspect of anarchism, which can be easily understood and acted on by the ordinary people who come into contact with it.

Anarchists abstain from voting because they are indifferent as to whether capitalism is administered by a Labour or Conservative government, and not so as to gain self-righteous satisfaction, and offer their propaganda in the same spirit.

The other slogans suggested by Joffre Stewart would be ineffective because they do not afford an opportunity for the ordinary person to act on them. There are also activities which can be carried out by sections of the community but not conveniently by individuals. For instance if one docker had declared an INDIVIDUAL NON-VIOLENT STRIKE against compulsory overtime he might have got the sack, whereas the dockers acting together won that particular struggle.

What the above amounts to is that effectiveness should be the criterion of anarchist propaganda, and if one derives a feeling of satisfaction from irrational and clearly ineffective work something is wrong. As a final illustration, if FREEDOM were to adopt the sabre-rattling style of Joffre Stewart throughout, its circulation would rapidly and deservedly decline; which would again be a loss in effectiveness. The trouble with so-called agitational papers is that the only ones to get agitated are those who already agree with them.

Newton Abbott, July 3.

P.H.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at THE MALATESTA CLUB 155 High Holborn, W.C.1. (Nearly opposite Holborn Town Hall)

JULY 17—Donald Room on ANARCHISM & CLEAR THINKING

JULY 24—Edwin Peeke on

Subject to be announced.

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

Every Thursday at 8.15.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting

HYDE PARK

Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

MANETTE STREET (Charing X Road)

Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

The Malatesta Club

155 HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON, W.C.1.

Saturday, July 16th

THE UNITAS Old Nic Company

presents a play

'Is Monogamous Marriage Conducive to Sexual Happiness'

or—'Glamorous Night'.

FREEDOM

The Anarchist Weekly

Postal Subscription Rates:

12 months 17/-	(U.S.A. \$3.00)
6 months 8/6	(U.S.A. \$1.50)
3 months 4/6	(U.S.A. \$0.75)

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies

12 months 27/-	(U.S.A. \$4.50)
6 months 13/6	(U.S.A. \$2.25)

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers

FREEDOM PRESS
27, Red Lion Street
London, W.C.1. England
Tel.: Chancery 8364