

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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Anarchy has for its basis . . .

equality of conditions. Its aim is solidarity and its method liberty.

MALATESTA

Vol. 14, No. 25

June 20th, 1953

Threepence

A CALL TO ACTION

EINSTEIN ADVOCATES INDIVIDUAL RESISTANCE TO WITCHCRAFT

IN a speech made to students at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire last week-end, President Eisenhower delivered what has been described as "the most powerful attack he has ever made" on the "book-burners and those who would censor ideas—even radical and Communist ideas". It was, by implication a "severe criticism" of Senator McCarthy who, as chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigation sub-committee has fought "with such success" to have the State Department throw out of its libraries overseas books by Left-wing American authors. (A measure of his "success" is the inclusion of a volume of selections from the writings of Tom Paine among the proscribed works!)

President Eisenhower is reported as having declared:

"Don't join the book-burners. Don't be afraid to go to the library and read every book so long as that document does not offend your own ideas of decency—that should be the only censorship."

To deny a man the right to have ideas, to record them in a book, and to place that book in a library where all may read it "is not American," the President said.

The President said that Communism cannot be defeated by concealing evidence, but only by the understanding of what Communism is and the offering of something better as an alternative.

He asked: "How will we defeat Com-

munist unless we know what it is and why it has such an appeal for men? Why are so many people swearing allegiance to it? It is almost a religion, albeit one of the nether regions. We have got to fight it with something better, not try to conceal the thinking of our own people. They are part of America.

"And even if their thinking and ideas are contrary to ours, their right to say them, their right to record them and their right to have them in places where they are accessible is unquestioned, or it is not America."

It has been pointed out in comments in the American press, that the sentiments expressed by the President are diametrically opposed to those of the McCarthy committee. This seems obvious enough. What we who view the American scene from a distance would welcome is an explanation of how, if the methods of McCarthy are so resented by decent Americans, not to mention the President himself, is it possible for the campaign against free-thought and expression to continue—indeed to continue on an

ever increasing scale. We shall undoubtedly be told that the President does not dictate policies to the Senate or to Congress, and that he can be, and often is, therefore, in a minority. Far be it from our suggesting that the President should be given dictatorial powers! But then the conclusion we must come to is that either McCarthy has dictatorial powers or else he has the full backing of the Senate and of Congress. The fact that McCarthy's committee can oblige the private citizen to appear before it—and we have not yet heard that it disposes of a private police or army to implement its orders—indicates that its powers are legally conferred. And therefore if there existed an overwhelming majority in the Senate and in Congress to rid the United States of the book-burners and the witch-hunters, it would simply require the same machinery to undo what a previous administration had created. But there appear to be few signs of this happening. The present campaign

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KENYA AFRICAN UNION BANNED

A Reuter and B.U.P. report from Nairobi last week announced that:

THE Government to-day proscribed the 100,000-strong Kenya African Union, the Colony's only African political organisation, as a "cover" for Mau Mau terrorists. At the same time General Sir George Erskine, the Commander-in-chief of the newly created East African Command, began preparations for an all-out campaign against the terrorists.

The decision to proscribe the Kenya African Union (K.A.U.), formerly led by the convicted Mau Mau leader Jomo Kenyatta, was taken at a meeting of the Governor's Executive Council this morning and notice was immediately served on the union's Nairobi headquarters. An official statement announced that continued membership of the union would be a serious offence and that all K.A.U. property would be vested in the Government. While there was no doubt that there were members of the union who had no connection with the Mau Mau organisation, it went on, the Government had taken action because it was satisfied that there was ample evidence to show that the union has often been used as a cover by the Mau Mau. The statement added:

"Both before and after the emergency was declared there has been a connection between many members of the union and the terrorists. Not only have a

number of union officials been deeply implicated in the organisation of Mau Mau, but in many cases local organisations of the two societies have been identical."

The Government, citing examples of the links between the union and Mau Mau, said that two of Kenya's most wanted terrorists, Dedan Kimathi and Stanley Mathenge, had been members. The union had also adopted the ritual oath-taking, practised by Mau Mau, to bind its members to secrecy.

The acting Chief Native Commissioner, Mr. Windley, said in a broadcast to Africans to-day that the real organisers behind the union were the Kikuyu—"bad Kikuyu, many of whom were leaders of the illegal Kikuyu organisations proscribed in 1939." He declared that the K.A.U. had been used by the Mau Mau "as a cover for its own terrible purposes," and that its leaders had organised violence and "the revolting Mau Mau oath." Emphasising that the damage they had done to the progress of their own people would take many years to repair Mr. Windley concluded:

"The Kenya Government can never again allow such an association as the Kenya African Union. Moreover, the Government cannot permit the formation of any African political society on the same lines as the Kenya African Union while there is still such trouble in this country."

In a survey of the growth of Mau Mau and the K.A.U., the Government said that Mau Mau stemmed from the old Kikuyu Central Association, which had been proscribed in 1939. Jomo Kenyatta, during his trial at Kapenguria, said that he had been a member of the K.C.A. before its proscription. Subsequently, when he returned from England in 1945, he joined the K.A.U. and became its president two years later. He strongly denied that either organisation was subversive and that he had used the K.A.U. as a "front" for organising the Mau Mau.

After Kenyatta's arrest at the beginning of the emergency in October the presidency of the K.A.U. was taken over on a temporary basis by Fanuel Odede, an African member of the Legislative Council. Odede himself was detained in March, accused of attempting to spread the Mau Mau in Nyanza Province. The leadership of the union was subsequently taken over by Wycliffe Awori, another African member of the council.

KIKUYU SENTENCED

Twelve Kikuyu were sentenced to death to-day at Githunguri for their part in the Lari massacre earlier this year. Thirty-eight others were acquitted. This wound up the second of thirteen trials arising out of the massacre, in which about 120 loyal Kikuyu were killed. In the first trial last month seventeen Kikuyu were sentenced to death.

Unrest in Nyasaland

THE *Observer's* correspondent in Blantyre, Nyasaland gives the following report of renewed opposition to Central African Federation:

"Tear gas bombs and batons were used by a strong body of police this morning to disperse a village meeting held at Chitela, 24 miles from Blantyre.

"The meeting had been called by Chief Chitela himself. The police raid followed an incident yesterday in which villagers piled stones round a European policeman's truck and refused to release him unless he surrendered a statement signed by the chief accusing Congressmen of trying to undermine his authority. The surrendered statement was recovered by the police to-day.

"The Government has withheld locally the news of the growing list of resignations of prominent Chiefs in Nyasaland. But when this becomes widely known it is likely to add considerable excitement to that already engendered by the trial on Monday of Senior Chief Gomani's two sons.

"The first to resign was Senior Chief Muase, chairman of the Supreme Council of Chiefs and Congress, and one of the most influential chiefs in Nyasaland. His action has been followed by seven other chiefs, all the sub-chiefs in Gomani's district, and a number of senior headmen.

"Several of these chiefs are the hereditary rulers of important tribes in Nyasaland. While they all retain their hereditary rights as traditional chiefs they will in future refuse to accept responsibilities of "native authorities."

"The reason for their resignation is twofold: as a protest against the arrest of Paramount Chief Gomani, and against the imposition of Federation on Nyasaland and the Rhodesias.

"There is every reason to suppose that the militant lead given by these influential men will be followed by many other chiefs. This may lead to a complete breakdown in the colonial system of administration, which is based on 'indirect rule', whereby Government exercises its functions through hereditary leaders.

"The Nyasaland Government is now faced with the alternative of either assuming 'direct rule' through White officials—as was unsatisfactorily attempted recently in the Bamangwato dispute—or to appoint minor African officials to exercise these functions.

"In either case the effective administration of the country, based on the

consent and co-operation of the Africans, will be forfeited."

Government Denials

The *Times* on the following day (15/6/53) published a denial by the Nyasaland Government that these resignations have in fact occurred. Chief Mwase resigned according to this account, but the seven other chiefs did not. In the Somba district three other chiefs had threatened to resign but had not done so.

It is difficult to know what to believe. The government of Nyasaland are not likely to command much credence because of their recent action regarding the Rev. Michael Scott. In an interview reported in the *Times* on June 9th, Scott described government lack of truthfulness regarding the legal state of federation at the moment.

"Asked whether Africans were likely to continue a policy of resistance after federation came about, the Rev. Michael Scott said in London yesterday that a telegram had been received from the Nyasaland African Congress stating: 'Chinyama Mwase (another chief) interviewed by Governor yesterday to obtain assurance that Africans will not break laws after federation imposed. No assurances given unless federation dropped. Africans will resist at all costs.'

"Questioned about the attitude of

Civilizing the Natives Pays Dividends

IT would appear from the following Company report published last week that the white man's alleged holy mission of bringing civilization to the African is still a very profitable business:

"Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines.—This Northern Rhodesian copper company is paying a final dividend of 50 per cent. making 75 per cent., against 50 per cent. The normal profit, before tax, in the year to March 31 last was £14,042,101, compared with £8,782,246. Tax absorbs £5,293,576, compared with £3,726,646, leaving the net profit, after tax, £8,748,525, against £6,255,000. Allocation to general reserve takes £3,100,000, against £2,000,000, and it is explained that this allocation provides a further instalment of finance to meet current capital expenditure. The dividends absorb £5,250,000 against £3,500,000.

British officials towards federation, Mr. Scott said that in some areas notices were being posted up saying that federation had been agreed upon and that it was useless to object to it. He produced a copy of a letter which he said had been issued by the District Commissioner for Blantyre to all Native authorities in his district in which it said, *inter alia*, that it was 'useless any longer to oppose federation or to raise doubts and objections about it.' Paragraph 5 of this letter, of which a copy, it stated in it, had to be placed on the notice board of every court by the Native authorities, stated that 'The British Government and her Majesty the Queen believe that federation is for the good of every one.'

"The letter, signed by a Mr. W. J. R. Pincott, was dated May 10. Questioners then expressed surprise that the letter should have stated that the Queen believed in federation before it became law and before she had given assent to the Bill.

"He said that he had been asked by the Bishop of Nyasaland whether any share of the responsibility should rest with him if the resistance campaign to federation led to bloodshed. "I have replied," he said, "that I accept my share of responsibility. I believe, however, that if resistance is non-violent the result will not be bloodshed, but if there is bloodshed it will be preferable to that resulting from a campaign of violence."

Czech & E. German Discontent

THE reaction of the Czechs to the Communist government's "currency reform" now appears to have been more widespread than anything of the kind since the Communists seized power. Rioting, demonstrations and strikes have been admitted by President Zapolocky and by the prime minister, and it is said that pictures of Stalin and Gottwald were torn down and replaced by photographs of Benes and Masaryk.

East German Somersault

While the Malenkov administration was applying a drastic attack on Czech savings under the guise of "currency reform", it was going into reverse in East Germany. Despite these contradictions there is still speculation on a Soviet "change of heart" and a wishful belief that the Russian communists have altered overnight with Stalin's death.

Such speculation is merely sentimentalism. But it does seem likely that the Czech crisis and the changed policy in East Germany reflects the difficulties of

Stalin's successors in settling down to secure the grip which formerly lay in his hands. Being practised politicians however, it is also possible for Stalin's successors to turn aspects of their own difficulties to some advantage in the cold war.

In Germany, for example, a process has been initiated which is referred to as "calling a halt to Communism". The main features include a cessation in the drive for collective farms, and the offer of credit facilities for small independent businesses, and the avowed object is to raise the standards of living. The historical parallel that immediately comes to mind is the exactly similar reversal of policy inaugurated by Lenin in Russia in 1922 when the period of "War Communism" was replaced by the N.E.P., the New Economic Policy in which the Soviet government secured economic recovery by wooing the small farmers.

The East German government has abolished the system whereby certain

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"Freedom of the Press" 1953

KAMPALA (UGANDA), JUNE 11.

Joseph Kiwanuka, editor of an African language newspaper, the *Uganda Post*, was sentenced to-day to fifteen months' imprisonment on two counts of printing and publishing a seditious article. He appealed against the decision and was granted bail.

The article criticised the handling of the Kenyatta case by the magistrate, Mr. Thacker. At to-day's hearing the magistrate said that Africans reading the article would think that the Kenya Government had deliberately appointed a settler magistrate to ensure conviction. Kiwanuka's plea of "fair comment" was refused.

On March 2, Kiwanuka was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment by a native court for writing a seditious article.—Reuter.

THE labouring man seldom calls a spade a spade: what he calls it is quite unprintable in FREEDOM.

Swearing in contemporary society is a largely unexplained phenomenon, and as such is of particular interest to anarchists and all students of social problems. Few people of middle-class background realize how widespread it is and how fundamentally it is part of the speech of certain sections of the working class. Among many kinds of workers the same obscene words are monotonously repeated in every sentence uttered among workmates. The average farm labourer almost never says,

"I'll put my hoe in the wagon and go to see the old boss":

What he says is a near variant of "I'll — well put my — hoe in the — wagon and — off to see the — — old boss".

This is no exaggeration. Short sentences are packed with obscene words, apparently unrelated to the subject matter. This is not when in anger; it is the usual mode of expression when at work or among workmates. The men who are fountains of obscenity at their place of work are, however, quite decently spoken when with their wives and children. It seems to be the background of their work and the company of their workmates, that make them say — as monotonously as a Communist refers to Russia, whatever the conversation may be about.

What is it then that lays this absurd compulsion on certain kinds of men — a compulsion to repeat everlastingly a limited category of obscene words mingled with their ordinary conversation? Before we discuss the question further, and examine the kinds of men most

affected by the compulsion, let us probe into the meaning and significance of the original kind of swearing from which present-day swearing derived.

In law-courts we are solemnly asked to swear! We may indeed feel like swearing most profusely at the beak and his officers—but the oath we are asked to pronounce is perfectly meaningless to the majority of people to-day. This is a very ancient practice, originally devised to intimidate people into telling the truth by fear of eternal damnation. All swearing (in its original meaning) was blasphemy, an offence against God which brought hell-fire a little nearer; and so the poor wretch who was compelled to "swear by Almighty God" would not lightly indulge in lying when he could practically smell the burning sulphur.

Swearing originally meant referring to things of a religious significance in a non-religious connection, and was of course, forbidden by the law of the Christian Church. It formed the basis of "strong language" from the early days of the Church's power right into Tudor and Stuart times. Nowadays it has lost almost all significance. In Medieval times it was a commonplace. According to one's anger, boldness or fancy, one could decorate one's speech with the "taking in vain" of the Holy Toe of St. Anthony, the Body and Blood of Christ, Our Blessed Lady, and the thousand and one sacred objects and personages of Christian mythology. This form of swearing persisted throughout the time

of style, that roundness of conception and cohesion of arguments, that balance and economy of composition, which one associates with the works of French thinkers, and particularly of Bergson. Perhaps Jules Monnerot is under the same influences that produced Sartre's answers to the question "What is literature?" for there is a similarity in treatment and approach, in tone and here and there in style between such different books as *L'être et le néant* and the one under review.

Obviously Monnerot does not write for poets or men of letters, but it is pertinent to ask for whom he writes when we read in one of his notes that the failure of Sorel's ideas in becoming historically active was due to the fact that his writings could only be read by intellectuals. Monnerot's own book can be read only by intellectuals. It is a pity and an unavoidable pity, but it is the intellectuals and not Sorel or Monnerot who are to be blamed for the ineffectual or dubious rôle played by ideas in our century. Without accepting Julien Brenda's assumptions and conclusions about "La trahison des clercs", we have to admit and emphasize that intellectuals have been traitors in great numbers, and not so much to this or that abstract or historical entity as to themselves and to that human dignity, the intellect, which it was their duty, their 'reason of being' to safeguard. To-day the person who feels himself classified or rather 'declassified' as an intellectual indulges too easily in irresponsible social criticism or cringingly adheres to some organisation whose primary intent is the offuscation and paralysis of intelligence. Intelligence is a power, and it is surprising that those who least perceive it are those who are reputedly the most endowed with it. But it is a power capable of fighting for its own cause only when it is not accompanied by a bad conscience. Bad conscience accounts for the rôle of the 'sympathisers' in Communist strategy, to which Monnerot remarks descriptive historians of Communism have not paid sufficient tribute. It accounts also for "the congenital weakness of all leftists and radicals when confronted with communists. For once a man has admitted any sort of causal link between Marxist ideas and communist actions, and once he has surrendered, even against his will and knowledge, to the ideas, he finds himself disarmed and strangely impotent in face of the actions". Bad conscience again makes it a moral imperative for some scientists "to deliver their formulas not to Russia or the Russian army, but to the servants, messengers and supporters of a new and 'more just' conception of the world".

Monnerot calls Communism an "Islam", that is a fusion of religion with military and political power. The Western democracies can probably match the military and political strength of the communist block, but they are at a great and perhaps decisive disadvantage in their lack of religion, of a faith, of a God (which for the communists is history itself), of a transcendence by which

that the Christian Church held its powerful sway over the lives of men. We hardly realize nowadays how repressive a force the Church was, and how it sought to bludgeon down all independent thought and action by conjuring up the fear of the supernatural, and by the ruthless wielding of temporal power. Men lived under the shadow of the fear of God and his Saints, and so all rebellious passions took on the verbal cloak of blasphemous swearing. For the most part it was merely a safety-valve, a harmless means of relieving the tension of frustration, so the Church tolerated it, although they cracked down heavily on other signs of mental rebelliousness.

Now that the Church wields comparatively little direct power over the lives of men in this country, the old form of swearing is practically extinct. Such expressions as "My God", "Oh Christ", "Gaw' blimy" are retained as mild expletives with no thought for their original religious significance. Swearing is now a matter of sexual and 'dirty' words. When we read in contemporary fiction that the villain let loose a string of "vile oaths", we visualize something supremely smutty, and not necessarily connected with the Deity. However, Catholic Irish labourers may still be heard to reinforce their obscenities with references to the Trinity and Virgin.

What does all this betoken? Are we to assume that whereas society used to be held in subjection by authorities whose stock-in-trade was the Christian mythology, so we are now held in sub-

jection by some sort of sexual repression? The idea seems to have some germ of truth in it, but we must examine it with reference to those classes of men in which swearing is such a commonplace. As mentioned before, habitual swearing is an attribute of the working-class. The smoking-room conversation of West-end clubs may be exceptionally smutty in content, but the four-letter expletives so common in workers' cafés are lacking there. Among workers, habitual and continual swearing is chiefly confined to certain categories, e.g. agricultural workers, dockers, miners, low-grade factory operatives, labourers (which means many poorly paid heavy manual workers), long-term unemployed, soldiers, sailors and jailbirds. (The majority of those who intermittently inhabit H.M. prisons may legitimately be classed as workers, as they are of the working class and have chosen to try and solve their underprivileged position by resort to thieving. Soldiers and sailors are in much the same position.)

Now if we were to relate swearing directly to sexual frustration, it would not be those classes of workers who would be mainly concerned. It is the lower middle class who suffer especially from sexual frustration; city clerks, small shopkeepers, minor civil servants—this is the stratum in our society which provides that monumental sexual frustration for which Britain is famous. The working class are more natural in their private lives; though soldiers, sailors and jailbirds have to be sexually abstinent for periods determined by their calling, they swear just as continually when they are enjoying the obvious pleasures and amenities of a garrison town or city underworld. And the farm labourer, whether a village Don Juan, happily married, or unhappily celibate, will swear as constantly and monotonously at his job.

On referring to the categories of workers most prone to swearing, which we have listed (which is not of course complete), it will be seen that they are all amongst the worst paid and economically insecure occupations. Particularly in the last four categories, they are also subject to most bullying and tyranny from officials. They, the great horde of the under-privileged and dispossessed, are frustrated all their lives—not sexually, but by a far wider social frustration for which no individual success or harmony in their private lives can compensate.

Medieval man had a clear conception of who ruled him—God Almighty, with clearly defined bribes and torments for a man's soul, and with energetic officers on earth who could command flogging, imprisonment and burning faggots for a man's body if need arise. Medieval man knew where he stood, and his swearing was direct and to the point; he cursed God and all the sacred flapdoodle by which he was held in subjection.

Modern man does not know where he stands, and has no such clear idea. The under-privileged know that something frustrates them, and marks them down

they can say that they are right in being what they are and acting as they do. It is tempting to think of anarchism as the religion that will save mankind from the communist menace, but the reading of a book like Monnerot's would show the yielding to this temptation as the most naïf wishful thinking. For his sociology of Communism turns out to be the sociology of the world we live in. In such a world the 'individual' on which the anarchist stakes his hopes is in the process of becoming a thing of the past, thanks to a counter-education, ruthlessly carried out "which encourages mental discontinuity, discourages memory and dissipates attention". There the anxiety of the individual is wilfully "exaggerated to the point where he can only find refuge in the collective"; there "the former relation between man as a person and his human means has broken down" so that we are confronted with "a sort of dictatorship of means"; "the historic atmosphere has been corrupted", "mass phenomena distort class phenomena", and "the modern tyrant has unprecedented possibilities for obtaining control, thanks partly to the modern techniques at his disposal and partly to the destruction of many of the traditional bonds between human beings and of the sentiments underlying them". Anarchism in such a world can only be an anachronism, and it is an anachronism indeed, but in the unsuspected meaning of the word, in that it is a faith in a reality that scorns all chronologies, a faith in that Spirit which George Santayana best explained in modern times, and which is silently at work even beyond the iron curtain, and gives a bad conscience to the very men in the Kremlin.

Without faith in this Spirit and in its manifestations, by whatever name it and they are called, a study of the *Sociology of Communism* would lead to the following conclusion: The way to overcome bolshevism is indicated by bolshevism itself; it reveals its chief enemies to themselves and seems to leave them no alternative but to imitate its own methods. Yet for the understanding of Communism, of its history, of its methods and dynamic, of the social, political and psychological forces which make for its strength, few books will be found as illuminatingly comprehensive as the one under review. The chapter on "the political phenomenon of tyranny" will prove of particular interest to the anarchist for there "tyranny demonstrates with intolerable exaggeration, which has never been tolerated for long, that the State can be a form existing for its own sake, pursuing its own aims with reference to nothing beyond itself". "The power of the State is manifested in the monopoly of armed force; and in tyranny the armed force treats the population as an enemy". "Liberty", on the other hand, "has its origin in an extraordinary social vitality—a vitality appetizing to society itself—which is expressed in the initiative and pertinacity of a number of societies within society."

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

as inferior beings. The drab factories, sordid mansions, dull monotonous work, hectoring bosses and state officials, the menacing spectres of labour exchange, prison and workhouse—all are symbols of what frustrates them and makes them less than men; but the whole is a confused pattern. They know that they are never allowed to grow to proper manhood, for manhood implies a certain control over one's destiny, the right to constructive work, the right to live without a constant by-your-leave to authority, and the right to beget children with a clear conscience.

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Among the Little Magazines

IN discussing some months ago the first issue of *Colonnade*, I criticised this little magazine for its lack of contemporaneity. The second issue certainly merits no such strictures, for its most substantial item is an essay by D. S. Savage, called *Caesar's Laurel Crown*, which should be read by all who are in any way interested in the problem of the contemporary relationship between literature and society. Savage shows how the alienation of the writer from society has produced the two extremes of aestheticism and politicism in literature, the maladies of the Ivory Tower and of social realism subordinated to the State. The bulk of his essay is a masterly analysis of the disorientation of contemporary literature and of the connection between that disorientation and the subordination of the individual to collective values which is characteristic of contemporary societies. Whether or not the reader will go all the way with Savage in his contention that the failure of literature is dependent on the failure of faith, his essay remains an independent contribution to the discussion of writing in our time which cannot be read without profit and respect. One looks forward with interest to its forthcoming publication, enlarged and elaborated, in volume form. The remaining items in *Colonnade* are less impressive, but there is a good poem by D. J. Enright, and an illuminating comment on contemporary poetic stagnation by G. S. Fraser.

An interesting American little magazine (occasional in publication) devoted to poetry and comment on poetry is *Inferno* from San Francisco. Its standards are, perhaps, generous rather than judicious, and the editor seems to have observed a Liberty Hall kind of hospitality which, while doubtless excellent in theory, seems in practice to involve the reader in a task of selective reading which the editor might have undertaken. Panning through this chaotic platter, one occasionally comes up with a nugget of real gold, and this, together with the help which a catholic type of editing gives to younger writers passing through promise towards fulfilment, is perhaps enough justification for magazines like *Inferno* to exist alongside more carefully edited verse magazines like the English *Poetry and Poverty*, whose issue No. 4 maintains the interest of earlier numbers.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

Comment

"THE PRICE OF PROGRESS"

AT this year's motor-cycle Trials in the Isle of Man four riders were killed, bringing the total number of fatal casualties in this racing event to 15 since the end of the war. It has once more raised the question whether motor-cycle speeds are not now too high for the 38-mile Manx course. According to the *Manchester Guardian's* special correspondent on the spot: "In this island, to which the T.T. this year has brought 23,500 visitors, one gets an emphatic 'No' every time the question is asked."

When presenting the prizes to the winners the Deemster, Sir Percy Cowley said: "There is no progress without sacrifice, and the men who risk their lives on the course are the same men who, in time of war, risk their lives as dispatch riders or airmen or in any capacity where the peril is great."

At the ceremony Major H. R. Watkins, on behalf of the stewards of the Auto-Cycle Union, said: "It is part of a grievous burden we all have to share as the price of progress." The official view of the police authorities is similar: there is, they say, a demand for the races, and the riders know the risk involved.

The manufacturers claim that high-speed road racing is the most exacting test they can give a motor-cycle. A success in the T.T. races gives more fillip to their sales—particularly in the export market—than can be produced in any other way.

"Progress" and "Exports" have become magic words in a world which has lost all sense of real values. What are three

young lives compared with the business and prosperity that 23,500 visitors bring to the island's shopkeepers and hoteliers, and the extra sales abroad that victory for British machines brings in its wake? Have we not been told that our Export drive is as serious a matter as a war operation? So why blame the Deemster for comparing what some may have naively thought was a sport, with a military campaign.

And for the general public is not the fact that we can to-day produce motor-cycles that travel at 120 miles an hour a matter of pride and reassurance? Without the sacrifices made by the gallant drivers it will not be possible in the years to come either to compete with foreign machines or ensure that speeds of 200 miles an hour are attained. That would be a national disaster and the end of Western civilisation. So let us thank our stars for the patriotism of the Manx people in continuing to make the sacrifice of allowing their roads to be used for the Trials, and making good any damage caused by drivers who leave the course at 100 m.p.h.; to the manufacturers who are selflessly devoted to the cause of progress; and last, but not least, that section of the public which year after year makes the pilgrimage to that distant island in the name of patriotism and progress.

Does the reader think us cynical? Perhaps we are. But then "progress" means something else to us than being whisked through life on two wheels at breakneck (sic) speeds.

R.

BOOKS

Sociology of Communism

SOCIOLOGY OF COMMUNISM, by Jules Monnerot. (G. Allen & Unwin, 30/- net.)

SOCIOLOGY for Jules Monnerot, as he made it clear in his previous book significantly entitled *Les faits ne sont pas des choses* (facts are not things) is the study of the forces by which men are attracted or repelled, and the sociologist thinks in the magnetic field created by these forces not only qua man, but also qua sociologist, because of his special interest in these forces, meaning that the object of his study is within him not less than he is within the object of his study as the etymology of the word 'interest' reveals. This does not mean, however, that a sociologist is necessarily a sectarian or that he sets to work with a clouded or refractory intellect. On the contrary he will need all the lucidity and all the evidence he can muster to account for the quality, the complexity and intensity of the particular force which he felt chosen to study, and the 336 pages of Monnerot's book are animated and sustained by an impassioned lucidity and militant knowledge, matched by a rare vigor of intellect as complex in its interpretations as is the force with which it comes to grips.

Competently written, this *Sociology of Communism* lacks, however, that beauty

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A CALL TO ACTION

Continued from p. 1

of opposition is not directed at the Senate Permanent Investigation Committee but at McCarthy personally. (This campaign takes the form of attacks on McCarthy's integrity and honesty; suggestions that he has offered and accepted bribes, or, the most recent charge, that last year he had abused his "free-mailing privilege"). And so far as we can ascertain most of those liberal-democrats, who to-day are protesting loudest against McCarthy and his witch-hunts and book-burnings, must accept a large responsibility for the investigation committees, originally intended to hunt out the under-cover Communists but which have now extended their field to include all radical thought in America. Such is the inevitable outcome of any campaign aimed at thought control even of those who, such as the Communists, are themselves confessed enemies of freedom.

Is there a way of halting what has become more than a trend in American politics? We believe one solution has been put forward by Einstein in a letter to Mr. William Frauenglass, a New York school teacher who refused to give evidence before the Senate internal security subcommittee and faces suspension for his silence. The letter, dated May 16, was published by Mr. Frauenglass, and we quote from extracts in the *Manchester Guardian* (17/6/53):

"It is shameful for a blameless citizen to submit to such an inquisition. This violates the spirit of the Constitution. Every intellectual who is called before one of the committees ought to refuse to testify. He must be prepared for gaol and economic ruin, in short, for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of his country.

"If enough people are ready to take this step they will be a success. If not, then the intelligentsia deserve nothing better than the slavery which is intended for them."

He advised intellectuals to practice non-co-operation in the manner of Gandhi.

To what extent this call to open rebellion will be acted upon we have at present no means of telling. But that a man in Einstein's position should be impelled to make such a statement is an indication of the present atmosphere in America. Would it be possible in this country to express the solidarity of those among the intelligentsia (we are here using the word in the same sense as in Einstein's letter) who stand for intellectual freedom, and to offer asylum and work to those Americans who face "gaol and economic ruin" rather than accept the "slavery which is intended for them"?

It is time that fine words were converted into action. For it is the only language Governments respect—and fear.

GENEROUS BOSS

IN Philadelphia, a 53-year old waterfront worker, George E. Toner, has been awarded \$96,969 in royalties by a U.S. District Court for a device he invented to load grain into ships. The loading device shoots a fine spray of grain evenly into the hold to prevent dangerous shifting of the cargo. The worker's boss, Sobelman Stevedoring Company, had given him \$10 for the invention several years ago, and promised to "protect his interests."

(*Industrial Worker*, New York)

THE NAGA HILLS (Where Nobody Voted)

THE demand for independence in India has sown the wind but reaped the whirlwind. It is amusing that Mr. Nehru now attacks those who want national independence in the same terms as the "pukka sahib" used to do.

He recently attacked the Naga tribesmen for their demand for independence saying that it was one solely planted in them by missionaries, and he suggested that if British missionaries were replaced by Indian Christians such a demand would not arise. At the same time, however, other members of his Government made other devious excuses, and needless to say, others invoked the Communists as being to blame for the demand for independence. The pukka sahibs, too, used to put down "nationalist tomfoolery" to missionaries and Bolsheviks.

Mr. Nehru's remarks were peculiarly insulting to the Nagas. "Prime Minister Nehru said that when he read a memorandum presented to him previously, he felt that a Naga could not possibly write it. The language and the deep historical allusions showed that somebody and not a Naga had written it." (*Times of India*,

5/4/53). Altering the word "Naga" to "Indian", this could be a quotation from E. M. Forster's "A Passage to India"!

Later, however, at a press conference, it proved to be neither the Communists nor the Christians, but the Moslems, who were inciting the Naga tribesmen! "It is no accident that the only portrait hanging on the walls of the South Angami Council, one of the Naga self-governing village units, 10 miles south of Kohima, is of Mohammed Ali Jinnah" (*Times of India*, April 27). A. Z. Phizo, Naga irredentist, was said to be "commonly credited with having tried to persuade the Pakistani Government to take the issue to the United Nations". This might, of course, be so, but it would be far different from an incitement by moslems to Naga independence (which would in no way benefit Pakistan).

It is largely admitted, however, that the Assam Government, responsible for the administration of the Naga Hills, has neglected the local problems for years.

French Wit

A Definition of PARLIAMENT

NAME under which is designated the assembly or assemblies that exercise the legislative power.

In France the legislative power is exercised by the National Assembly.

As its name indicates, the National Assembly legislates only in the interests of the nation.

It is in the national interest, therefore, that it votes the taxes that are paid by no-one but the citizens.

It is in the national interest that it compels the administration to buy at a loss millions of gallons of wine, hundredweights of apples, or industrial quantities of beet so as to transform them into alcohol, thanks to which the wine that is left on the market is scarce enough to be sold at a high price, and sugar is bought abroad.

It is in the national interest that the 627 eminent personalities who compose it spent five years devoting every care to erecting an electoral system that will allow them to be re-elected even if the elector has not voted for them; this ensures the maintenance of the stability indispensable to the good working of the lay, democratic, apostolic, Roman, and social republic.

It is in the national interest that if, by chance, certain among them are nevertheless "scrubbed" it arrogates to itself the right to find a job for these by-products at the council of the Republic.

And if the council of the Republic is full up, at the assembly of the French Union, which was made only for that reason.

And if the Assembly of the French Union is full, then at the National Economic Council.

And if there is no room at the National Economic Council, at U.N.O., or at the Higher Alcohol Council or what have you.

The essential thing is that it should go on.

But if, all the same, it cracks up one day, we shall know why.

From *Le Canard Enchaîné* (Paris)
Translated by E.P.

"We Must Destroy Anarchism"

(From our Special Correspondent)

June 13th.

THE Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Vilem Siroky, said in Bratislava to-day that "tying Czech money to the Soviet rouble was a great success". He made no reference to the great wave of strikes recently sweeping Czechoslovakia, but "explained" to the workers that the so-called financial reform by which their savings were wiped out was "the precondition in building socialism".

He went on to complain to the Tenth Party Congress of "disorder" in party administration, and demanded "the destruction of social democracy and that relic of bourgeois opportunism—Anarchism, and lack of discipline."

After his explanations of Marxism, in which currency reform and financial control by the Kremlin meant socialism, it came ill from Mr. Siroky to refer to Anarchism as a "relic of bourgeois opportunism", but that he may well want to destroy it goes without saying. Mr. Siroky had better hurry up, for long before Bolshevism finally destroys Anarchism it may destroy him and its other pet hangmen.

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Where are the Shepherds?

CONCERN that entries into Roman Catholic seminaries are insufficient to meet the needs of "our steadily growing Catholic population," is expressed by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and the Bishops of Portsmouth, Northampton, Nottingham, Brentwood, and Southwark in a pastoral letter read last Sunday.

The letter states:

"We cannot believe that the youth of to-day are no longer attracted to the dedicated life of a priest or religion. Nor would we wish to believe that they have been blinded by materialist surroundings to the call of the Master to follow Him. Rather are we impressed by the suggestion that the present urgent need for vocations is not fully appreciated."

The letter announces that a vocations exhibition illustrating the life and work of priests, brothers, and nuns will be held next month. It will end with the ordination of thirty priests.

INTERNATIONALIST.

Cussing and Swearing

Continued from p. 2

The underprivileged have their special inferiority neurosis, and their rebellion against it takes a primitive, infantile form. In field and factory, in workshop, barrackroom and jail, their frustration vents itself in floods of sexual and lavatory allusion mingled with all their speech. It is rebellion in its crudest form—rebellion of the male infant against repressive parental authority. These men are suffering from a very real social frustration; economically and politically they are abused and oppressed. Their conscious minds find it hard to grasp the realities of the situation; unconsciously they sum it up symbolically and correctly in the pattern of infantile frustration, and the apparently meaningless stream of obscenity is the result.

It is alleged that women do not swear in quite the same way as men when among themselves. Dr. Freud had his explanation of why female infants did not go through the same emotional crises of development as males; as an explanation we can take it or leave it. I would prefer to side with Jane Austin; she never recorded in her novels the conversation at all-male gatherings, because she could never be present at such occasions. I must therefore decline to comment on the swearing habits of women among women, beyond observing that their talk generally seems smuttier by allusion than by direct reference.

The habit of continual swearing is supposed to be 'manly'; in actual fact we see that it is the reverse, springing from a sense of incomplete adult fulfilment. We may see in practice that it is those men who curse their job and employer most obscenely, who are generally the most subservient to the boss on all practical issues. Swearing is a mere safety valve, a harmless symptom of inner frustration. For men to be cap-

able of effecting a change in their conditions of life it is necessary that the nature of their frustration should be brought to their consciousness, and then they can deal with matters in an adult manner instead of merely reacting in an infantile manner. All truly revolutionary propaganda is directed to this end.

The establishment of a society of free and self-reliant workers will undoubtedly be marked by the decay of obscene swearing, just as blasphemous swearing has decayed with the waning of the power of the Church. While we look forward to the day when all men can call a spade a spade, many people would regret the passing of swearing altogether. Having become a part of our language swearing acts as an embroidery, a decoration to it. People of taste deplore the monotonous over-embroidery of speech, just as they deplore any other vulgar over-decoration; but decoration still has its value. Though obscene swearing may decay, other swear-words come to take its place. Such words as *fascist*, *escapist*, *reactionary*, *bourgeois*, *romantic*, have become firmly established as swearwords, and the possession of a robust vocabulary of these oaths is sufficient to bludgeon down any opponent who attempts to argue against your viewpoint. It will be a sign of change, but not of revolution, when the farm labourer says:

"I'll put my fascist hoe in the reactionary wagon and romance off to see the bourgeois fascist old comrade manager."

He might just as well keep to the old swearwords. But whatever happens I feel sure that we will always find some kind of cussing and swearing with which to embroider our speech, and whatever happens—even in the great and glorious by and by after the revolution—we will always find plenty to cuss and swear about. G.

Restrictions on Movement in America

THE official view in this country of the use of a passport is to protect and assist the holder during his travels in foreign lands. Legally no citizen of this island can be prevented from leaving these shores because he lacks a passport, and for this reason there are no cases, to our knowledge, where the issuing of passports has been refused to applicants. (This actually occurred at the end of the war with Sir Oswald Mosley former leader of the British fascists, but was soon rectified, and one now even reads of Sir Oswald attending British Embassy functions in Paris).

But such is not the case in the Land of the Free. In America you can freely export dollars, and goods (and even armaments, with certain reservations), but you cannot freely export yourself. The number of cases of the withholding of passports from American citizens is continuously increasing, and it now appears that a word from Senator McCarthy is quite sufficient either to detain an American citizen or to deport non-American residents.

A *United Press* report from Washington (8/6/53) discloses that the latest victim is Mr. Frank Coe, former secretary of the International Monetary Fund who has been prevented from leaving the United

States by a "stop order" issued a week ago by Senator McCarthy when Mr. Coe made his first appearance before the committee. Mr. Coe accused Sen. McCarthy of an "outrageous abuse of power" in getting his department to restrict his travel.

He refused to tell the committee to-day whether he discussed Communist arms smuggling to South America during a recent trip to Mexico, but he swore that "as far as I know" he engaged in no illegal activities on the trip.

The former \$20,000 a year IMF secretary said he visited Canada, Mexico, Nassau and Cuba seeking a job.

He said he would give no other details because "I consider it an invasion of my privacy . . . It is bad enough that Congressional investigations have . . . established an employment blacklist for American citizens, of which I am one. I will not participate in establishing a further blacklist . . ."

The Senators ordered Mr. Coe to answer many questions—thus laying the groundwork for possible contempt of Congress action—but he refused on the Constitutional grounds that his answers might tend to incriminate him.

In the case of Mr. Cedric Belfrage, a British journalist and editor, resi-

dent in New York, who was interned in Ellis Island following a deportation order, he has stated, following his release on bail at the direction of the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, that he had been arrested and detained on Ellis Island for almost a month simply because Senator McCarthy had ordered it: "There's no question but that my detention was the result of McCarthy."

Mr. Belfrage said that that point had been brought up at his bail hearing by the Judge when he had asked the Government lawyer what information it had about Mr. Belfrage that it did not have on the day the editor refused to tell Senator McCarthy's sub-committee whether he had ever been a Communist. "And they had none. All they had were old accusations that had been dealt with six years before," Mr. Belfrage declared.

What has happened to the famous Four Freedoms? Have they, like so many wonderful promises made when we were "with our backs to the wall", been stored away in an ice-box, or in plastic moth balls, awaiting a more suitable occasion; that is when they sound very fine, but are promises which cannot be implemented because, once again, we are "with our backs to the wall"?

LIBERTARIAN.

LETTERS TO AND FROM THE EDITORS

The Expression of Disagreement

IN your editorial *Little Authoritarians under the Skin* (FREEDOM, June 13) you invite us to make a comparison between the letters from readers of the *Manchester Guardian* protesting at Low's cartoon and "similar outbursts occasioned by some editorials in FREEDOM in the past months". You have been kind enough to print occasional letters from me expressing my disagreement with views put forward by yourselves and your contributors, and I should not like to think that this has resulted in your developing a persecution complex.

As every editor knows, readers are seldom heard from so long as the material presented to them is to their liking: it is only when they come across something that it pains them to read that they reach for their pens. You have, I think, rather oversimplified the psychology of the situation. I have no wish to defend the views of the protesting readers of the *Manchester Guardian*, but I can understand the reason for their attitude. The *Manchester Guardian* is a conservative paper, even if a relatively progressive one, and most of its readers are conservatively minded and predominantly middle-class. They buy it because they agree in the main with the political and social outlook of those who write it. To such readers the appearance of Low's cartoon must have seemed a gross betrayal of their trust, the more so as they probably felt that this cartoon would give casual readers an erroneous impression of the beliefs they cherish and had supposed "their" paper to be concerned with fostering. Was the reader who said that it was the sort of cartoon one would expect to find in the *Daily Worker* very far from the mark? Is it really the sort of cartoon that you would expect to find in such a paper as the *Manchester Guardian*? I was as surprised as anyone else to learn that this paper had printed such a cartoon, though in my case I was delighted to hear of it because I happen to agree with the sentiments it expressed, and my delight was partly *Schadenfreude** at the thought of the discomfiture of the average *Manchester Guardian* reader. As I say, I do not agree with them, but I am not surprised that they have made their disappointment known.

I can think of only one editorial in FREEDOM in recent months that provoked readers to write and tell you of their disagreement with your views. I do not know why you wish to resuscitate that episode and I had hoped we had heard the last of it. But as you have done so I would suggest that if readers were moved to write and tell you they disagreed with you it was surely not because they wanted to express "their contempt for free expression where it is not in accord with their own ideas" but rather because they felt that the "solution of problems by discussion and agreement" would be furthered more by speaking up than by keeping their mouths shut. Among anarchists there is more co-operation between writer and reader, and the expression of reasoned disagreement (which you seem to regard as "abuse") should help to clear away misconceptions. You do not, I trust, expect your readers to be merely passive

Czech & E. German Unrest

Continued from p. 1

sections of the population were deprived of ration cards, has promised to review all sentences for failure to deliver full quotas of goods to the State and those of less than 3 years for crimes against "State property". It has also promised the return of their farms (or full compensation) and full citizenship to all those farmers who have fled to the West.

It is plain that the intention is to relax tension and try to recover civilian economy. The refugees however may well be wary of accepting these offers: they may prefer not to provide themselves as "kulaks" to be the scapegoats in a future reversal of policy such as happened in 1928 and 1929 in Russia when the N.E.P. was superseded by the first Five Year Plan.

The Russians have not changed their spots as to method either: the changed policy carries with it all the usual castigation for mistakes in the past and General Chaikov and two hundred of his staff have been recalled to Moscow. The new measures and the admission of "past errors" has exposed the Socialist Unity Party to unpopularity and many of them regard the new policy as a betrayal by Moscow. All this is nothing new.

The "fair offers" to refugees and the improved living standard (if it materialises) in the East have obvious propaganda value for Russia in the cold war over divided Germany. The Communists are once again at their old game of wooing the Social Democrats and despite all experience they will no doubt be successful in many instances in using them as stalking horses for the attack on political rivals in West Germany.

absorbers of what the oracle reveals. After all, as La Rochefoucauld says, "C'est une grande folie de vouloir être sage tout seul."**

London, June 14. EDWIN PEEKE.

[It may not have escaped readers notice that the whole of comrade Peeke's letter deals with 18 words in a two column editorial. If we had tendencies to persecution complexes such treatment would justify them! But one thing we learned long ago (and as the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* pointed out in the *Low* controversy) was that no editor can please all his readers all the time, and particularly is this the case with FREEDOM whose editorial policy is not influenced by considerations of circulation or the sensitiveness of advertisers. Comrade Peeke need lose no sleep over his contributions giving us a persecution complex, though in saying this we would not wish to deprive him of his "schadenfreude" in writing them, particularly when we add that we believe that in his letter he has missed the whole point, and clearly has not followed Low over the years to realise that the cartoon in question is mild by comparison with many that were published in the *Evening Standard* (and if he was then a reader of the *Manchester Guardian* he would know that they were re-printed in that paper). The point we made was that it was significant that certain readers of the *Manchester Guardian* were able to write-off all the positive achievements of that paper and its cartoonist on the strength of one cartoon, and at the same time suggest that either Low should be sacked or at least be controlled by the Editor. Similarly in the case of FREEDOM's editorial on Herbert Read a number of letters suggested that we should be sacked or excommunicated; comrade Peeke suggested that it should have graced the columns of a conservative paper, others suggested Tit-Bits and so on, while others just dismissed all Herbert Read's writings on the strength of his action. Disagree by all means, but let us also express our ideas even when you disagree with them without raising great howls. It often strikes us that it is among some of our correspondents that the persecution complexes are to be found, vide the letter from Mr. Ritter, published below.

Pity the poor Editors . . . but if you don't it doesn't matter. They can "take it". And some readers take up their pens not only to disagree but also to encourage us to go on, and since Editors have also a human side to their personalities, we cannot deny that this pleases us!—EDITORS.]

(*Schadenfreude=malignant joy. **"It is a great mistake to wish to be wise on one's own".—EDITORS.)

READERS WRITE . . .

Justice

I FEEL that Giovanni Baldelli's extraordinary panegyric of del Vecchio's essay on justice ("FREEDOM, 16/5/53) should not be allowed to go completely unanswered. The reviewer seems to be as drunk with the abstract purity of metaphysical concepts as the author, and I have no hesitation in saying that most of his article is completely meaningless. It does not differ in this respect, however, from much of the work of those philosophers, such as Hegel, Fichte, and Plato, whom he apparently admires. Thank God that the metaphysical idealism of a Fichte or a Hegel has not corrupted the social idealism of most Anarchists, as it has that of Marx and his followers.

For all true lovers of justice it is a material reality, existing here and now or not at all. We are not content that it should enjoy a merely vicarious existence in the stifling formulations of jurists and metaphysicians, and I see little enough striving among the former "to make positive law coincide as far as possible with ideal justice." Even Aristotle, who was no friend of the people, admitted that most men considered justice to be equality (even though he promptly proceeded to pervert that definition), and the acceptance of equality as the basic positive quality of justice wipes out at one blow nine-tenths of everything that has been written about it.

While agreeing most strongly with Giovanni Baldelli's plea for treating anarchy as a practical proposition, that is for working out the actual material implications of anarchist ideals and taking whatever steps seem to lead towards their realisation, I cannot think that the cause of justice is served by working hand in glove with the helmeted and bewigged servants of the law. I do not know what Baldelli means by the "ethical state"; but in any case justice is not a quality of institutions but of men. What I do know is that inequity

Reich & a Grouse

WHEN I wrote to you protesting against the misrepresentation of Reich's work some time ago, in relation to Gibson's book *Youth for Freedom*, you chose to ignore my points. Perhaps you are not too sure of yourself or selves and feel that such criticism publicised would unduly minimise your sales.

However—your recent article "The Environment of Freedom" by Holley Cantine again mentions Reich's work, misinforms the public about it with one sweeping statement, and alludes to its faults. It is with this allusion that I think the mark has been overstepped:

Cantine says: "The Dobuans have the identical sexual institutions as the Trobriand Islanders . . ." and from this deduces the basis for his argument against Reich and much else.

Now, I don't wish to niggle with the bad English of the sentence. I do want to point out that if anybody would like to look at page 279 of the 1929 edition of *The Sexual Life of the Savages* by Malinowski, there, the author, of most of the writing on the cultures concerned, points out a difference which seems a vital one. Elsewhere other differences can be found. Suffice to show that the above statement is factually wrong. Therefore the argument against Reich, etc., is on a false basis. Therefore the statement at the beginning of the article loses it worth if it is based on the latter argument.

But I don't think you care. As long as a writer makes out that the Anarchists alone have the truth, it's acceptable. You drag in almost anybody when they substantiate a tenet of belief but never show how this was arrived at, because the man had non-anarchist, or extra-anarchist, methods of approach. Pity.

Nottingham, June 6. PAUL RITTER.

SPIES ON CAMPUS

ACCORDING to testimony before a Congressional committee investigating schools, several California colleges and universities have hired full-time spies to do investigation work in classrooms and on the campus. The said snoopers make regular reports to the presidents of the institutions on what the profs. and the students are saying.

(*Industrial Worker*, New York)

of power, privilege, and material wealth is inimical to justice, and that the only practical proposition for its ultimate realisation is the complete reconstruction of society on the basis of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

DONOVAN PEDELT.

London, S.W.11. June 1st

THE LAW TRYING TO CATCH UP WITH REALITY

AN amendment to the Road Transport Lighting (Amendment) Bill giving the Minister of Transport power to legalise the parking of motor-vehicles using parking lights only was accepted by the Government in the House of Commons last week. It was moved by Mr. J. E. Powell (C. Wolverhampton S.W.) and provides for the use of parking lights only on vehicles standing in a place specially set aside for the purpose, on road verges, and in lighted streets within a hundred yards of a street lamp.

Mr. G. Braithwaite (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport) said the Minister must reserve his position. Many consultations were necessary with those concerned, especially the Home Secretary and the police, before he would be in a position to declare whether, or indeed how, he was ready to give effect by regulation to the permissive power which was here proposed. "Without at this stage giving any undertaking, the Minister does not wish to resist the grant of the power proposed in the amendment. He recognises that, in some circumstances and subject to a number of conditions, the use of parking lamps might prove to be a useful contribution to road safety."

The possibility of legalising these lamps had been under examination for many years and opinion had not been unfavourable, subject to a number of safeguards which would cover such matters as the limitation of the class of vehicles to which the relaxation might

What is "Workers' Control"?

YOUR comment on the *Tribune* article about the miners' cinema at Porth is just as muddled as the article itself.

"Workers' control" means, not control by some workers of just anything, but control by workers of the place where they work. Otherwise, the Co-ops would be examples of workers' control. In point of fact, the miners' lodge in this instance is a kind of Co-op; it is not made less so by the fact of its members being miners instead of housewives, and its property being a cinema instead of a grocery store.

No doubt members' participation is less merely nominal than in the big town Co-ops. But in many of the smaller provincial Co-ops the members play as active a part in their society as these miners do in theirs. Whatever the size and social background of the society, it remains true that the enterprise is being run, not by the workers in it, but by somebody outside—an employer. Whether it's profit-making or not makes no difference; it's still not workers' control.

In your last paragraph, you merely succeed in being silly. What should be obvious from the history of the last hundred years is that workers find it far easier to run enterprises "outside their everyday work" than "the industries in which they work". Why else has consumers' co-operation flourished and thrived all over the country, while producers' co-operation is confined to a few small workshops?

Quite why workers should have reacted in this way is not certain. But evidently, whether through habit, tradition, propaganda or basic inability, they have found it more possible to accept capitalistic relations than anarchistic ones. They have preferred a state of affairs in which management and financial control was divorced from directly productive activity, to one in which the two were carried out by the same people. Consumer co-operatives fit more readily into this scheme of things than producer co-operatives, so the former have been preferred to the latter.

The activities of the Lewis Merthyr Lodge are merely a further instance of this.

P. J. ROLLINGS.

EDITORS REPLY:

We pointed out in the first paragraph of our comment on the *Tribune* article that there were things in their story of the cinema run by miners with which we disagreed. We said "It can be said that the miners are acting just like capitalists . . ." Mr. Rollings obliges by saying it.

It is, we feel, rather an understatement to speak of the miners' participation as "less merely nominal than in the big town Co-ops," for the article showed how directly the miners control the cinema, while the manager and two projectionists are disabled ex-miners and are presumably still members of the lodge

apply, the places in which the vehicles might be parked, and perhaps also the hours during which they might be so parked.

An official of the Standing Joint Committee of the Royal Automobile Club, the Automobile Association, and the Royal Scottish Automobile Club said yesterday:

"We welcome Mr. Powell's proposal that the single parking light showing white to the front and red to the rear should be legalised. This has long been advocated by the motoring organisations, and will bring the law into line with a practice which is widespread and which, by and large, the police have accepted."

REALITY TRYING TO CATCH UP WITH THE LAW

WASHINGTON, June 8 (A.P.)—

THE Supreme Court to-day upheld an 1873 law which requires District of Columbia residents to serve Negroes provided they are well behaved.

The act has not been enforced for many years. But not even an 8-to-0 ruling wiped out the long litigation that has grown out of the practice in many eating places here of refusing to serve Negroes.

The court put off until next autumn—at the earliest—any decision on the legality of racial segregation in public schools. Lawyers have said any general ruling on the segregation issue would affect states—mostly Southern states—which require complete or partly separate school systems, plus three other states which permit segregation of whites and Negroes.

and play an equal part in the discussions of policy in connection with the cinema.

We are rather surprised that Mr. Rollings should be puzzled as to why workers "have found it more possible to accept capitalistic relations than anarchistic ones" in a capitalist society. It should be fairly obvious that it is easier to accept something which conforms to the normal environment than something which is radically opposed to it. And it is easier to undertake activities which do not seriously interfere with one's security than those which do.

Hence the popularity of reformist and political organisations as against revolutionary ones. Hence also such co-operative ventures as that of the Birmingham postmen who started their own house-building society, which was far easier to do than attempting to take over the Post Office. But their action remains a good example of co-operation and self-reliance by workers attempting to satisfy their needs.

It was because the Porth miners had presented us with another example of this that we thought the article worth reprinting. We did not put it forward as revolutionary activity, but simply as activity which should be encouraged, for this reason: the greatest barrier to the achievement of workers' control is not the inability of workers to make it successful, it is the workers' lack of confidence in themselves.

That is why in our silly last paragraph we claimed that it is obvious that "workers could successfully run the industries in which they work, if they really set their minds to it". Clearly, they are not setting their minds to it, but we are trying to encourage them to do so. It can hardly be said that Mr. Rollings is doing the same.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

TOWER HILL
Tuesdays at 12.30 p.m.

INDOOR MEETINGS

At 9, Fitzroy Square, Warren Street,
London, W.1.

JUNE 23—Jack Robinson on
THE HOMOSEXUAL AND
SOCIETY

JUNE 30—Reshad Gool on
LIBERALISM & CHRISTIANITY
IN AFRICA

The meetings will be held on TUESDAYS
at 7.30 p.m.

NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS
IN EAST HAM

Alternate Wednesdays
at 7.30 p.m.

BRADFORD

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Broadway Car Park
Sundays at 8.30

GLASGOW

OUTDOOR MEETINGS
from now until further notice

at
MAXWELL STREET,
Sundays at 7 p.m.

With John Gaffney, & others

MANCHESTER
LIBERTARIAN GROUP

Meetings at
LAND O' CAKES HOTEL
Gt. Ancoats Street, (by Daily Express)
at 7 p.m. on 2nd & 4th Sundays in
every month. June 14, 28, etc.
Enquiries to:
J. Pinkerton, 12 Alt Road,
Ashton-Under-Lyne, Lancs.

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