

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

A TEST CASE?

IN our comments, some months ago, on Einstein's appeal to American citizens to refuse to testify if called before the Congressional investigation committees, we pointed out that the time would surely come when political refugees from the United States would be seeking asylum, and that it should be the task of those men and women in this country who gave more than lip-service to the principles of freedom to ensure that the doors of this country would not be closed to them. The first case of an American citizen seeking political asylum in this country has come to light, and not surprisingly the first reaction of the Home Secretary has been to deport him on the grounds that to do otherwise would be "a dangerous precedent" and that political asylum was only considered "when life was endangered". (On this argument therefore, if all countries abolished the death penalty, and substituted life imprisonment, there would be no such status as that of a "political refugee"!)

"We feel that the long arm of McCarthyism should not be allowed to stretch out into this country," said Mr. Harry Baker, secretary of Birmingham Trades Council, when he announced last week that his council would ask the Home Secretary to allow Dr. Joseph Cort, a lecturer in physiology at Birmingham University, to stay in Britain. Dr. and Mrs. Cort have been ordered to leave by June 30.

A resolution passed by the council states:

"This council deploras most strongly the undemocratic action of the Home Secretary in refusing to renew the permit of Dr. J. Cort to remain and work in this country after June 30, although his work and conduct in no way warrant this refusal. The executive committee is therefore instructed to make immediate representations to the Home Secretary in order to secure a reversal of this decision and to raise the matter with the Midland Federation of Trades Councils and the T.U.C.

Mr. Baker also made a telling point when he commented that people who came to this country from Eastern Europe, saying that they had been persecuted, were welcomed as having escaped to freedom. "Why," he asked "should we not do the same with people from the West?"

In a statement to the Press Dr. Cort declared that the penalties he would face apart from lack of employment, were if forced to return to the United States, loss of citizenship and five to ten years in prison.

RIOTS IN COLUMBIA

BOGOTA, Columbia, June 11 (UP) The Conservative morning newspaper *Diario Grafico* failed to appear to-day because its editor, Guillermo Gomez, decided not to publish it rather than submit to censorship. Other newspapers were not affected.

Diario Grafico is the organ of the Conservative faction supporting deposed President Laureano Gomez. The Gomez group and Communists were accused by the Government of instigating and directing this week's bloody clashes between troops and university students in which at least fifteen persons were killed.

Unofficial reports said more than 500 persons had been arrested in connection with the clashes. The police said documents found on the body of one of the dead students had disclosed that he was connected with the Communists.

[To be noted by Conservatives and Communists alike is the fact that in Colombia they are allies. In Colombia the Government complains not of "Communist" or "anti-Communist" plots but of "Conservative-Communist" plots!]

He denied that he had left the United States to evade National Service. He had been declared physically unfit for service in 1948. He wished to settle quietly in the United Kingdom and continue his scientific work. He added: "I firmly believe that my legal and moral position is quite justified and clear."

Dr. Cort told a reporter that he came to this country for the second time in 1951, after completing medical studies at Yale University and being awarded a research fellowship for two years at Cambridge. "For two years, while a medical student, I had been a member of the American Communist party. My sole political activity during that period was as a member of the Association of Internees and Medical Students, advocating health insurance a national health service in the United States. This political activity ceased after medical school and I have now no political affiliations or activities.

"I left the United States lawfully, with a valid passport, in May, 1951. In November, 1951, the American Embassy in London demanded the return of my passport and my immediate return to the United States. I asked the reason for this request, but was told only that the

State Department had issued the request and that no reason could be given.

"I was very loth to comply, since I had only been in my fellowship for three months, and I had also registered as a research student at Cambridge. My legal adviser informed me that there was no legal compulsion in the request, and since I had very little reason to expect that scientific employment would be available for me under present conditions in the United States I did not comply with the request. In June, 1952, my passport expired. I applied for renewal of permit to stay and the Home Office granted this with full knowledge of my status."

Dr. Cort said that during investigations of American universities, many of his old acquaintances had been asked if they knew him and he was identified as a member of a "secret Communist cell" at Yale. All his friends who refused to testify had been dismissed from university posts, except one at Harvard whom the university had refused to dismiss. The Massachusetts authorities had indicted him and he was awaiting trial.

After taking up his post at Birmingham, went on Dr. Cort, he received an order to appear for examination for the United States Army. On legal advice,

that no binding notice could be served on him by a foreign Government inside Britain, he did not report. In December he was called to Birmingham C.I.D., where a message from the United States Embassy was read to him. It accused him of being a delinquent and violating American law; of leaving the United States without permission; of refusing to obey legally binding call-up orders; and of leaving the United States for the purpose of evading National Service. He denied these charges.

The case of Dr. Cort is indeed a test case. If the Home Secretary's decision is allowed to stand and is not widely challenged by the people of this country we shall have on our conscience that we have betrayed those men and women who, in America to-day, are individually and in small groups fighting for these elementary rights of human freedom

"It is error alone which needs the support of government. Truth can stand by itself."

—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

and dignity, values which even in the darkest hours of history some men have not allowed to be extinguished. And now those who fall in the struggle must know that somewhere a door is open where they will be welcomed and succoured until such time as they can resume the struggle.

"Political asylum" has meaning only when it is free of political considerations and expediency. The case of Dr. Cort may create a "dangerous precedent" for the politicians, for McCarthyism, for the forces of intolerance at work in America to-day. But for the cause of civil liberties it will be as significant a challenge to the growing totalitarianism in the West as the defections of prominent Russians is to the political stranglehold in the East.

OPPENHEIMER'S DISMISSAL

THE case of Professor Oppenheimer's dismissal and "segregation", where atomic secrets are involved, has become a cause celebre only because of the dishonest way the government went about it, and the sympathy one may feel for Pro-

fessor Oppenheimer is to a large extent the reflection of one's disgust for his employers, the American Government. The five hundred scientists from Los Alamos atomic laboratory (that scientists' prison in the desert, thought up by Prof. Oppenheimer himself!), who have signed a petition protesting against the findings on the most illustrious of their number, have pin-pointed the real issues when they declare: "it is inexcusable to employ the personnel security system as a means of dispensing with the services of a loyal but unwanted consultant".

Otherwise we cannot understand that Prof. Oppenheimer should feel victimised as a result of his services as a consultant being dispensed with in view of his declared opposition to the development of the H-bomb. Nor, as we have said earlier, can we feel much sympathy for him except incidentally, for as far as we understand these matters, without the Atom bomb the H-bomb would have not been possible, and to him must go the credit (one day it may be referred to as the blame) for the Atom bomb.

A NUMBER of interesting social issues arising from the findings of the Inquisitors were contained in the appeal lodged by Oppenheimer's legal advisers. We quote from *Time* (June 14):

On the charge of Oppenheimer's lack of enthusiasm: "How can a scientist risk advising the Government if he is told that at some later day a security board may weigh in the balance the degree of his enthusiasm for some official program? Or that he may be held accountable for a failure to communicate to the scientific community his full acceptance of such a program?"

On the board's finding that asserted political and moral considerations influenced Oppenheimer's H-bomb recommendations: "Does this mean that a loyal scientist called to advise his Government does so at his peril unless, contrary to all experience, he can guarantee that his views are unaffected by his heart and his spirit?"

On Oppenheimer's alleged opposition to the nation's offensive military interests: "Does this mean that a loyal scientist called to advise his Government does so at his peril, if he happens to believe in the wisdom of maintaining a proper balance between offensive and defensive weapons?"

Is the position of the government scientist in America really so far removed from his counterpart in Russia? And we believe not a few American scientists are coming to believe that there is not much to choose between the two.

in the *Times Literary Supplement* by one of its anonymous Reviewers. He writes: "Freedom breeds dissent; and dissent breeds freedom. This is their great virtue." R.

INTERNATIONAL NOTEBOOK

Dealing with the Opposition (DEMOCRATIC WAY)

State of Emergency in Buganda. Chiefs Dismissed

At the beginning of this month the Governor of Uganda, Sir Andrew Cohen, reimposed the state of emergency in Buganda. Three days later eight chiefs were dismissed by the Government in Buganda. An official statement said that this action had been taken as a result of enquiries into the chief's attitude, loyalty and effectiveness in dealing with the present situation in the province.

The British Resident in Buganda, Mr. J. P. Birch, pointed out that though some of the dismissals were the culmination of long periods of unsatisfactory work, there were cases where chiefs had taken an active part in the boycott. The possibility of dismissals, he said, had been in his and the Regent's mind since the deportation of the Kabaka because the loyalty of the chiefs concerned was doubted. With the trade boycott their loyalties became sharply defined and it became necessary to take action.

No Passport for African Educationist

A *Reuter* message from Port Elizabeth (June 6) states that Professor Z. K. Matthews, an African and acting head of Fort Hare University College for Africans, has been refused a passport to attend the world conference on race relations at Honolulu at the end of this month. He had been invited by the University of Hawaii to attend the conference, for which Mr. Quinton Whyte, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations left to-day by air.

Rhodesia Departs British Strike Leader

According to agency reports (June 6) railway guards and drivers in Salisbury (S. Rhodesia) decided to strike in protest against the deportation of Mr. Charles Taylor, an English immigrant who is leading an unofficial strike of firemen to support a demand for higher pay. It was announced that the guards and drivers would remain on strike until Mr. Taylor, who comes from Long Eaton, Derbyshire, is reinstated.

The Government has declared Mr. Taylor an undesirable immigrant and ordered his deportation under emergency regulations. The strike has now spread from Southern to Northern Rhodesia.

The Railway Union leaders jealous of any attempts by its members to control their Union have added their smear on the strike committee declaring that they are satisfied that it was "not really interested in foremen's pay demands and was using the opportunity offered to implement their avowed policy of taking over the union to form a militant body". Obviously militancy nowadays means "Communist plot", for union members are not expected to be active in their own interests when the leaders are doing everything for them.

No Appeal against Mass Death Sentences in Kenya

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has refused a petition by 26 Africans for special leave to appeal against their convictions by the Kenya Supreme Court for murder.

On their behalf Mr. Ralph Millner said they were convicted after a mass trial of 67 natives. "In a mass trial of this character there must come a point beyond which it is humanly impossible for the judge and the assessors to cope with the task of sifting out the evidence," he said.

The Africans were charged with the murder of ex-Chief Luka, whose compound was attacked by a gang of two

hundred on the night of the Lari massacre in March, 1953. Their appeals were dismissed by the East African Appeal Court in March.

Mr. Millner said the main issue was identification. In view of this "quite unprecedented trial" he submitted that their lordships should look at the record to see whether any of the convictions could stand.

Mr. J. G. le Quesne, for the Crown, said that a very careful examination of the case had failed to reveal any injustice. (*Manchester Guardian*).

Mass trials behind the Iron Curtain are another matter altogether!

Deportation not enough for Tunisian Leader

Not content with having deported him from his own country and having him live in exile on a Breton island, the French government has now decided that the Tunisian nationalist leader M. Bourguiba will from now onwards be prevented from communicating with his Tunisian friends or speaking to the Press as he did after his arrival. The *Manchester Guardian's* Paris correspondent (June 6) refers to the "somewhat obscure" legal basis of these restrictions and of M. Bourguiba's enforced residence in the island.

U.S. Communists Sentenced, Others Arrested

Four Communists were sentenced to five years' imprisonment and a fifth to three years' here to-day for conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force.

On the same charges, seven leaders of the Connecticut branch of the C.P. were arrested last month. The F.B.I. said its agents had trailed three of them from their homes "through a series of elusive manoeuvres, to a meeting in a third-floor art studio."

Soon after the three entered the place, the F.B.I. said, agents battered down a door to the dilapidated factory-tenement building and descended on their quarries in the studio. The F.B.I. said the three had been meeting there for several months in an effort to avoid detection in Connecticut. The four others were arrested in New Haven and West Hartford, Conn.

According to a joint statement by the Attorney General and the F.B.I. director J. Edgar Hoover, 109 Communist leaders and party functionaries have been taken into custody since July 1, 1948.

Comment is perhaps superfluous. But we would as our conclusion quote what is to our mind a most telling sentence

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 23

LOSS ON FREEDOM 23 x £15 = £345
 Received in 23 weeks £188
 GAP £157

We thank those readers who have taken our appeal seriously. Their contributions are listed below.

We propose to publish a list of contributions each week in future as well as the at-a-glance statement of the situation as above. If we are to cover this year's deficit on FREEDOM we need to receive £592 during the remaining 29 weeks, that is at an average rate of £20 per week. Will you help?

Special Appeal

May 27th to June 11th

Bristol: R. G. W. 3/6; Paris: G.M. 5/-; Hoddesdon: A.R. 2/6; Sheffield: H.W. 2/4; Per O.M., San Francisco: Los Gatos Picnic, part proceeds, £17/10/0; London: D.R.* 5/-; Sheffield: C.A.R. 10/-; Birmingham: A.W.H. 1/3; Amersham: Anon. £1; Cambridge: M. £1; Bolton: W.B. 5/-; Leeds: M.F. £1; Glasgow: A.S.L.R. £2; Leeds: P.B.T. 8/-; Huddersfield: A.L. 10/-; Clyde, Ohio: W.R. 12/4; Copenhagen: Anon. £1; London: E.F. 2/3; Swansea: D.Q. 5/-; London: Anon. £1; London: Anon. 5/-; London: Anon. 5/4; Colemans Hatch: D.M. & Co. £2; Middlesbrough: D.W. 5/-; Brentwood: N.B. £1/10/0; Stroud: S.L.R. 7/6; Faversham: J.S. £1/9/0; Dublin: Anon. £1; New York: S.G. 10/10.

Total ... 35 14 10
 Previously acknowledged ... 152 10 5

1954 TOTAL TO DATE ... £188 5 3

GIFT OF BOOKS: Spain: D.S.M.

* Readers who have undertaken to send regular monthly contributions.

VICIOUS CIRCLES IN PROGRESS

EELWORMS v POLITICIANS

A CERTAIN savage comedy is often to be discerned in the activities of our age, especially when highly-specialized research into a particular problem reveals—the obvious! Here is an example.

Britain loses £2 million a year and 240,000 tons of potatoes through the activity of a pest known as the potato eelworm. Research workers are now concentrating on the study of certain soil fungi which destroy the eelworms. "There are various possible ways of applying the fungi to the soil," writes the *Observer's* scientific correspondent. "One way may be to dry the fungi and plough them into the ground where the earth's moisture would start them growing and multiplying."

But this seemingly common sense suggestion opens up vistas of fantasy when we read later on that:

"Dr. Duddington believes that one of the reasons why eelworms have become such a problem (30 years ago they were almost unknown as pests) may be because fields are fertilised increasingly with artificial manures and decreasingly with animal manures; in the latter there are usually large quantities of predacious fungi."

Every countryman knows the value of stable manure (and so do townsmen with gardens), yet all over the world there is a trend to specialization in agriculture which necessarily deprives the specialist farmer of the animal manure available to mixed farming. Specialization therefore demands "artificial", which produce eelworms, etc., and require the addition of dried fungus to the soil.

Specialization is not something that any normal farmer aims at: it

is something which competitive necessities and uncertain market prices thrust upon him. Is, in fact, alien to him and his skill and the real interest of the soil and people in general. But it seems the hardest thing in the world to get across the idea that if men of skill and experience are left to organize their own work they will do it properly and will not require interference from economists and politicians. Would it be improper to class these alien interfering specialists with one of their products, the eelworm?

Deserted Villages

Specialization and interference are no new thing. A recent book ("The Lost Villages of England", by Maurice Beresford, Lutterworth Press, 45s.) discusses the deserted villages of this country—"that kind of deserted village which had been a thriving mediaeval community and was later abandoned to the shepherd and his dog." Mr. Beresford has discovered over a thousand such lost village sites in Warwickshire and Yorkshire. His work leads him to believe that the main cause of the rural depopulation which destroyed these villages was not the Black Death of 1347 (which is said to have killed one third of the population of this country), but the change over from corn growing to pasturage between 1450 and 1550, "profitable to grazier landlords, satisfying to the 'devouring sheep', and disastrous to the peasantry."

Here again one sees profound and destructive changes brought about by interference from above; destruction which could not possibly have ensued had the peasant farmers been left to produce the best the land was capable of.

Obscenity in Literature

A CORRESPONDENCE in the *Times* over the past few weeks on Literature and the Law suggests that at last the law of obscenity is coming under some general criticism. Correspondents have been alarmed at the recent prosecutions of obscene publications, and a certain amount of fresh air has been let into this stuffy subject. Grahame Greene wrote sensibly against censorship and has inevitably had the Index Expurgatorius

brought up to his notice. But on the real issue of obscene writing there has been an attempt to define the problem. A Mr. Porter described a "very learned divine reading Boccaccio and murmuring 'to the pure all things are pure,'" from which the deduction is made that it is the receiver of the obscene that counts. The rational comment is made that the answer is to educate people so that the obscenity of the great writers of the past "does them no harm."

Another correspondent (E. J. Kynaston) writes:

"Perhaps I am being uncharitable or even irreverent but I find it hard to suppress a smile at the thought of the 'very learned divine' with Boccaccio open before him. Are we to assume that the 'pure' are capable of reading the most unequivocal and circumstantial descriptions of carnal indulgence without appreciating their significance? Or is it that the great writers maintain their purity by making a kind of innocuous abstraction of indelicate situations? Can we seriously doubt that Boccaccio, Shakespeare, Joyce, or Rabelais deliberately indulged their measure of bawdiness in the full acceptance of bawdiness as a part of life?"

"Let us have less of this nonsense about purity as a preservative. The only sure antidote to corruption is an informed and balanced mind, a mind capable of seeing things in their just proportions."

"With some reservations, Mr. Porter in his letter to-day apparently approaches this position. But please let us not pretend that the accepted giants of literature were any more interested in preserving the chastity of the reader's mind than any prurient back-street peddler."

A less sensible point of view suggested that Grahame Greene ought not to ask for no censorship. "Why should non-Catholics be exposed to dangers from which Catholics are shielded?"

Here are a few more entertaining comments: "When a reputable publisher is prosecuted for issuing a book that is alleged to be obscene, although it could certainly not be defined as 'dirt for dirt's sake', and that publisher's list includes, shall we say, the Leob Classics, the works of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson, what would happen if he asked the magistrate for such cases to be taken into consideration before being sentenced? Would the court be able to order the destruction of such works?"

(John Gloag).

COMPENSATION

THERE are so many instances in life and imagination of good following some unhappy event, of loss consequent upon gain, of crime meeting retribution in unexpected ways, and of pride being confused and humility exalted that not only a sizable list of proverbs could be collected to show how striking these instances must have been but substantiation could be given to the belief entertained by various thinkers in a law of compensation by which good and evil, happiness and misfortune equalize and alternate on the historical, psychological or metaphysical plane. Examples from the physical world and logical sequences add weight to the belief, and if ethics and psychology were a stable aggregate of phenomena referred to rather than a complicated tangle of ways of reference no doubt the attempt would be made to supply the law with a scientific demonstration. But all systems and theories aiming at explaining the totality of human reality lose their transcendent significance as soon as it is perceived that they must necessarily fall themselves a trivial victim of their explanations. So the belief in a law of compensation, far from being a deep insight into a general objectivity of fact, would be the particular means by which a subject compensates for some guilt feeling or failure.

This argument apart, and not too precisely stated, the law of compensation is

susceptible of endless and concordant verification. Contradictory instances can be shown to be merely apparent by stretching the time of observation or extending the field observed. Thus given a criminal who because of some social conventions and interests is applauded and rewarded for his crime it is possible to see his sins visited in the seventh generation or, if he has no children, to find that similar sins have been committed by the ancestors of his victims. Empires rise and fall in like alteration, and there is always compensation whether evil be associated with the one that rises or the other that falls. Finally, with the obliteration of mankind, all accounts will be settled, and the species which man ruthlessly butchered and tyrannized will all be avenged. Should there still be any difficulty or doubt we may trust that everything will be put right by after-death atonement and retribution in hell, heaven, purgatory or rebirth. On the other hand, two wrongs don't make a right, no two events are qualitatively identical within the framework of time, and we may as well dispense with the whole mechanism of compensation as postulate some preposterous and disproportionate first event that would have set it into motion, not to mention the last event that would remain uncompensated.

Rejecting compensation as a law we may, nevertheless, accept it as a concept not stemming necessarily from some idea of pre-established or imminent order. Each rule, it is said, has its exceptions, and each exception, in as long as it exists side by side with the rule, is a case of compensation. We can therefore define the latter simply as a successful difference, bearing in mind that its success

may sometimes be so great as to supersede and turn the original rule into a vestigial exception.

★

THUS understood, compensation is not without interest for the anarchist movement, traditionally in sympathy with aberrant minorities and principled in favour of nonconformist individuals. Romantic-minded anarchists would look upon it as nature's way of showing its resourcefulness and creativeness, though they would vehemently protest at the same time against social injustice and iniquity which are the very obstacles which force nature to be resourceful and creative. Anarchist itself as a way of thought is an instance of compensation against a reality of injustice and iniquity. It is an instance of compensation even when it denies all ties with the romantic outlook and claims reason as its only guide. For reason is a compensation for the dissolution or dilution of instincts, and the gratifications accompanying its faithful exercise are a compensation for the forfeiture of the many pleasures and satisfactions derived from irrational abandon and sub-rational self-seeking. Rationalism, incidentally, because of its spirit of adventure and rebellion against traditional authority is closely linked with romanticism, even historically, and it is not strange therefore to find them side by side in the same individual or in the anarchist movement.

But reason tends towards simplification and uniformity, towards the finding or the founding of a norm. To the rationally established norm a connotation of rightfulness and superiority is almost automatically attached. What does not conform to the norm is wrong, and any compensation for this wrong is to be tolerated with a mixture of pity and contempt, and to be strongly opposed and

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BOOKS

PRISON EXPERIENCE

EIGHTEEN MONTHS, by Anthony Heckstall-Smith, D.S.C. Wingate, 10s. 6d.)

I AM convinced that if judges and magistrates, especially those of them who are notorious for their enthusiasm for harsher punishments and longer terms of imprisonment, were to spend a few months in a prison in this country to experience what it feels like to be treated as an ordinary prisoner, they would certainly change their opinions on punishment and the reformatory powers that they attribute to it; they would feel far less happy about sending men to these loathsome places, and would also feel their consciences troubling them greatly. Ignorance is the mother of cruelty; it is the cause of infinitely more callousness and indifference to the pain and suffering endured by other human beings than sadistic impulses. Judges and magistrates, or anyway, the large majority of them, simply do not realise the uselessness of prisons and punishments, and the misery which their victims have to endure. In his book, *Eighteen Months*, Anthony Heckstall-Smith, writes of the months he spent in Wormwood Scrubs and the several months in Maidstone, serving a sentence for fraud. He was left to take the blame by some very clever confidence-tricksters. He exposes Wormwood Scrubs as horrible and odious, with harsh, obscenity-barking warders, and an atmosphere of extreme nastiness. One of the most appalling aspects of prison life is the boredom, as prisoners spend most of their time shut up in the cells.

This book is a plea for more enlightenment, more sympathetic intelligence in the prison. Mr. Heckstall-Smith does not admit that society has no right to keep any human beings in gaols, but an honest, really accurate report of life in these institutions, which makes *Eighteen Months* vivid and interesting, cannot but show that while there are prisons in a country its claim to be civilized is hypocritical. The origin of the suppression of individual will, which is the essence of all prisons, is easy to see. It springs from the desire of guarding the greatest number of prisoners with the fewest possible guards. D.M.

"If the effects of obscenities in literature are harmful, it is hard to understand why these baneful effects should be nullified simply because the obscenities have been written by a master of the art of literature. Could it not be argued that the skilled writers of the past were able to do more harm than the scribblers of to-day by virtue of their better presentation?"

(Douglas Thompson).

The most radical note of all was sounded by Mr. Geoffrey Sherriff: "Why should books not be 'erotic in the extreme'? It is high time that sanctimonious prudery died a natural death in England and so ended our unenviable national reputation as a laughing-stock in this and related matters". Not bad, for the *Times*!

THEATRE

The Plough and the Stars

THE PLOUGH AND THE STARS, Sean O'Casey's play about the rebellion of Easter Week in Dublin, was first presented at the Abbey Theatre in 1926; the audience rioted and exchanged blows, and W. B. Yeats, then director of the Abbey and ever loyal to it even when it continued to scuttle his poetic theatre for the chosen few, told the mob from the stage that they had "once more rocked the cradle of a reputation." The Irish season at the New Lindsey Theatre, London was resumed recently with a revival of *The Plough and the Stars*. O'Casey conveys the courage of the Easter rebels and yet scorns their unthinking and wasteful self-intoxication in this play. His genius is a compound of anger and pity, and of laughter and sorrow; it puzzles his critics because it avoids easy formulations. He recognises the nobility and courage of the rebels, but he resents their intoxication with romantic and superficial objectives. Through the class-conscious Coyne, in fact, he presents the trenchant criticism that the patriots who fought for political independence neglected the far more immediate problem of eradicating the pressing problems of poverty and social evil produced by an unjust social system, that are so vividly realised in this slum tragedy. But beyond this pertinent criticism is the immediate tragedy of the women who lose their men for causes that do not touch the direct and ever-present realities of the means of well-being, love, and childbearing. "Political independence" is simply exchanging one form of slavery for another. Nevertheless, the man who dies for what he believes to be the cause of freedom can never be contemptible. But are the people of Ireland any freer to-day than they were when they were oppressed by the arrogantly decadent English ruling class? No, they are still enslaved by government. Nationalism is sham liberation. The European peoples were nurtured on the myth that the State was an individual who embodied the absolute, the good, the beautiful and the true, and—these are Hegel's own words—"that the individual owes the sum total of his value and of his spiritual capacity to the State alone." The deified National State became endowed with a morality of its own and was entitled to employ all and every means in defence of its divine vocation. Men can only recapture their freedom when they become aware within themselves of their own enslavement. The New Lindsey Theatre is to be applauded for its intelligence and taste in presenting the plays of John Synge and Sean O'Casey. Their production of *The Plough and the Stars* is good and at times very good, although it does not meet all the natural requirements of the play.

THE IMPRESARIO FROM SMYRNA (at the Arts Theatre)

AS so few good new plays are being produced at present, and several intelligent ones have undeservedly failed in recent months, the London theatre has sunk into a slough of mediocrity, so it is difficult to see why the Arts Theatre thought it worthwhile to produce Clifford Bax's version of Carlo Goldoni's comedy, *The Impresario from Smyrna*; it is far from being one of its happiest revivals. Molière's capacity for satirizing society was given to Goldoni only to a slight degree; he was more facile than incisive, and it is perhaps the comparative poverty of the Italian drama at least until the wonderful achievements of the *Teatro del Grottesco*, that won him the high esteem in which he has sometimes been held. As that wit of the theatre Lee Simonson once remarked, we are now off the Goldoni standard. One of Goldoni's most significant points is his attitude to women; his men are more conventional types which had served the *commedia dell'arte* before him, but his young women, whether married and in revolt against the tyranny of their husbands, or single and insisting on their right to marry where they will, are something new and charming, and give some of his plays liveliness and radiance. The *Impresario from Smyrna* presents a satirical picture of stage folk. The impresario in question is a Turkish merchant who, coming to Venice on business is so delighted with the opera that he resolves to take a troupe back to Smyrna, his native town; the poor Turk, whose knowledge of women is confined to the odalises of his harem, being soon pestered to death by *prime donne* seeking engagements, each as pretentious and self-centred as the most pampered of modern stage divinities. Although each is accompanied by a retinue of old women, brothers, kinsfolk, birds in cages, dolls, poll-parrots and doddering admirers, these artists of little merit have such a meagre repertory that a poetaster, armed with the complete works of Metastasio and Zeno, is obliged to give assurance that with the aid of a rhyming dictionary, he can write new words to fit the hackneyed tunes which have cracked their voices. Indeed, so unendurable do the trials of the amateur impresario become that he flees in desperation to the peace of his harem at Smyrna; after having entrusted an agent with the task of giving the artists a quarter of their promised salary, "instead of the insults they merit." Much of the satire at the expense of the vanity and cupidity of old Italian opera singers is out of date, but some of it still applies to women of the present time. The elementary comic ideas are quite good, but they grow monotonous before the end of the third act. The Arts Theatre company tries hard to keep the humour alive. D.M.M.

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

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OPEN 10 a.m. to 6.30; 5.0 SATURDAYS

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TEN YEARS AFTER

NOT even the official celebrations of the tenth anniversary of D-day were able to exclude a sense of the realities of war—war, that is, as an instrument for achieving human aims. This is perhaps the more surprising since, in contrast to 1928, there has been no wave of anti-war feeling comparable to that which arose ten years after the first world war.

Richard Dimpleby of the B.B.C. for example, expressed himself unable to understand the German attitude to the official monument to the German armies' surrender at Lüneburg Heath. He implied, however, that the German people are so much concerned about work that they do not have a reaction (of shame, hostility or whatever, to the fact of military defeat).

Seen in perspective wars always appear more appallingly wasteful than at close quarters, and the rôle of the military command is seen as correspondingly limited. Field Marshal Montgomery's broadcast account of the surrender of the German Command to him at Lüneburg unintentionally underlined the limitations of the military outlook. It is understandable that a commander should rejoice at the achievement of victory: but Montgomery seemed to derive as much pleasure from such minor acts of personal triumph, as parading the delegation of German generals under the Union Jack, or refusing one of them permission to smoke, as from the main fact of the ending of the war. Indeed, the whole of the Field Marshal's account left an uncomfortable taste, and one was reminded of the unimaginative response of the Allied representatives at the signing of the Versailles Treaty after 1918 to the position in which the German delegation found itself. On that occasion Count Brockdorff-Rantzau was unable to rise through sheer emotion when the Marseillaise was played, and continued to sit through it, thus evoking bitter criticism in the victors. These incidents are perhaps rather trifling for an anarchist paper to discuss, but they illustrate a certain smallness of outlook in both military and diplomatic circles.

What is of more point is that even in the short retrospect of ten years military and diplomatic behaviour appears of small account compared with the fact that the ordinary men and women in all countries are perforce concerned with the day to day business of work, of earning wages, and of solving the universal problems of everyday life which are the same everywhere, whether in Britain or Russia, Germany or America, or in neutral countries or the Far East. The British won and the Germans lost the war but workers still go to work and still have the same struggles to-day. And for all the conversion of the Russians from allies to cold war enemies, the workers' life is not basically affected.

If the problems of life are substantially unchanged, what of the problems of war? Ten years afterwards, exactly the same problems of fear, and defence and preparedness and all the rest of it remain just as though no decision had been reached at all. Believers in the necessity for war will say that Hitler and Nazism and Mussolini and Fascism were destroyed. But this is only a limited objective, and looking at the iron curtain countries and China, at the America of McCarthy can one say the spirit of fascism is destroyed?

No national appraisal of the results of war can ever justify it as a successful means of achieving worthwhile ends: it remains an activity into which men are pitchforked by "necessity"—day to day requirements not of the world of life and work, but of the twilight unreal world of politics and diplomacy and stock-exchanges and higher military circles.

THE DUTCH BISHOPS & SOCIALISM

THE regulation forbidding Catholics to join either the Communist Party or Socialist Trade Unions was re-affirmed during the past week in a pastoral letter issued jointly by the Dutch bishops. Disapproval is also expressed of membership of the Labour Party, although this is not distinctly forbidden. Priests are instructed to refuse the sacraments to Catholics who join the prohibited organisations, and they are also to be denied an ecclesiastical funeral, which seems rather like shutting the door after the horse has bolted.

Widespread controversy has arisen in the Dutch press, and because of this, and the nature of the pronouncement, it seems reasonable to assume that a large minority of the Catholic workers have been ignoring the church's restrictions in the past.

Commenting on the pastoral, the *Catholic Herald* observed that many of its British readers would find it hard to understand, and then goes on to explain some of the reasons behind it.

Catholicism in Holland has a strong political party, controlling about half the vote at elections, which apparently is attempting to give the country a Christian social structure, and it is the duty of all Catholics to support this party, so that the church presents a united appearance in political matters. Also, Dutch socialism is materialistic, and represents a threat to the faith of Catholics who associate with it. The bishops fear "an increasing drift away from the Church, irreligiousness, and consequently a weakening of moral standards" as a result of the influence of the Socialist trade unions, their press, and radio programmes. The opponents of Christianity, and the promoters of the Humanist Union and the Union for Sexual Reform are to be found mainly in the socialist ranks.

Atheists will not find it quite so hard to understand the bishops' latest move.

COMPENSATION

Continued from p. 2

suppressed if it tries to establish itself as another norm. Thus in the name of reason the most irrational positions are defended, and such conclusions are reached as that might is right or that what is must be. Objectivity by which reason establishes its validity is not obtainable in human affairs because men are subjects, and the norm for each subject is what he himself thinks he is, could or should be. One common interest, by the way, and in a vicious circle, is to use the strength of reason to uphold any other interest.

In literature dealing with sex, and with sex-rooted, sex-suffused habits and culture, the concept of compensation has come to play a very important rôle. Some authors actually give the impression that anything short of a healthy and normal sexual outlet, if not an aberration, is of necessity a compensation. What they mean by a healthy and normal sexual outlet is not usually stated, at least not in terms of observable behaviour, and therefore it is to be subjectively decided or taken to refer to something quite crude and simple. If the latter is their intention their claim is either incorrect or incorrectly stated. Modern man is so highly sophisticated and complex that uncharacterized and uninvolved copulation has but ephemeral value and for those people only who have their complexities and sophistications inhibited in the act of love. If instead the main psychological value of such copulation is a release from a burden of complexities and sophistications then it is to it that the word compensation more aptly applies.

We say euphemistically of a spinster whom we find queer or dislike that all she needs is a husband. She on the contrary does not want a husband, if for no other reason because she cannot get one or because she cannot get the one she likes. What we dislike in her or makes her queer is probably at the same time what makes her life worth living. She is likely to have a husband in her imagination, and to find his company more gratifying than would be that of the one we so charitably wish her to have. The point I wish to make is that the compensating factor is often more valuable than the thing compensated because with the passing of time it becomes increasingly real while the latter becomes unreal. This applies mainly to imagination which is the compensating factor by antonomasia, and if it is sadly true that it often fails, it is not less frequently true that reality fails, and with consequences far more severe.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

The church in Holland claims the allegiance of about half the population, not enough to exert the kind of influence enjoyed in Italy, for instance, but considerably more than in England. It has been able to form its trade union and political movements, but has not been in a position to adopt a very aggressive attitude towards non-Catholics and their institutions. Now, apparently, the free interchange of ideas resulting from this set-up is beginning to worry the bishops, and steps are being taken to prevent "our dear Catholic workers" from the advocates of humanism, socialism, and sexual reform. The political influence of the church is very insecure, and if it became possible for Catholic workers to support non-Christian parties as easily as the Catholic party, the direct influence of the church would be reduced to a level similar to that in England.

As the *Catholic Herald* points out, the Dutch socialist movement shares the materialist and anti-clerical views which differentiate Continental from British socialism, and at the same time has the working class support which in France and Italy is given to the Communist Party. The pastoral actually states explicitly that history has shown that when Catholics begin to associate with socialist organisations, they soon lose their religion. It offers no explanation of this, but readers of *FREEDOM* should easily be able to supply one!

The attitude of the Dutch church is

interesting in that it illustrates current Catholic reaction to political trends. Far from rejecting compromises and expediency, and working for a social structure based on spiritual values and Christian charity, etc., the church bases itself on opportunism and compromise. Tom O'Brien, ex-chairman of the T.U.C. told an English audience that the formation of Catholic parties or trade unions in England would be a mistake. Here, Catholics take a leaf out of the Bolshevik book and try to employ infiltration tactics.

It also shows that the bishops must be afraid of the extent of anti-religious influence. Refusal of the sacraments is to be applied, not only to members of socialist organisations, but to anyone who regularly reads the socialist press, or listens to socialist broadcasts.

The frightening part of the whole thing is that the church should issue such commands, and expect anyone to obey them. Surely in the face of this blatant political manoeuvring, workers should see the true rôle of the church, and not be intimidated by theological threats. If this is not so it indicates that secularism is still a vital part of revolutionary propaganda.

Following the episode of the French worker priests, and the trials of Basque trade unionists, this latest affair shows that the church demands that its followers should believe not only in its theological doctrine, but in its political doctrine as well. P.H.

HOW THE STATE PROTECTS US

THE most horrifying parts of a newspaper are the little paragraphs tucked away in odd corners. Treaties, wars, and murders fill the headlines, but these little paragraphs, precisely because they are considered so unimportant, are really much more dreadful to the thoughtful person. They let lurid little shafts of light on the essential horror underlying our society.

In the *News Chronicle* (Tuesday, June 8, 1954) we read:—

"FORGOTTEN PRISONER"

Mexico City, Monday.—A woman, jailed for a few days in Mexico City for using abusive language, has been released after two years—court officials forgot to order her release.—B.U.P.

Evidently the paper that publishes the account of this legal atrocity does not think it worthy of comment. What do the sufferings of one person on the other side of the world matter? But to the anarchist the story raises a whole series of questions.

Could the woman's relatives not have done something? Perhaps they were poverty-stricken, and ignorant of the law, and did not know what to do. Perhaps she had no relatives, or none that wanted her. She may well have been one of those pathetic creatures, derelicts of society, who are satirised mercilessly in the police court columns of our evening papers. A cynic might well say, with considerable truth, that she was better off in jail than she ever would be outside. Whatever way you look at it, it is still a terrible little tale. A whole tragedy in a few lines.

People who consider the Mexican government as enlightened and progressive would do well to consider this case. All states are bad, even if they do commission artists to cover the walls of public buildings with revolutionary pictures, even if they do encourage birth-control propaganda, even if they do fight against illiteracy and disease. All these things could be done by associations of private

Squatters in Mexico

MATAMOROS, Mexico, June 11 (UP)—Nearly 100 landless farmers fought a battle with the army for 1,500 acres of a large farm to-day. An army major was killed and three other men were injured. The issue appeared still unsettled.

Army reports from the scene at Rio Bravo, thirty miles up the Rio Grande from here, said 200 troops under Gen. Tiburcio Garza Zamora were facing about 100 "Agrarians" at the shooting scene, on the farm of Sebastian Domene.

Authorities denied the affair was Communist inspired, and there was no suggestion any anti-United States sentiment was involved.

It was the second outbreak of violence this week near the border. A mob stormed the jail at Cananea, in Sonora, Tuesday night and forced the release of eight men arrested for squatting on the land of United States-owned cattle company.

individuals, if enough persons were ready to undertake these tasks, instead of raising the now fashionable cry of, "The State should do something."

In the past the fight for social improvement was the work of such associations, but now everyone tries to get the State to do it. Really it is not even fair on the State. The State is a beast of prey. It carries its new "welfare" functions unasily. It is as if one had trained a wolf to do the job of a Saint Bernard dog. The wretched animal would always be unsure as to whether it should succour the traveller in the snow-drift, or bite his head off.

Only when all government and authority have been completely obliterated will humanity be able to take its first faltering steps towards freedom and happiness.

MACKANDAL.

Still Superstitious?

AN interesting factor emerges from a questionnaire directed at 107 under forty American scientists "judged by their senior colleagues to be outstanding". That is, that three quarters of their number, including all the former Catholics have no religious allegiance. About half were brought up as Protestants; one quarter as Jews; less than five per cent. as Catholics.

Another factor from the questionnaire: "80% voted for Stevenson in 1952. Psychologists were unanimous; only astronomers favoured Eisenhower by five to three."

Perhaps in time most of them will get over their political superstitions, as they appear to have outgrown their religious ones!

Unknown Group of Natives Found in New Guinea

CANBERRA, JUNE 11

"Mr. J. Arthur, director of civil aviation in New Guinea, and Mr. W. G. Murdoch, assistant district officer at the remote Government outpost of Tari, have discovered among the mountains of the central western highlands a large body of natives, which they estimate at 100,000, previously unknown to the Administration.

"The discovery was made in the course of an aerial survey of the last unexplored section of New Guinea. The natives showed no fear but pointed at the survey aircraft as it flew low over their villages.

"They are living in well-designed villages in fertile, cultivated, thickly populated valleys hidden behind the 12,000ft. high Muller and Karius ranges north-west of Tari. Their gardens suggest fairly advanced agriculture. They have rectangular plots with crops in rows, and in one valley the cultivated areas are surrounded by trees and hedges. Irrigation seems to be used extensively. Some villages are surrounded by moats almost 20ft. wide, which seem to be used

Notes from Pravda

For most of us in Britain, unable to read Russian, quotes from the *Russian Press* have to come second-hand, through either the capitalist press on one hand, or the Communists on the other.

For anarchists this is clearly unsatisfactory and we now hope from time to time to bring our readers notes on recent issues of *Pravda*—secondhand through the *Anarchist Press*.

The last copies of *Pravda* to reach the offices of *FREEDOM* are of date the 15th and 16th of May.

★
MOLOTOV'S declaration at Geneva on the establishment of peace in Indo-China is given a full page of six columns. Supporting him—with map—I. Samylovsky writes on the "Struggle of the People of Khmer for Peace, National Independence, and Liberty." (Khmer (Cambodia) lies between Thailand and Vietnam and has a population of four millions). The Soviet has, of course, always felt concern for the fate of the lesser nations, as witness its treatment of the Tartars of the Crimea and the exterminated Kabardinians of the Caucasus.

★
SINCE Ukrainians need special permits to visit Moscow, during the celebrations to mark the three hundred years of the "unification" of the Ukraine with its elder brother-nation, Russian culture was brought to Kiev for a ten days' demonstration recently. "Everywhere there was shown a wonderful manifestation of the great fraternal friendship of the two peoples." (Whether the artificial famine of the late 'thirties is forgotten by the Ukrainians is another matter). Two columns are front-paged to deal with this Day of Our Motherland in which Big Brother Russia beams with implacable kindness on all within his empire.

★
THE issue of the 16th May, 1954 might equally well have been written in great part over thirty years ago. The whole front page is an urgently alarmist, top-priority appeal to the rail-transport proletariat to do better and yet better, more and more Rationalisation is, plainly, just as essential there now as it ever was three decades ago and just as much so as in the backward lands of the West. But whereas in Britain members of the A.S.L.E.F. may, if they wish, study the solution that is offered by the anarcho-syndicalists, under Soviet rule the very possession of an anarchist pamphlet from the pen of Bakunin or Kropotkin, or the gentle A. A. Karelin means banishment to the tundra, Vorkuta, or Siberia.

★
RUSSIAN friendship must be bludgeoned into the heads of the conquered, and so in the same *Pravda* of the 16th May, A. Kasimenko, as a dutiful director of the Ukrainian Institute of History writes his piece, "Historical Significance of the Unification," being an apology for the absence of peace, national independence, and freedom for the Slavs living in the wheat granary of Eastern Europe.

★
ON the credit side, shall we say, we can cite V. Burkhanov's "New Scientific Discoveries in the Arctic." As chief of the Northern Sea Routes Authority he does know his subject—in this case the movement of the ice masses and drifting floes. The military value of his studies is appreciated by the Soviet air force, whence it follows that in this field, too, Russian scientists will continue to race neck and neck with their American colleagues. IVAN POPOVICH.

for transport as well as for defence. "The aerial survey covered 5,000 miles of territory." (Times 12/6/54).

"PORT MORESBY, June 11.—One group of 4,000 among the Papuan 'lost tribes' live in a 20-mile-long natural fortress with no access except a mountain pass at 9,000ft. It is estimated that foot patrols will take till the end of the year to reach the area. Mr. Alan Roberts, one of the men who made the survey, said the 'natural fortress' in which they lived was 'as remote and inaccessible as any spot in Australian territory.'

"It was guarded by 12,000ft. mountain ranges on all sides. Trails seen leading towards the only pass are believed to indicate that the inhabitants had trading contacts with other natives. The valley held fertile plains, several rivers, and a clear lake two miles wide."—*Reuter*.

It is difficult not to commiserate with these natives on making contact with the withering forces of civilization. They seem to have got on fairly well hitherto.

CATHOLIC ANARCHISTS

THE dogmatic bitterness attributed to me by George Woodcock (June 12, FREEDOM) is far from expressing my feelings on the religious beliefs of "lost radicals". To me it is a matter for regret that so many people who appear to have a reasonable attitude to the State should find it necessary to replace this authority with another, especially as in Hennaey's case, it means the acceptance of the Catholic dogma and all that it implies.

What really seems to worry George Woodcock is that he detects a certain intolerance on the part of some FREEDOM writers on the question of religion. Nowhere has it been suggested however, that Hennaey and his group have no right to express their opinions (I suspect they are quite capable of defending their own right since they have been vocal enough on other occasions), but I would remind him that FREEDOM is still a revolutionary paper and also has the right to criticise the opinions of others when these opinions strike us as being absurd. Incidentally, calling Hennaey's Catholic-Anarchism absurd was the nearest I got to being dogmatic in my article, it offers me some consolation to know that G.W. shares the dogma.

I did not suggest that because I have no stomach for Hennaey's particular form of placard-carrying activity it has no value, nor does it mean that I am opposed to his doing so because he is a Catholic. In this connection, I would point out that I have respect for another Christian pacifist, Dr. Soper, who at the risk of losing a great deal has remained socialistically pacifist throughout the years, and because of his consistency and lack of eccentricity has influenced a tremendous number of people.

My criticism on authoritarian ideas, whether materialistic or spiritual, however, remains the same.

I do not believe that we can encourage other people towards a revolutionary goal if we ourselves have failed individually to make a 'revolution within', because we will tend to transmit an authori-

tarian idea consciously or unconsciously, to those we are attempting to influence. This is particularly so I believe, of the Catholic faith which—on the authority of the Church—not R.M.—means above all "Loyalty to Rome, and submission to the teachings of the Holy See". So Catholicism, unlike some non-conformist Protestant sects, is not a matter of personal belief as George Woodcock suggests in his letter.

I hold that it is only by reason (although I admit the difficulty of persuading people in reason to the anarchist position but it still remains the only valid method—in my opinion) that we can achieve the kind of revolution that we are likely to sustain. I do not mean reason only as a mental process and devoid of any feeling, but what Herbert Read has described as the "widest evidence of the senses, and of all the processes and instincts developed in the long history of man." If the need for a faith is part of this instinct, the institutions are not.

George Woodcock suggested in his first article that the reason why lost radicals were attracted to the Catholic Worker group was because they did not spend their time theorising. The reason surely in the first place why they gravitate towards an organisation whose members do not waste time discussing theory is precisely because the radicals are well and truly lost. Secondly, the theory propagated by the Catholic Worker group was first written two thousand years ago, and although it has been adapted through the centuries to suit the changing position of the Catholic Church this is a problem that need not unduly worry the Catholic Worker group since they do not concern themselves with theory but merely propagate that which the hierarchy hands out. Where there is a closed system of thinking there is no cause for enquiry.

This is surely what is attractive to the lost radicals. They have failed for various reasons to grapple with the problems and the failures of the revolutionary movement, and find that the part of them

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

which is still opposed to authority can find expression in the anti-Statism of the Catholic Worker group. Their basic need for an authoritarian figure disguised as spirituality is satisfied through their religious ideas. This is what causes me infinite regret, and in my discussions with intelligent Catholics who might well come under the category of "lost radicals", I realise how powerful an influence this can have on them. Once the fundamental premise is accepted the step into the Catholic Church is a short one.

On consideration of Woodcock's observations on our own movement I find myself partly in agreement with him that it is imagination and not money we lack. This is not to say that money is not a problem, as the last few issues of FREEDOM show. But the real drawback seems to be that we are all part-time revolutionaries. Unlike the priest, who, backed by the Church can spend all his time collecting bits and pieces for the poor, most of us stagger from our places of work at 5 o'clock in the evening and only then in a practical sense do our revolutionary activities begin. It is pathetic, but it seems to me that we are faced with the choice between giving our time, energy and money to propaganda activity as most of us do at the moment, or, we give it to practical schemes. The decision will no doubt come as a result of the object in view, but it is something that must be decided by those comrades prepared to devote their time to such schemes. Obviously a synthesis between propaganda and practical activity is the answer.

Finally I would like to offer a little advice to the other contributor to this discussion. I suggest that in his spare time he studies the nature of boomerangs so as not to confuse the reader with his mixed metaphors. Also, I would remind him that blue-eyed bouncing babies have been known to grow up into monsters. There are enough misconceptions about anarchism already without encouraging abortions through the miscegenation of Catholicism and Anarchism. R.M.

'FREEDOM' & THE FACTS OF LIFE

THE article quoted from *Woman and Beauty* in the current issue of FREEDOM is referred to as 'remarkable'. This article declares:

"Why is it that you young people need not necessarily be bound by the rules of your parents? It is the invention of reliable, simple and cheap methods of contraception that has fundamentally altered the possibilities of sexual experience."

It is truly 'remarkable'. I assume that this article has been written contemporarily by Dr. Helena Wright in her old age, and not reproduced by *Woman and Beauty* from something she wrote, say, forty years ago. What on earth do the 'young people' of to-day suppose that their parents have been doing with their sex lives all this time? It is absurd to pretend that a 'new morality' is being born in 1954. As Judge Lindsey pointed out back in the 1920's—youth had already discovered birth control.

That such an article should be published in *Woman and Beauty* is quite natural. These women's magazines are running a spirited rearguard action against further sexual emancipation. The point of Dr. Wright's article is that while appearing to be 'progressive' it leads on to reactionary dogmatism about the nature of what is proper conduct for women in sexual matters. "No sex relation should be embarked upon for the sake of the physical aspect alone..." etc. If the post-war era has produced anything new in sexual morality it is the growing realization that statements by 'authorities' are often expressions of personal opinion rather than the inherent logic of known facts. To get real evidence we have to depend on our own limited practical experience, and on large-scale surveys like that of Kinsey *et al.* The evidence laid before us in the Kinsey report on the sexual behaviour of the human female, shows that much of what has been passed off as established knowledge for many years by such writers as David Mace, Eustace Chesser and Helena Wright owes more to middle-class morality than to a real grasp of what constitutes health and normality. It seems that women are less delicately constituted in their sexual and emotional makeup than the stereotype that has been foisted on them by middle-class moralists allows. Dr. Eysenck's remarks on the subject are very much to the point:

"In clinical practice, for instance, among physicians, psychologists, psychiatrists, nurses, psychoanalysts, marriage counsellors and others, therapy, help and advice in the sexual sphere are based essentially upon concepts of marriage and sexual conduct which agree with the norms obtaining among the upper social levels from which the practitioner comes, but which may be quite inappropriate to the norms of the social level of the person to whom the advice is given..."

There is one group who may be recommended to ponder deeply the implications of the various conceptions of what is normal and what is natural. That is

TRADE UNIONS

A few weeks ago, I got the workers in my department to get our Steward removed owing to this man not being interested in my fellow-workers' interest. He was removed alright.

But when we voted for another Steward no one would take on the job. A member of our executive says surely somebody can do this job—it only means taking the dues from the men.

See my point, Comrades? This news is surely more likely to enable readers to see the utter failure of Trade Unions. Most workers realize daily that direct action is their best weapon.

There are more daily grievances settled by direct action in the Clothing Trade than people are aware of. The Press does not mention these at all, otherwise reporters would have to spend all their time in the factories around Leeds.

It is a very noticeable fact that when our Chief Steward is away on Union business, the Management invariably does not try any reactionary tricks, otherwise no machines would run.

Leeds, June 7. GEORGE LEAF.
P.S.—I have for 30 years worked on behalf of what I consider is necessary for workers, namely a revolutionary outlook without playing at: put them in, send them out.

Have you asked for VOLINE'S NINETEEN-SEVENTEEN at your local PUBLIC LIBRARY

the group of people who write books on the future of marriage and issue recommendations regarding improvements in the functioning of this sacred institution. Having perused two-score of such books I have come to the conclusion that they are based almost entirely on the assumption that the whole population is made up of individuals with an I.Q. of at least 180, all highly educated, adhering to certain ethical conceptions of unparalleled loftiness, and all resembling the author like an unending collection of monozygotic twins. It would be amusing, were it not so tragic, that these are serious attempts to come to grips with a serious problem."

(Uses and Abuses of Psychology, H. J. Eysenck).

Helena Wright has done an enormous amount of valuable work on contraception, but this does not necessarily make her opinions and prejudices on the subject of sexual morality of any greater weight than those of you, me or the girl next door. What is important to people in the formulation of patterns of behaviour is knowledge of fact, and I suggest that the trite advice offered by Dr. Wright in the article quoted in FREEDOM is such as to make women afraid of discovering facts for themselves—to be afraid of life, in fact. It is my contention, moreover, that it is precisely for this reason that *Women and Beauty* published the article, in pursuance of their general reactionary policy. The only thing remarkable about it is that it should have received such serious consideration in FREEDOM. London, June 12. TONY GIBSON.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

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

JUNE 20—DEBATE ON
THE SUB-CONSCIOUS:
DOES IT EXIST?

Affirmative: J. Alexander
Challenger: Bill Gape

JUNE 27—Arthur W. Ulloth on
Aspects of Anarchism (3)
NATIONALISM & IMPERIALISM

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS
IN EAST HAM
Alternate Wednesdays
at 7.30 p.m.

JUNE 23—Ron Wheeler on
THE FREE SOCIETY AS I SEE IT
Apply to *Freedom Press* for details

GLASGOW

OUTDOORS
(Weather permitting)
MAXWELL STREET
Every Sunday at 7 p.m.
Speakers: Hugh McCutcheon
Mark Kramrisch
Hugh McKeefery

INDOORS

at Workers' Open Forum
50 Renfrew Street, Glasgow.
Every Thursday at 7 p.m.
JUNE 17—Hugh McKeefery on
PINNACLES OF POWER
JUNE 24—George McKechnie on
PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY

EXETER

An anarchist group has been formed in Exeter. Readers in the area are invited to:
Meetings every Wednesday at 7 p.m. at 109 Portland Street, Exeter.
Correspondence to:
Philip Holgate, U.C.E.W. Exeter.

I AM grateful to Giovanni Baldelli ("The Case Against Science", FREEDOM 5/6/54) for delving further into the question of science and anarchism. I regret that in previous correspondence I tended to treat the matter with a certain levity, as it is of course a serious question to which all libertarians should give a good deal of thought. I think anarchists should adopt a more balanced view of science than Arthur Ulloth and "Corrigible" have shown. Giovanni Baldelli gives it a wider and more open consideration, but he is too frightened by his anthropomorphic Science and the emotionalized picture of Asia in its grip and "the toll it takes in human lives", like a Stalinist cartoon of the Fascist invader. His concern for the "relationships, customs and habits of thought that have stood the test of centuries" is conservative anarchism with a vengeance.

Unlike the advocates of the Noble Savage and rush-lights in caves, he does perceive that anarchists and scientists share the cultural value of individualism, but I do not think he gives this point the emphasis it merits. The scientist suffers as much as (probably more than) the artist from State control. Bertrand Russell has commented on the actual decrepit state of Soviet science as opposed

The Case Against Science

to the party-liner's view of the U.S.S.R. as a hive of scientific invention and progress. A revolutionary situation desirable to anarchists would be greatly aided by a break between the scientist and the State, as the latter is compelled to bring more and more pressure to bear on its servant to make him toe the government line.

As for "efficiency" and the machine man's master, the truth probably lies between Orwell's view in "The Road to Wigan Pier" and Ferdynand Zweig's in "The British Worker". I agree with Zweig that this is too often exaggerated. In any case, present systems in industry are hopelessly out of date as Fred Hoyle pointed out in "Decade of Decision". Any ostriches in the anarchist movement can join the arrogant, myopic members of the B.B.C. Fifty One Society in ridiculing Hoyle if they wish; I for one am all for his "super-duper" bulldozers to clear the Congo basin. In the blaze of publicity on the H-bomb, Hoyle's warning that if things go on as they are we are heading for catastrophe in any case even if it had not been invented, has been ignored. Anarchists of all people should never lose awareness of this. This

impending crash in living standards can hardly be averted without great technological expansion and as the bigger-the-better bulldozers don't just grow on trees let us by all means have first things first!

"Movement and change," said Keir Hardie, "are the very essence of life." Which brings me back to a previous suggestion, that it is courage we need more than anything. The courage not to panic in the whirl and noise of life and vainly seek to stop all changes and an impossible substitute for the sheltered womb like Henry Miller, as our nostalgic comrades are in danger of doing. Mention of Hardie reminds me of the disillusioned letters of socialists in the press on the activities of their leaders, saying, "It's enough to make Keir Hardie turn in his grave," etc. I am tempted to follow suit when I hear this anti-science talk among anarchists and say, "It's enough to make Kropotkin turn over in his grave."

To return to Baldelli's thoughtful and stimulating article, which ends, "By taking a stand against science or rather against values with which science is associated, it would not be the first time that anarchists took a position against the spirit of their age, even at the risk of being classified among the reactionary and the nostalgic." Taking this meaning of the spirit of our age, such a stand is likely to be futile and perhaps fatal from a tactical point of view. The already small influence of the movement would diminish further. I cannot see it increasing if we take this position and we are not likely to survive at all. I am surprised that it is advocated by one, who in another context, has excused the breaking of principles on just such a question of survival. But I would rather say that the spirit of the age is one of fear, anxiety and submission, against which a patient and unremitting stand must be taken by libertarians.

Of course one can easily get into a confused tangle of misunderstanding in talking about abstractions like "the spirit of the age", so I may have failed to grasp Comrade Baldelli's meaning. On second thoughts, it is possible that, by the values associated with science, he means those produced by its maladministration and misapplication, which lead, not only to the static (tongue in cheek) systems in industry mentioned by Hoyle, but to ersatz processed food and, stretching it further, in part responsible for the kitsch in cultural activities. In which case, anarchists should be agreed on this. DOUG. WILSON.

Middlesbrough, June 6.

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