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"To argue against any breach of liberty from the ill use that may be made of it, is to argue against liberty itself, since all is capable of being abused."

-LORD LYTTLETON.

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Threepence

# UGANDA & THE AFRICAN CRISIS

MORE light is gradually being shed on the situation in Uganda which became a topic for British newspapers when Sir Andrew Cohen, the Governor of Uganda and the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton decided to banish the Kabaka Mutesa II. Of course the first point that has to be made is that this crisis like any other colonial crisis has roots which go back far earlier than the immediate situation. As an editorial writer has said: "The crisis in Uganda is such a vague affair that it is doubtful whether even now there is in this country a proper appreciation of its gravity, or even of what it is really all about. The difficulty about this type of colonial crisis is that it becomes "real" only when it explodes, as in the case of Guiana or Kenya..." (Observer, 21/2/54).

(our italics). Thus the public response is always to the immediate explosion, never to the causes of it. Governments exploit this superficiality of response with consistent shamelessness.

Even so the superficial course of the explosive events in Uganda leading up to the deposition of the Kabaka are now sufficiently clear to show that the Colonial Office has behaved with the heavy-handedness and flat-footedness that we have come to expect. To give greater force to the argument we will quote some of the British newspapers which have attempted a sane analysis.

"An incipient crisis that has smouldered for many years in Buganda, the political and economic heart of the Protectorate—erupted suddenly last July. The immediate cause was a speech made by Mr. Lyttelton, which was interpreted by Africans as threatening them with an East African Federation to which they are bitterly opposed." (Colin Legum, Observer, 21/2/54. Italics ours).

The White Paper on the deposition of the Kabaka admits that the Governor.

Sir Andrew Cohen, was thoroughly embarassed by Mr. Lyttelton's speech, but the loser was to be the Kabaka and the idea of democracy in Buganda which the event showed was treated by the Colonial Office only as a carrot to delude the donkey. Let us quote again from Colin Legum:

"The Kabaka was abroad at the time (i.e. of Mr. Lyttelton's speech.) He returned to find his Kingdom in a state of political uproar. Demands quickly went far beyond the immediate question of federation and embraced such issues as self-government for Buganda.

"As the constitutional spokesman of his people, the Kabaka opened negotiations with the Governor on the issues first raised by his Ministers and subsequently endorsed by the Lukiko, the Bugunda Parliament.

"Having flown to London and obtained a satisfactory assurance from Mr. Lyttelton about federation, Sir Andrew Cohen prepared a Government statement turning down the demands of the Lukiko, including that of self-government

cluding that of self-government.

"He asked that the Kabaka should

accept the Government's reply, and that he should carry out his earlier promise, since retracted at the instigation of the Lukiko, to nominate Baganda members to the new Legislative Council. This meant that the Kabaka would have to repudiate his own views and those of his Ministers. He would have to appear before his Lukiko, presenting the views of the Government as his own. He refused to do this.

"Sir Andrew Cohen, having first tried to persuade him, resorted to his rights under the 1900 Uganda Agreement, which obliges the Kabaka to speak for the Government if called upon to do so.

"For more than 50 years successive Kabakas had always obeyed this rule and hitherto the present Kabaka had been as pliant as his predecessors. But on this occasion he refused point-blank. He must have known the risks he was taking yet he chose to engage in an unequal contest—the Kabaka, a young man inclined to passivity and timidity, taking his stand against the Governor, widely renowned for his remarkable powers of persuasion and leadership.

"Yet, throughout six long interviews, Sir Andrew failed to bend the will of the normally suppliant Kabaka to his own. Something remarkable must have happened either to the Kabaka as a person or to the situation in which he found himself to explain this revolt. Many explanations for this are offered.

"The most favoured official explanation is the incredible-sounding suggestion that the Kabaka desired to be banished in order to rid himself out of his domestic frustrations.

"The explanation offered by the Kabaka is that he was confronted with the alternative of being deposed either by the Governor or by his own people who, he claims, had reached the point where they were no longer prepared to tolerate a 'Governor's stooge' as their Kabaka."

Few reasonable peopld will be inclined to accept the government's alleged explanation. The position put forward by the Kabaka was that which he was bound to give expression to as spokesman for his parliament the Lukiko. The well-known writer on African affairs, Miss Margery Penham, wrote in a letter to the Times that "the Kabaka was suspended bewilderingly between the old absolutism and the new status of constitutional ruler with a rapidly awakening representative assembly."

In other words, the agreement of 1900 makes the Kabaka a native ruler who tells the peope what the Colonial Government have decided for them. But the democratic structure of Buganda government had advanced far enough to 1953 for the Lukiko to instruct the Kabaka as to what he was to tell the Governor. Every Colonial Government whether Conservative or Labour speaks about leading the backward peoples towards democracy and self-government, but in practice they rely upon the agreements of 1900 or on naked force as in Kenya and Tanganyika. The word that springs to the lips to describe this behaviour is-hypocrisy.

The Observer's editorial (21/2/54) says:

"The Government may seek to justify this by claiming that the Kabaka has shown himself "unreliable" and alleging that his defiance of the Governor's will was a personal decision. But this is hard to prove, because his refusal to accede to the Governor's wishes was on the direct instructions of his native Parliament, the Lukiko."

This supports a similar point made, also in an editorial, in the Manchester Guardian (18/2/54):

"But the situation which led to his conflict with the Governor remains. The proposals on which Mutesa unwisely insisted did not come from a vacuum. Too late, he tried to withdraw from his exposed position and to fall back on the more moderate policy expounded in the memorandum of the delegates from the Lukiki, the assembly of his kingdom of

Continued on p. 3

## Paddington Evictions Again

the cases of two families who were tenants of the Paddington Borough Council being threatened with eviction when the husbands were sent to prison. An outcry ensued and the matter was deferred for future discussion. We warned at that time that this was probably a way of avoiding the public indignation aroused by the threatened evictions. It appears that our warning was well-justified as the following report (Times, 19/2/54) shows:

"Miss Phyllis Jenkins, aged 35, mother of three children, was informed outside Paddington council chamber last night that the council had rejected by 34 votes to 27 a motion that she should be found another home. Mrs. Jenkins, whose husband is serving a 12 months' sentence in Cardiff prison, is to be evicted from her council flat in John Aird Court, Harrow Road, W.

"The decision to evict her was taken two months ago, but the housing sub-committee decided in December not to act on the eviction order for three months. A special meeting of the council last night, called to consider a Labour motion that Mrs. Jenkins should be found alternative accommodation, went into private session after long debate in public.

"Alderman N. Kenyon, replying to the debate, said that the question whether Mr. Jenkins was in prison 'ought not to affect the council's mind one iota." The fact was that the tenants were 'thoroughly unsatisfactory tenants from almost every point of view. He moved that the council should go into committee so that he could give details.

"There were cries of protest from Labour members and some people in the public gallery when the council decided, also by 34 votes to 27, to exclude Press and public from the rest of the debate. Mrs. Jenkins left the public gallery with others who had been listening to the debate."

## American Teachers & Witch-hunts

THE eightieth annual convention of the American Association of School Administrators was held earlier this month in Atlantic City and attended by 16,000 superintendents, college officials and other educators. Major issues facing American education were considered in a series of general sessions and panel meetings.

At a special panel session, held jointly by the administrators and the National Council for the Social Studies, the speakers split on the question of teacher reaction to city as well as national investigating committees, Dr. Samuel D. Moskowitz, principal of the Bayside High School in New York City and editor of the Board of Education's publication, "Strengthening Democracy", said that in the current inquiry not one liberal or non-Communist teacher had suffered.

In removing the Communist teacher, Dr. Moskowitz said, it was necessary to protect the innocent, the non-conformist and the dissenter. In New York City, he declared, Superintendent William Jansen has set up a fair and successful procedure for questioning teachers and removing subversives who are guilty of insubordination. Out of a staff of 38,000,

#### Worse than Prison?

THE six Michigan Communists found guilty of conspiracy, etc. . . . (discussed elsewhere in this issue) were offered alternative sentences by the judge: prison sentences of between four and five years or going to the Soviet Union. He said to them:

"Under Federal law I can change this sentence any time within the next sixty days and if any of you should decide you you want to go to Russia I should be glad to do so. You are guilty of the greatest offence of which a citizen could be convicted—conspiracy for the over-throw of your Government."

It seems to us that the implications of this are far reaching. Are we reaching the stage where American citizens will be deprived of their American citizenship—as was the practise in the fascist and totalitarian countries?

he declared, only 234 have been directed to appear for interview.

"Less than 1 per cent. of our staff has thus been implicated," Dr. Moskowitz maintained, "and no liberal or non-Communist has suffered."

This statement was challenged immediately by Dr. Herbert C. Clish, superintendent of schools in San Francisco.

"I haven't come all the way across the country to my native East," he said with emphasis, "and have anyone tell me that the liberal or non-Communist teachers in New York City have not suffered. I

don't believe that for a single moment.
"I hope that nobody will leave this room to-day thinking that teachers are not afraid. Of course they are. They

are afraid to discuss controversial issues in the classrooms. They are afraid of community pressures. In a number of school systems a climate of fear has developed within the teaching profession,"

Taking a similar view Dr. Leanord S.

Taking a similar view, Dr. Leanord S. Kenworthy, associate professor of education in Brooklyn College, said that he was appalled at the "climate of fear" that existed in the country to-day.

## He Refused to become an Informer

A PHILADELPHIA teacher called to testify before the Un-American Activities Committee investigating Commission in Philadelphia schools, admitted that he had been a Communist Party member from 1935 until 1946 or 1947. His reasons for joining and for leaving the Party give one an insight into the kind of people who get caught up in such organisations. He said he had joined because he had been told that it was liberal and that its social and political programme did not differ greatly from that of the Roosevelt Administration.

He said he left the party and had "lost interest" in causes that formerly had held his attention, and because he had acquired a second wife and the "mode

and manner" of his life had changed.

But what really interests us in this case is the fact that though the teacher, Dr. Wilbur L. Mahaney Jr. was prepared to admit membership of the party he flatly refused to name others who were in with him. He was warned repeatedly that by his refusal he left himself open to charges of Contempt of Congress, but he replied that as a matter of conscience he did not wish to be "an informer".

Obviously, as can be shown with hundreds of examples, the success of the witch-hunt is dependent on everyone spying on everyone else; people racking their brains to remember what so-and-so said twenty years ago; and above all everybody reporting to the F.B.I. what they knew about the political backgrounds of their neighbours and colleagues at work. Indeed it is considered un-American by the Un-American Activities Committee not to do so. In other words the despicable rôle of the informer has in America been raised to the level of a social service. And Dr. Mahaney, who retains a healthy dislike for the informer, (in spite of his long association with the C.P.), far from this being considered a point in his favour in fact leaves him open to a prison sentence for contempt!

ONE does not notice even the slightest blush of shame from those who recount how they wormed their ways into the confidence of individuals or organisations with the only intention of obtaining evidence against them. In the recently concluded trial in Detroit of six Michigan C.P.ers, all of whom were found guilty of the usual charges of "conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence" it was stated that: "Most of the Government witnesses were former Communists or informers placed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Communist party cells, Some had been so operating for as long

One "nark" had a double assignment in that he reported both to the F.B.I. and to the Ford Motor Company.

as fifteen years."

## 350 SCOTS MINERS SACKED

THE entire labour force of Northfield Colliery, Shotts, Lanarkshire, has been sacked by the National Coal Board on the grounds of alleged "restriction of effort".

When the men came up from the day shift last Friday they all found in their pay packets a slip of paper saying:

"The N.C.B. regret that, due to restriction of effort by the majority of the pieceworkers at the colliery, they have been left no alternative but to serve seven days' notice on all employees except certain maintenance workers."

No details have been made public as to what exactly the restrictive practices were—unless they were simply a reflection of the lack of desire on behalf of the miners to work themselves out of their jobs.

For the coal has been running out in the Shotts coalfield for a long time, and

#### E.T.U. GUERILLAS— NEW MOVE

THE E.T.U. leaders are planning to return to a tactic they used last summer—that of picking out firms whose chiefs sit on the employers' 12-man wagenegotiating committee.

On Monday the union called out 900 electricians in two big London firms for seven days.

With electricians already on strike, Monday's total was expected to be about 3,000.

Apparently nothing is happening to further the winning of the E.T.U.'s wage claim.

Both sides are deadlocked, and the Ministry of Labour stands discreetly aside. Delay is being effected at atom sites, power stations, factories, oil refineries. And the cost to the E.T.U. strike fund must now be close to £200,000.

the threat of closure has hung over many a pit. And in fact many pits have closed down, and since nationalisation it has been a deliberate policy on the part of the N.C.B. to direct their new equipment and their labour forces to the richer, more economically worked pits, and to close down those which made a loss.

The National Coal Board, after all, is operating a major industry in a capitalist society, and the motive force there is the showing of profit. Planning on a national scale means that broad issues have to be considered, and the men who actually do the work occasionally have to be sacrificed so that the figures for the whole country look good.

It may seem to the outsider that it is no sacrifice for a miner to be shifted from a pit where the seams are narrow and the coal hard to get, and sent to a different county, to work in mines where equipment is good and the seams thick and—it would appear—easier to work.

But he is a bold outsider who tries to tell miners their business—and a callous planner who ignores the human element in any industry that creates its own social environment as mining does.

Shotts has two cinemas, about a dozen public-houses, several religious clubs, and above all, what is probably the finest miners' institute in Scotland. This institute has a swimming bath, tennis courts, bowling greens, and libraries and is the hub of a very active social life. Although Shotts is no beauty spot, its inhabitants—the miners and their families—have created in it a community life richer by far than that of most planned and tastefully laid-out housing estates.

What a pity then, that the pits are "uneconomical". Last year, says the N.C.B., Northfield Colliery lost £60,000, and because the seams are getting narrower and more difficult to work, mechanisation has been held back—because the production would not justify the expense.

# William Godwin and his World

WILLIAM GODWIN AND HIS WORLD, by Rosalie Glynn Grylls. (Odhams Press, 21/-).

DURING the latter half of his life William Godwin wrote a monumental book on Chaucer. At that time there was little actual information on Chaucer's life—there is not a great deal more to-day—and Godwin brought his work up to volume length by an elaborate discussion of the cultural and social life in the England where Chaucer wrote.

Miss Glynn Grylls has provided Time's poetic revenge on Godwin. For she has written a book in which so much attention is paid to Godwin's world and, comparatively, so little to himself, that reading her book is rather like travelling through one of those heavily mountainous areas which divide Mexico into regions. A hundred miles to the north rises Popocatépetl, and when we come to the top of a ridge we see for a while its gleaming cone of snow. Then we descend into a valley where, hemmed in by the organ cacti and the nopal, we lose sight of our landmark for a while, only to rise once again on to the hilltops and catch a further taltalising glimpse, and so on to the end of our journey.

Not that the valleys into which Miss Grylls leads us are without their fascination. The largest extends over more than 30 pages out of a book of 240; not one whisper of Godwin's name sounds in its populated confines, but we meet there the English visitors, radical and otherwise, who flocked to Revolutionary Paris and contributed to its colourful pattern. Godwin, of course, never went to Paris, but Mary Wollstonecraft did, and Miss Grylls makes this her excuse for an excursion which takes up more than an eighth of her book. The other valleys into which we descend are not so broad, but numerous enough, and, at a rough guess, I should say that on nearly half the pages of this book we shall search in vain for the name of the man who is supposed to be its subject.

This is paying Godwin back for Chaucer with a vengeance, and Miss Grylls, I think, has less justification. Godwin brought forth a great deal of information about Chaucer's time that was not generally known in the early nineteenth century. Miss Grylls, on the other hand, embroiders her picture of the Godwinian world with familiar threads, and, while she does bring for-

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ward some new facts, they are slight and

Yet despite this diffuse structure, and despite a bowing to hackneyed fictional techniques by starting arbitrarily with the Treason Trials of 1794 and flashing back and forth from there, William Godwin and his World is a readable and pleasant book; the personality of its author comes through as amiable and fair-minded. But it also seems to be a personality of curious punctiliousnesses. In her bibliography, Miss Grylls mentions the two contemporary biographies of Godwin, and then says that she has read neither of them, "in order to avoid plagiarism". Now, this may be the voice of conscious originality speaking, but it is hardly the voice of thorough scholarship. As author of one of the biographies in question, I am ready to admit that Miss Grylls might have gained nothing from reading it; even so, it seems to me that a writer who sets out to produce an authoritative book on any subject should read all the literature on which he can lay his hands, if only to be able to bring knowledge up to date by pointing out how his predecessors have erred. As for plagiarism, I feel this is a much over-rated question. Ideas are rarely original; they spring from the general body of thought of their age, and he who can use them well has an ample right to adopt or adapt them. There has always seemed to me an atrocious perversity in people who write to spread ideas, and then cry Plagiarist when somebody else takes them up. Shakespeare, let us be grateful, was an unabashed plagiarist, but nobody thinks the worse of him to-day.

The publisher's blurb claims that Miss Grylls tries to trace something of Godwin's "influence on political thought". In fact, her efforts in this direction are rudimentary indeed. Political Justice itself and the whole question of Godwin's influence are summed up in less than ten pages. Miss Grylls, following Professor F. E. L. Priestley, tells us that

Godwin was more puritan than libertarian, and gives us a fair idea of her view of the way influence works by claiming that, because Godwin hoped to see a withering of the State, "in this he is a Marxist". Surely, unless Marx was born a good deal earlier than the records say, we should say rather that in thisand as far as he shared the belief sincerely-Marx was Godwinian! As for Godwin's anarchism, Miss Grylls insists perversely on using "the term, as generally understood", i.e. to mean indiscriminate violence, and therefore infers that Godwin was hardly an anarchist. Surely the least we can expect of a serious writer on a subject of this kind is that she should accept the meaning of a word like anarchism as it is understood by students of politics and sociology, and not as it is understood by the hacks of the daily press. By such a definition, that of a doctrine of society without authoritarian government, Godwin was undoubtedly an anarchist. But the quibble which Miss Grylls makes over this point gives a fair idea of the quality of her ability to judge his "influence on political thought". As a biographical peepshow into the London of the Romantics her book is patchy but pleasant, as a guide to the political life of the time it is hardly reliable.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

A CAUTION TO EVERYBODY

Consider the auk;

Becoming extinct because he forgot how to fly, and could only walk. Consider man, who may well become extinct

Because he forgot how to walk and learned how to fly before he thinked.

OGDEN NASH.

(\*From The Private Dining-Room and other new verses by Ogden Nash, Dent, 1953, 8/6d.)

A Tagore Testament

A TAGORE TESTAMENT, translated by Indu Dutt. (Meridian Books, London).

THE lovers of Rabindranath Tagore's poetry are likely to meet with disappointment if they expect from this collection of essays the same freshness and charm that made his poems so disarming and convincing. If, however, their mind delights in the vague and impalpable, shunning sharpness, solidarity and precision, or if they choose to be overtly generous, they can ascribe to his lyrical temperament the looseness and shallowness of thought transpiring in many passages of this book the same as they probably excused some of his poetical failings on account of philosophical depth. As one who at the age of seventeen found his poetry a revelation and lived in the spirit of it some of the most joyful months of my life, I should be the last to pass on him a judgment that to some readers may appear unwarranted or too severe. But stemming as it does from some of the most important preoccupations of my maturer years I feel my scruples have to be overcome.

Tagore sees the development of his poetry as obeying the same law which makes a tree blossom, fruit and seed, each stage being final and sufficient in itself, and yet transcended by a wider, irresistable purpose. Nor does this vision apply only to his poetry. "It is equally evident," he writes, "that my life, as it is taking shape through all the hazards of joys and sorrows, harmony and discords, is also being strung into one significant continuity by some unknown hand". Indu Dutt, his translator, commenting on this unity of life through all outward conflicts and opposites, says that "it requires tremendous courage, suffering to an immeasurable degree, an overcoming of constant struggle and conflict to be able to discover life as God's greatest gift of love." There is no doubting the sincerity of Tagore's poetry, his sensuousness, his cosmic effusion, and his joy. But there is doubting he really experienced pain and sorrow to that degree which, whether measurable or not, ends in revulsion and despair. He writes too fondly, too poetically, in too literary a manner even, of the Terrible and Reckless One, the Eternal Dancer that tosses up great sacredness and great sin, by which he means the "Lunatic" presiding in this creation. Tragedy is very beautiful and most inspiring when it is somebody else's tragedy or, being our own, can still be detachedly contemplated before it actually grips us, tears us to pieces

Thus J. P. Sartre, I imagine, would not

hesitate to call Tagore a 'salaud' (a rotter, in English), a title he inflicts on all those who do not think like him and in particular on those who have the cheek to preach, or preach with their tongue in their cheek, that "all things are bright and beautiful". Of course, life is truly wonderful if one can believe in God and in oneself being the object of God's love. Equally no moment of joy would be possible or complete if it had not all things bright and beautiful in the background. But Tagore speaks of a joy (p. 64) the blissful aspect of which does not renounce evil, but transcends evil. What Tagore means by this joy that transcends evil and is "achieved only by bringing all divisions, all contradictions to their perfected form, and not by denying them" is not understandable in terms of human experience. Unless transcending means forgotting, I defy anyone to experience joy at the thought of, or speak of divine purpose and love in the death and torture of children. A priest could lie to others in this matter, but a mother could not, however hard she tried to lie to God and herself. It is also sinisterly easier, I suspect, for the torturers to bebelieve in the love of God than it is for the tortured.

With this I do not intend to suggest that one should embrace J. P. Sartre's compulsion continually to dwell in one's thoughts with the sordid, the absurd, and discordant aspects of life. His position, although envied in certain quarters, is far from exemplary, and neither is it free from ambiguity. Tagore may be seeing the wood and not the trees, and Sartre the trees but not the wood as their different vision depends both on the place where they are standing and on the way they choose to look. The accusation of bad faith, however, would be equally justified against either choice, while if the tree is to be judged by the fruit it bears, the joy Tagore can communicate through his poems is to be preferred to Sartre's genuine enough but highly commercialized despair.

One thinks of a possible or, rather, impossible integration. It is the anarchist's psychological antinomy: he wants himself and others to be joyful and serene, and at the same time he cannot remain indifferent to anything that is experienced as evil by him or any of his kind. Perhaps a practical solution consists in doing one's utmost to relieve, or at least not to add, to human suffering and evil, hoping that serenity if not joy will eventually accompany the performance of such task. It would then be wise to avoid both Tagore's cosmic

raptures and Sartre's cosmic despair.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

WHY SO FEW ANARCHISTS?

CONSIDERING the sort of society that we live in it seems at first sight amazing that everyone is not some sort of anarchist. Yet as can be seen from the controversy aroused by my article "Why so Few Anarchists?" published some weeks ago, such is not the case.

It is indeed difficult to understand how anyone can accept our present form of society. Yet everyone does so, and even many who have been anarchists and revolutionaries return to the fold later in life.

Every man and woman has some sort of philosophy of life. It is a necessity of existence. In order to adjust themselves to the world around them they must have some sort of explanation of why they do so, and why the world is as it is. The majority of people do not of course sit down and think it all out. Their philosophy of life is largely unconscious. But we would be making a mistake if we imagined that it is a hedonistic one. On the contrary it seems to me that the majority of people, in European civilisations at any rate, even though they have mostly dropped Christianity, seem to have an outlook on life that has all the pessimism of Christianity without its compensations.

They do not consider for instance that happiness is a right that all should demand. On the contrary they seem to view it as a reward. A reward for virtue in theory but in practice rather a reward for unpleasure, if not for outright suffering. Sexual happiness for instance is the recompense for an adolescence of miserable continence and loneliness.

Nor should one pursue happiness. The more you pursue it the more it eludes you. An even more gloomy school of thought regards it as a matter of luck, if it does not come that's just your bad fortune, it is no good grumbling or complaining, and there is precious little you can do about it.

From this it follows that suffering is really good for us. I am not here thinking about the overtly religious people, who think that suffering in this world procures a ticket to the next, provided that it is suffering endured in a good cause of course. I am only considering the ordinary person to whom suffering appears "good for the character" in some mysterious way.

It may be so in some cases, there may in fact be people who have been made more sympathetic for others because of their own distress. There may well be people whose nature has been strengthened by the ordeals they have undergone. But I have never met any. On the other hand anyone who has had the care of an invalid, or been one themselves, will be inclined to be a bit sceptical about this theory of the good effects of pain.

As regards the infliction of suffering everyone except a few silly anarchists or similar crackpots, agree that it is good and necessary. Some may consider it a necessary evil, but are as ready to inflict

it as anyone else. Of course it must have a good reason behind it. We cannot say If we are going to hurt people it must be for their own good or in self-defence. We beat or humiliate schoolchildren in order to train them, and kill or imprison criminals in order to protect ourselves, or Society, that pompous abstraction.

Discipline imposed from above is of course absolutely necessary if society is to endure at all. True we have certain freedoms, since we democratic Western nations are sufficiently adult not to misuse them. These freedoms are safeguarded for us by the law. They are in fact rather limited, but that is the price we have to pay for an orderly life. Needless to say it is from suburbia that we draw our concept of such a life, for it is there we see the flower of the human race. In order to preserve this way of life there is no crime too great, no act too monstrous, that may not be committed.

Even that quality that most people mean when they use the expression "self-discipline" is really only discipline imposed from above that has become internalised. The outside authority that rewards and punishes has become "the voice of conscience". As the Prussians used to say, "With us every man is his own gendarme". A person who is the victim of this sort of self-discipline is little better than a robot, unless he is one of those unfortunate characters on whom the necessary treatment has been only half-successful, and who goes through life in a continual battle with himself.

This in short is the philosophy necessary to anyone who is going to accept the existing order of things. It is a philosophy of making the best of a bad job, or seeking second-rate gratifications (sadism in the place of sex for instance) instead of striking out for a better life altogether. It is deeply pessimistic. Man is a bad brutal animal, only to be restrained or reformed by being hurt. Fate, nature ("red in tooth and claw"), or the world around us is hard and hostile. Our society imposes all sorts of restraints on us that are extremely irksome, but they are necessary or inevitable, and we cannot fight them.

Finally anyone who believes differently can be tolerated only as long as he is not liable to convert many to his views. If he will not accept the drab view of the world outlined above he is a potential troublemaker. Why, if he converted people to his views society would collapse and we should be plunged into anarchy! Which would be terrible, wouldn't it?

Until anarchists can convince people that life has more to offer, until they can rid the masses of their pessimistic acceptance, until in fact they can show them the way to be happy, we will never get within a million miles of a revolution.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

#### -FILMS

#### THE WAGES OF FEAR

THERE has recently been a report in Fleet Street that a certain journalist was asked to make a minor alteration in his film criticism from "this is not a great film" to "this is a great film". He refused to do so and asked that if any alterations were made in his criticism his name should be omitted from the critique. True to the high traditions of Fleet Street, the criticism was altered but the author's name was not omitted.

A similar outcry arose about "The Wages of Fear" which won the Grand Prix at Cannes in 1953. The Americans protested about its receiving the award since the film carried anti-American implications. It is true that the oil company which is the 'villain' of the piece is American but unless one has the characters talking Esparanto (as did the pre-war "Idiot's Delight") one must give characters a local habitation and a name.

This film reminds one of the "Death Ship", by B. Traven. It has the same atmosphere of man struggling against terrific odds and in the end going down to defeat. There is the background of the corrupt South American republic so familiar to readers of Traven, and the steady deterioration of morale in the tropics.

A group of down-and-outs are stranded with very little hope of collecting the 'plane fare necessary to get them out; the oil company has a well-fire and must get a load of nitro-glycerine over the mountain road in order to put the fire out. They are prepared to pay \$2,000 each to the drivers and mates who get the dangerous load to the well.

The nitro-glycerine will explode on the slightest impact. Two drivers get through out of the four down-and-outs who are chosen. But one of them dies of his

injuries and the remaining one is returning to town with his \$4,000 'wages of fear' when nemesis overtakes him.

One can take this film several ways: (a) it is anti-American propaganda showing the exploitation of the American oilimperialist - fascist - cannibal - anarchists which sends working men to their deaths. This at \$2,000 a time is rather above the union rate. (b) It is Kafka-esque, the nitro-glycerine being symbolic of the load of explosive angst or weltschmerz we all carry around on our way to the elusive oil-well (or castle). (c) It is existentialist, the situation of peril being the nitro-glycerine which demands an answer (see Kafka). (d) It is political, France is the first truck which has to bear the brunt of E.D.C.; Italy and Holland (?) are in the second truck, trying to save the Americans from disaster at the peril of their own extermination.

Personally, I'll take it neat just as it is, as a study of character. Mario (Yves Montand) and Jo (Charles Vanel) are excellent as complex characters. The essential complexity of the nature of courage is vividly brought out with its mixture of exhibitionism, lack of imagination, desperation, greed, and joy in a job for its own sake. It shows the summoning-up of undreamed-of forces in the human being to challenge the fear of death, the fear of rotting away in exile, and worst of all, the fear of being afraid. H. G. Clouzot, the director, plays on the nerves of the audience in a manner rarely experienced, so much so that one of the critics confessed that he giggled. One felt that both of the trucks should have blown up earlier if the laws of physics were to be obeyed but the laws of dramatic suspense were working their will. Without any editorial prompting I declare this a great film.

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# Freedom

Vol. 15, No. 9 February 27, 1954

#### THE NARK AS HERO

ON another page in this issue is reported the case of an American teacher who has admitted that he was a member of the Communist Party between certain years, but refuses to name other party members. He refuses to accept the rôle of the informer even though the committee warn him that he lays himself open to charges of Contempt of Congress.

Let us say right away that Congress deserves all the contempt of decent people since it allows itself to be represented by Senator Mc-Carthy's committee. And let us extol the entirely praiseworthy attitude of this teacher who refuses, even under threats, to act as informer.

There is no doubt that America is being turned into a field for all those whose fear makes them regard good citizenship as consisting of informing on the opinions and behaviour of their fellows. Such a situation is the rule in Communist (as it was, and is, in Fascist) countries. The present instance shows once again how the two major contestants in the cold war are becoming more and more like each other.

Consider the case of the Michigan Communists "Most of the Government witnesses were former Communists or informers placed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Communist Party cells. Some had been so operating for as long as fifteen years". Surely it is obvious that more harm is done to the American people by a régime of fear which turns them into a nation of narks, than by refusing to implicate one's fellows.

At the time of the trials of Nunn May and Klaus Fuchs, the so-called atomic spies, much play was made of the fact that they worked with their fellow scientists while all the time they were passing on information to Russia. Much contempt was poured upon them by Bench and Fleet Street on this score.

But what of the American government's explicit demand "Act the informer", or-contempt of Congress and prison"? Fuchs and Nunn May and Pontecorvo may have deceived their colleagues, but they did not denounce them or get them into trouble, which is what an informer is required to do—usually with people whom he has known well. As usual, a government demands a lower standard of morals than most of these prisoners, and then calls its lower standard "good citizenship". In Shakespeare's Julius Caesar the conspirator Casca says to Cassius with some pride:

"You speak to Casca, and to such a man

That is no fleering tell-tale . . . and what child is there but does not feel contempt for the tell-tale, the informer. The law is concerned that it should not be held in disrepute, but what could bring it more readily or more rightly, into the contempt of decent men than the demand that every man shall be a nark?

The Communists have probably brought into politics more dishonesty, baseness and corruption of good-will than any other political agency, yet history is likely to forget some of that and remember instead that General Eisenhower's government offered the Rosenbergs their lives if they would turn informers. By such an act the American government offered the Communists a major card, for whatever else is thought of the Rosenbergs, it will certainly be remembered that they rejected this contemptible offer and preferred the electric chair.

# Batista's Dictatorship in Cuba

NEW YORK, February.

WITH the full support of the big native landowners and Yankee imperialism, the despicable ex-sergeant Fulgencio Batista set up his military dictatorship in Cuba on March 10, 1952. Since then he has been forging new links in the chains that enslave the toiling masses of the so-called "Pearl of the Antilles".

Under all governments, the peasants of Cuba have lived in intolerable conditions only comparable to those of the middle ages. They have never had the most elementary advantages of civilized life, lacking schools, sanitary facilities, decent housing. Victims of disease and without enough land to raise the food necessary for life, the Cuban peasants have been easy victims of the land barons and the politicians. But in spite of their backwardness, these people have been learning from the experiences of the industrial workers and have fought many partial struggles to improve their conditions. They have won some of their demands for which they have paid a high price. Niceto Perez, Lino Alvarez and many other militant peasants have been assassinated for taking the lead in these struggles for a better life for their people.

The Cuban labour unions have been beaten down by the most barbarous terror. Union halls have been occupied by the military. The more honest labour officials have been imprisoned or otherwise persecuted. Many workers have been assaulted and beaten. Union meetings have been prohibited. The workers have had no defence against mass lay-offs, and wage cuts.

On the other hand most of the union leaders sold out shamelessly to the dictatorship, collaborating with it as unconditionally as they had with with the preceding government. These reformists led by the cynical Eusebio Mujal and his assistant double-crosser Jose Luis Martinez now operate not as labour leaders but rather as straw bosses in the service of the dictatorship and imperialism. For thirty miserable pieces of silver, Mujal and Co. have transformed the Confederation of Workers of Cuba into an organization that is of use only to the bosses and the government.

The entire proletariat has been

#### In Brief:

## JIM CROW IN WASHINGTON

A PROMINENT negro civic leader has turned down a high job in President Eisenhower's administration because he, his wife and seven-year-old son would be barred from Washington's restaurants and public places.

Paul Phillips, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, rejecting the post of Special Assistant in the Health, Education and Welfare Department, wrote: "Being adults, my wife and I try to make some attempt at understanding and solving the problem. But how does one explain racial segregation to a child?"

## ANOTHER TRIP FOR TITO

MARSHAL TITO is to visit Greece, the Yugo-Slav Government said last Thursday. No date was given.

The invitation from King Paul and the Greek Government was handed to Tito by the Greek Ambassador in Belgrade. Perhaps Tito is now going to get his reward for the time when, on breaking with the Cominform, he closed the Yugoslav-Greek frontier without notice. This prevented the escape from pursuing Royalist forces of hundreds of Greek Communists who had counted on getting across the border to safety. Many were shot; many others are still in prison.

## Americans give Franco a hand

THE American House Appropriations Sub-committee announced earlier this month that the Air Force plans to spend \$136 million (about £46 millions) on the first phase of its airfield network in Spain.

It includes the construction of Torrejon, El Copero, Moron and Saragossa airfields, and oil fuel line and communi-

cations lines. Work is expected to start soon.

savagely repressed by the military dictatorship. The whole economic policy of the government is for the exclusive benefit of the great imperialist companies, and to the detriment of the incipient national industries. Sugar production has been cut back in order to support the speculative manœuvres of the major sugar companies, leaving great masses of workers and small planters to starve.

All of the prisons are overflowing with political and labour prisoners. Mario Fortuny, Armando Hernandez and others have been savagely tortured, having had their finger nails and teeth pulled out as well as suffer-

ing castration. More than 300 revolutionary workers were shot down in Santiago de Cuba when a group of youngsters staged a desperate attack against the military installations, which was frustrated because of its poor co-ordination.

In spite of the repressions, mass assassinations and treason within its own ranks, the oppressed people of Cuba are standing up heroically against the military dictatorship. This resistance has expressed itself in partial tieups of buses and other transportation facilities, in the sporadic paralization of various industries in the constant agitation and

rebelliousness of the middle class student, as well as in the occasional armed resistance of the workers, all of which shows that Cuba is on the verge of some decisive action, of upheaval that will destroy the military clique and open a new revolutionary cycle of incalculable consequences. For some time the oppressed masses of Cuba have had no illusions in the promises of the politicians. They confide ever more in their own strength to achieve new forms of social organization that will destroy forever the oppression of capitalism.

PABLO DIAZ GONZALEZ.

[The author of this article is a Cuban worker now living in exile.— EDITORS].

## Wilhelm Reich Prosecuted

CORRESPONDENT sends us the following news item taken from the Boston (Massachusetts) Herald for February 11th:

PORTLAND, Feb. 10 (AP)-The federal government moved today to halt interstate shipment of a device the inventor allegedly claims gathers atmospheric energy beneficial to treatment of cancer, colds and effects of atomic warfare.

Named defendants in a permanent injunction request were the Wilhelm Reich Foundation of Rangeley; Dr. Wilhelm Reich, 56-year-old one-time associate of famed Viennese psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, and Dr. Reich's wife, also known as Ilse Ollendorff.

U.S. Dist. Atty. Peter S. Mills of Maine said the complaint was filed in district court here at the request of the Food and Drug Administration.

Dr. Reich heads Orgone Institute, a teaching and research centre headquartered in a modernistic building set in a wooded estate overlooking Rangeley Lakes. The permanent residents number only a handful but there are youth classes and other summer ses-

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Vol. 1, 1951, Mankind is One

Food Production and Population 6d.

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Syndicalism—The Workers'

V. RICHARDS :

Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, Jr., said in a statement that Reich claims to have discovered a form of energy present in the atmosphere for which he has coined the term "orgone energy".

Reich claims, the statement added, that the alleged energy has "therapeutic value and is beneficial in the treatment, cure and prevention of a wide variety of ailments ranging from colds and bruises to cancer, bone fractures and effects of atomic warfare."

The government action-in which Dr. Reich has 20 days to reply before a hearing date is set-followed several years of intensive investigation.

FOR SALE AND RENT

Investigators said "devices for sale and rent are said to accumulate this alleged energy and transmit it to the bodies of the sick and individuals."

The government contends the devices are misbranded because of false and misleading claims. It added that "to rely upon the use of these devices in serious diseases to the exclusion of appropriate therapy may result in irreversible damage to a person or even loss of life."

The most widely distributed model is a box the size of a telephone booth. It is constructed of alternate layers of organic and metallic materials-wood, metal, glass wool and steel wool.

Orgone energy, which the government says supposedly accumulates inside the box without any electrical or other energy connection, is alleged to enter the bodies of the sick, who sit inside.

FREUD ASSOCIATE.

Dr. Reich, a native of Austria, has listed among his activities study at the University of Vienna, association with Dr. Freud at the Vienna Psychoanalytic Clinic and the staffs of similar clinics in Copenhagen, Denmark, and

Oslo, Norway. He came to this country in 1939.

Dr. Reich developed his own sex science theories which he called orgonomy. He is the author of several books and many pamphlets.

This is not the first time the Food & Drugs Administration have moved against Reich. A previous investigation invoking the same inter-State law was carried out in 1947 and fully described in a booklet entitled "Emotional Plague versus Orgone Biophysics", by Dr. T. P. Wolfe, In the course of this booklet Dr. Wolfe, speaking of the Food and Drug Administration, asked:

"If they are investigating the orgone accumulator, why then do they tell people they are interested in the activities of Dr. Reich and Dr. Wolfe? This can leave people with only one impression: that if 'the Government' is 'interested in the activities of Dr. Reich and Dr. Wolfe,' then there must be something wrong with their activities. This is, in fact, the impression that a great many people get from this kind of investiga-

Those who know Reich's writings will see that a very unfavourable garbled impression is given even by so apparently neutral report as that from the Boston Herald. Reich has in fact been most careful not to make "cure" claims for his methods, and it is plain that on the question of "excluding appropriate therapy" he is most cautious and adopts an entirely ethical position.

It is difficult to avoid the assumption that the Food & Drug Administration is being used as a cover to proceed against Reich for his radical views on sex and work, with their unshrinking recognition of the rôle of politics in present-day human misery. This attack is in the line of the Bradlaugh-Besant and Havelock Ellis prosecutions in this country, and it should be denounced by everyone interested in the defence of freedom. J.H.

## Uganda and Africa Continued from p. 1

Buganda, who came over in December and are still in this country. His retraction was not accepted and his deposition was confirmed. But that still does not dispose of the views expressed on behalf of the Lukiko in the memorandum, and they do deserve serious consideration if the present difficulties between the Buganda people and the Protectorate Government are to be happily resolved without leaving a lasting scar."

The Observer's editorial ends with the menacing prophecy that if the Government refuses to unbend and the Kabaka is not allowed to return "we shall have one more Ireland on our hands."

Whispering Campaign If the Government were on firmer ground, furthermore, they would not have resorted to still more questionable practices:

"Further evidence of weakness in the Government's cause for the permanent banishment of this young African prince is provided by the astonishing 'smear' campaign that has been officially but secretively launched against him. Extraordinary efforts have been made to discredit him as an individual. Officials of the Colonial Office have lobbied M.P.s with wild allegations that would be plainly actionable were the defamed individual a private person free to defend himself; he is in fact a public figure unable to take such action. The Church has also been successfully lobbied. So this young man now stands defenceless, the victim of whishered charges which are either pure nonsense of irrelevant. but which he is not in a position to answer without committing political

suicide. "Meanwhile, this man (who was but recently described by Mr. Lyttelton in a speech that deeply moved the House as

a friend of his and of his son's) has simultaneously been the victim of another kind of denigration. The Socialist friends of Sir Andrew Cohen, and some of his friends in the Press, have authoritatively put it about that the Kabaka is a mere nobody, the effete holder of an archaic title, and much too rich as well." (Observer, 21/2/54).

It appears therefore that the essence of the clash is that described by Miss Penham. That the government want the appearance of democracy with the actuality of absolutism. The Kabaka was to appear as a constitutional monarch, but actually be the spokesman for the Colonial Office. Plainly such a situation could have been rectified by a simple recognition of the changed conditions and a re-adjustment of the 1900 agreement between the Kabaka and the British Crown. The Government have preferred to denounce the Kabaka, and seem indifferent to the bitterness which they are stirring up in Buganda. Yet when this new bitterness boils over into a new Kenya, how many English people will remember the responsibility of this Government?

#### Now Registration of Uganda Kikuyu

KAMPALA, Uganda, Feb. 18 (A.P.)-Some 120,000 Kikuyu residents of Uganda must register with the police following a new ordinance which was passed by the Legislative Council to-day. The ordinance empowers the government to detain and deport any Kikuyu suspected of Mau Mau terrorist activity. The solicitor general said investigations showed some Uganda Kikuyu had taken the Mau Mau oath.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

## Fear of Freedom

MAY I, as one of the "chattel slaves", if only in symbolic form, express my extreme feeling of gratification at the laudable fact that one of your youthful enthusiasts was allowed to air his farreaching if somewhat giddy views on the much disputed institution of marriage. Would there were more like him! I for one applaud his desire to incite infants in arms to rebellion against their parents; because it is here that the trouble really starts. The slave mentality and all that goes with it is made during infancy and in the home, and encouraged and strengthened at school, not to mention Boy Scouts, A.T.C. and National Service.

Elsewhere in your columns, one of your contributors writes forcefully and with some wit about the process which engenders the fear of freedom; and I heartily agree with what he has to say. He also points out, and I feel it cannot be repeated too often, the inevitable dangers inherent in compromise; for it is not only power that corrupts but the acceptance of it also, and to be aware of this danger which confronts us all nearly all the time and everywhere (for we all must compromise in order to exist at all) should be an Anarchist maxim. To be aware of this danger means, of course, to wage a constant battle against all manifestations of a slave society, including one's own perceptions of it. To shrink from acknowledging it is only another means of shirking one's responsibility and to admit one's own fear of freedom, for we are all afraid of it, even the most emancipated anti-slave society propagandists. It is precisely because we all cling to our chains (and I am sure it is only a matter of degree how tightly one clings) that we are afraid to let go and do away with the factory that produces the chains, i.e. the family.

It is wise to point out, as you did in your reply, that MacTaggart confuses the symbol with the function of marriage. A relationship not sanctioned by the law or

#### Amnesty in the Soviet Zone

After long waiting, the first of those released from the concentration camps in East Germany have arrived in Hamburg; the daily press have published the names of fifteen political amnestees returning to Hamburg and district.

For years we helped the comrades incarcerated in the Eastern Zone by sending food parcels and money. But unfortunately we cannot at present, ourselves, offer extra help to show continued solidarity with those returning. We are therefore asking for donations and other help. All gifts may be sent to the "Kulturföderation Freier Sozialisten und Antimilitaristen", c/o Carl Langer, Hamburg 36, Warburgstr. 35.

Among those amnestied is comrade Friedrich Zwins, who was given a sentence of death, later commuted to twenty five years' punitive detention. Zwins has been freed after five years, and may be contacted c/o Carl Langer.

Solidarity with these comrades may be a basis for solidarity against the camps themselves.

C. LANGER and Comrades.

#### The Death Penalty

FROM Jerusalem the B.U.P. reports that the death penalty for murder has been abolished in Israel. Israelis can, however, still be sentenced to death for collaboration with the Nazis.

At the same time as this progressive step was being taken in Israel, an agency report from Los Angeles drew one's attention to the fact that under Californian Law a convict serving a life-sentence is liable to the death sentence if he strikes a warder. A Negro convict in St. Quentin prison is due to go to the gas chamber on March 14 for having thrown a cuspidor at a warder, unless the efforts of a citizen's committee to save him are successful.

Dr. Burt Howard, prison psychiatrist, said in a letter to the governor that Wells, a Negro, has been a victim of "racial hatred and legalistic red tape" that has robbed him of the "consideration due a human being."

San Quentin warden Harley O. Teets said Wells would die on the same date set for the execution of James Francis Silva, who was condemned under the same law for attacking a fellow inmate.

There have been a total of nine persons sentenced to die under the law. Mr. Teets said that not all had been executed.

church is not necessarily free any more than an orthodox marriage is necessarily unfree, but if we substitute a sex relationship based on sex economy (Wilhelm Reich) the problem would solve itself.

It is impossible to foresee the detailed organic growth of emancipation in a free society; one cannot know exactly what form sex relationships of the future will take, but one thing is certain; it will be based on equality of the sexes and freedom from guilt; no making alike of the sexes, but equal opportunity for the full flowering of the sexes in their potential diversity. Only when man is truly free will woman be free also, and vice versa. By freedom, I mean freedom from all forms of oppression including the petty tyranny of the patriarchal family, of which the god father symbol is only the ideational reflection. I maintain all forms of despotism whether mental or physical would disappear if we could be brave enough to defy our super ego (the sum total of authoritarian ethics) conscience, (voice of God or gods and churches) and cease to be afraid of the unknown "state of bliss", the new freedom. Every new baby born is a potentially free individual and if they grow up slaves it is not their fault but ours.

As for absolute freedom, I would remind MacTaggart that absolutes are only possible in the infinite, and if he was thinking in terms of enlarging human consciousness (unlimited possibilities in a free society, may be) to fit cosmic dimensions, he is anticipating too much. For ordinary earth-bound human beings the only true freedom is and must be limited in relation to the number of participants. Freedom, as all other things in a free society, will not be absolute but mutual.

Stroud, Feb. 10. ERIKA BLATCHFORD.

## SHOTTS MINERS SACKED

Continued from p. 1

The coal, then, is still got by manual effort. And that is the way the Shotts miners like it. Having been always used to these conditions they like working in seams that are often as thin as 18 inches. They have become used to lying on their backs and using their arm and back muscles. Sent to work in other pits they claim that their legs ache with standing and walking. One man laughed aloud when asked if it was not unbearably cramping to work a two or three-foot measure. "A three-foot," he said, "I could work with a tall hat on in a three-foot seam."

But there are no profits in 3-foot seams, so a community has to die. Three hundred and fifty men are sacked in one blow, although they know there is work for them elsewhere—away in Fife, where new council houses cost 50 per cent, more to rent than in Lanark, and on the bare council estates there is none of the rich community life that has grown out of the grim Lanarkshire landscape.

To many an outsider the Shotts miners are making a fuss about nothing. But maybe it's the outsiders who are at fault. As one old Shotts miner said to a Manchester Guardian reporter:

"There is plenty of coal still here. I know where there is three years' coal in 4½-foot seams. The trouble is they have brought in new men from outside as managers. Local men would know where to find the coal."

There may be a bit of parochialism here, but the idea behind it is a sound one—that the people on the spot are the ones who should be running their own affairs. For N.C.B. officials in Edinburgh, however, the figures in the ledger speak louder than the interests of miners, their families, their social environment, and their community of work.

For it is in the pit that community matters also. The Shotts pits employ about 350-500 men—who can comfortably know each other and among whom

a family spirit is engendered. But away in Fife the big pits employ 1,500 miners and most of the time you are working with people you don't know, and never see outside of the pit.

To the outsider the special nature of mining—and of miners—remain almost a closed book. All that we can say is that it is shameful that human communities should be at the mercy of economic systems.

Nationalisation shows itself more and more to be merely a variant of capitalist organisation, with, if anything, the worse features of inhumanity and impersonality exaggerated. The bigger the organisation, the smaller the human being in relation to it—this the Shotts miner knows well as regards the individual pits in which he works. When he applies the same principle to the over-all organisation of his industry he will see that what is wanted is not State control starting at the top, but workers' control starting from the bottom.

Then he, and all workers everywhere, will be free from the arbitrary decisions of bosses or managers and will be able to live their lives the way they want, to the benefit of all.

P.S.

#### THREATS AGAINST DOCKERS BANNING OVERTIME

TROUBLE is flaring up again in dock-

To the 7,000-strong Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' Union, which has been banning overtime since January 25, (FREEDOM, 13/2/54), Sir Douglas Ritchie, acting chairman of the Port of London employers, has issued this ultimatum:

From Monday any member who refuses to work overtime will be reported to the Dock Labour Board for disciplinary action.

## GETTING READY FOR THE NEXT WAR

A TEN-ACRE underground 'citadel' has just been completed within a two-hour drive of London as the heart of Britain's wartime defence.

Not more than 20 people know where it is according to a report in the Sunday Express (21/2/54). Senior officers and technicians have been taken there at night in cars with drawn blinds. Workmen have been repeatedly screened by M.I.5. And all work has been arranged so as not to reveal the future purpose of the site. (It seems to us, however, unlikely that the hundreds of workers who must have been involved are unaware of what they have been working on.)

The citadel is proofed against atom and hydrogen bombs. It is invisible from the air, or even to people within 100 yards of it.

#### 4 Killed in Calcutta Riots

To what extent Communists used the school teachers who were on strike in Calcutta to start riots we do not know. But the fact remains that police sought to break up the demonstrations using tear gas and guns. Four people were killed and sixty-five injured, according to Reuter reports.

It seems that the change of régime in India has made little difference to the brutality of the police.

#### THE MALATESTA CLUB

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## Keep the San Benitos Handy

CATHOLICS are fond of telling us that they are not opposed to freedom "provided it does not degenerate into licence".

When we inquire further of them it soon becomes clear that by "freedom" they mean the power to do what they are willing to allow us to do and that by "licence" they mean the power to do what they are not willing to allow us to do.

With this in mind we may profitably consider a recent leading article in the Catholic Herald (London, February 12, 1954) entitled "May Catholics Persecute?" Needless to say, we do not get a straight answer to this question.

The article deals with tolerance in Catholic States and begins by considering the pronouncement in the Pope's speech to Italian lawyers last December that a Catholic country could subscribe to an international charter by which members are pledged to establish freedom of religion and worship in the confederal territories. According to this pronouncement "each member State would deal with religious and moral problems according to its own laws, while within the whole territory of the confederation freedom of religion and worship would be allowed so long as the penal laws of any particular constituent State are not violated within its own frontiers" (my italics). In other words, if any member State's penal laws preclude freedom of religion and worship the charter is worthless, and that particular State need have no fear that if it signs it will have to allow religious freedom to its subjects.

Next we are given the comments of Father Rouquette in the French Jesuit review Etudes. The good father tells us that the term "Catholic State" is difficult to define and constitutes "an ideal, rather than a reality". Ireland, it seems, comes nearest to this ideal, and we are told that Ireland "exercises the fullest tolerance towards its non-Catholic minority"! (How tolerant can you get?)

Our learned Jesuit then goes on to point out that "the church can never renounce 'dogmatic intolerance', for by doing so she would cease to affirm that she possesses religious truth. Equally, no one has the objective right to propagate error. But he has the subjective right and duty to hold by what he believes to be true, even if objectively it is not true. Thus even a non-Catholic has no objective right to deny the reality of the Real Presence; but he would be committing a sin if, not himself believing in the Real Presence, he affirmed its truth.

"In other words the Church can have no part with contemporary relativity or subjectivism, according to which truth

in intellectual, moral and spiritual subjects is just a matter of private judgment and individual feeling."

To get at the double-think behind all this double-talk is not going to be easy, but we might as well have a shot at it. At least the jargon is vaguely familiar. Perhaps the reasons why the ecclesiastical line is wrapped up in the same sort of tortuous language as the party line is that Father Rouquette is one of these worker-priests (Sorry! "priests of the working-class mission") who have been infected with Marxist ideas. Or perhaps it just comes naturally.

TET us start at the end. It is evident, I think, that the term "objective truth' is being used utraquistically to mean "objective truth" and "absolute truth" at the same time. "Absolute truth" is one of those metaphysical "entities" our mystics are so fond of: that is to say it is conceived of as a "thing" having actual existence quite apart from human minds, and it would continue to exist even if we were all annihilated. It is this concept, together with the concepts of absolute space and time, that relativity is opposed to. Absolutes are out of favour nowadays, and with good reason since Einstein has shown us that we can think

With "objective truth" we can have no quarrel. This is the truth of science. It is an operational concept in the sense that its meaning is to be found in the operation of verifying the statements of a discourse. To determine whether a

more clearly about the world if we dis-

card them.

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## statement is tru

the statement with what it is about. In a fairly well-known analogy (due, I believe, to Dr. Bronowski) the statement corresponds to part of a map, and its truth depends on whether the relations it depicts correspond to similar relations in the territory mapped. No map is ever complete, since it will include only those features that are considered relevant. Similarly no statement is ever complete: it will represent a certain degree and kind of abstraction.

"Subjective truth" is a term that represents a curious extension of meaning. It arises from an attempt to justify statements to which the concept of "objective truth" cannot apply. Statements about judgments (e.g. "This is beautiful", "She is wicked", "That is in bad taste") are simply statements about the attitude of the speaker to whatever he is judging, and tells us nothing (or at best very little) about the thing or person he has this attitude to. As there is no operation that will enable us to verify such statements, it would be simpler to say that the notion of "truth" cannot apply to them. To say that they are "subjectively true" can only mean that the speaker is sincere and that what he says is a "true" statement of his attitude to whatever he is talking about.

Consequently it is meaningless to talk about "objective truth" in relation to moral subjects. The Catholic Church, however, maintains that "she" is a repository of "truth" about such subjects. To say that "she" possesses truth is to make "truth" an absolute. And to personify the church is to make the church an absolute: it is no longer a group of individuals but a cozy, motherly "she".

"Truth", says our Catholic writer, "remains objective, even though those who cannot see it have a right and duty to stand by their invincibily ignorant consciences". In other words the heretic has a duty to stick to his guns and let the Catholics roast him rather than try to save his skin by a pretence of "seeing" this wonderful "truth". This is all that our "subjective right and duty" to hold by what we believe to be true amounts to.

HAVE we any right to spread our beliefs in a Catholic State? Well we have already been told that we have no "objective right" to propagate "error". But the Catholic Herald tells us that "the Catholic State for its part may have a duty . . . to tolerate error". On the other hand, of course, it may not. No doubt it will depend on circumstances. If past performance is any guide, the Catholic Church will tolerate "error" so

long as it is expedient but will do all it can to stamp it out when it feels itself in a strong enough position to be able to do so without any inconvenient consequences.

The Catholic Herald article is typical of the flim-flam that is served out to soothe the liberal consciences of English Catholics. The reality behind it is something much more disturbing. The Holy Office is still in existence, and the Catholic Church has never abandoned its claim to the right to punish heretics. It still reserves the right (though whether it is "subjective" or "objective" I should not like to commit myself) to sentence heretics to death. The Inquisition is only in cold storage, and if the church should ever find itself in the position of world power it aspires to it would once again assert its "right" to kill those who disagree with it. The Middle Ages may be just around the corner.

EDWIN PEEKE.

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