

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Our distrust is very expensive. The money we spend for courts and prisons is very ill laid out."  
—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

## THE CRISIS IN CYPRUS

# 'FREEDOM' ONLY TO AGREE

HOW tenuous are freedom of Speech and of the Press in an authoritarian world has been shown by bitter example so frequently that to report on new examples in which governments make these freedoms a crime is like flogging a dead horse. Yet since every day governments pay lip service to freedom (even dictator Syngman Rhee has been talking of "liberty being dearer than life" as he advocated a resumption of the blood-bath in Korea to his admiring American audiences), it is incumbent on all freedom-loving people to expose the base hypocrisy of these utterances by revealing the facts.

★

SHORTLY before the British Parliament dispersed for the Summer Recess the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs announced in the House of Commons that the Government had decided to take the initiative in introducing a new constitution in Cyprus but he emphasised that the Government could not contemplate any change in the sovereignty of the island. This latter remark was cheered by the Tory diehards who had just swallowed the bitter Egyptian pill, but was challenged by a number of Labour M.P.s who provoked the Minister into making the categorical statement that it had always been "agreed" that there were certain territories "which owing to particular circumstances would never expect to be fully independent".

The new Constitution proposed for Cyprus is far from sensational in its provisions for the island's self-rule. Since the suspension of the original constitution in 1931 Cyprus has been governed by the Governor and an Executive Council of five official and three unofficial members. The details of the new constitution have not yet been worked out but, unlike that of 1931, and that which was offered in 1948, elected members will be in a minority, and there will be a majority of official and nominated members.

Assuring the House that no "irrevocable" step would be taken until the Commons resumes in October, the House passed on to other business, and to their three months' holiday with pay.

This was the moment chosen by the Government of Cyprus to clamp down on freedom of speech, by enforcing the existing anti-sedition laws, in an effort to crush the campaign for Enosis (union with Greece).

## The McCarthy Debate

ACCORDING to political observers in America, the debate initiated in the Senate by Senator Flanders (FREEDOM, July 31) on the subject of the notorious Joseph McCarthy, has proved at least one thing: namely that the Junior Senator for Wisconsin is still "a very influential man in the United States Senate".

It is also considered by some that the moment for the debate has been ill-chosen since those Senators who are due to stand for re-election this year will be reluctant to antagonise electors by a direct vote on this issue. For this reason it will not be surprising to learn that the Senators have managed to postpone having to commit themselves until after the Summer Recess.

As the N.Y. Times puts it in its headline "Dilemma in Politics. Senators have one eye or principles. Another for Voters in McCarthy Dispute", and votes win hands down over principles.

The Attorney-General, Mr. Tornaritis, told a press conference in Nicosia earlier this month that "past indulgence" would no longer be tolerated, and announced that copies of an extraordinary edition of the official *Cyprus Gazette* had been posted in towns and villages throughout the Colony to give warning that criticism of the Government must not stray into the sphere of sedition. He declared that seditious conspiracies and publications, oral or written, with the seditious intention to bring about a change in the Colony's sovereignty, would be cause for Prosecution, and that convicted offenders would be liable to the following maximum penalties:

Up to five years' imprisonment for a person convicted of seditious conspiracy or publication with seditious intention;

Up to five years' imprisonment for officials of any organisation advocating sedition, or acts of seditious intention, such as an organisation being proscribed as an illegal association;

Suspension for up to three years of a newspaper which publishes a seditious libel, its proprietor being prohibited during that period from editing or publishing any other newspaper;

Loss of British nationality in the case of any naturalised British subject who, by act or speech, has shown himself to be disloyal towards the Queen; and

Deportation of any alien, even if born in the Colony, who incites enmity between the people of Cyprus and her Majesty's authority.

The Press in Cyprus reacted according to the interests it serves. Thus the Editors of all the leading Greek language newspapers called a protest strike while the Turkish language papers welcomed the Government's announcement, one of them headlining the news "Goodbye to Enosis agitation". The English language *Cyprus Mail* did not appear because of a strike of compositors. The Communists in spite of the official line on the "fascist" government in Greece, are naturally among the most ardent supporters of the popular movement of Enosis and have sent a cable protesting their love of freedom of expression and self-determination to both Sir Winston and the United Nations Secretariat. The message reads: "The Cyprus people strongly protest against the statement, in which dictatorial laws

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## Wide-Spread Strikes in Germany

STRIKES of industrial workers in Hamburg are already over a week old and far from seeming to end, look like spreading throughout the whole of Western Germany.

There are thirteen thousand strikers in Hamburg, in the gas, water and local transport industries, and their demands are for increases of 10 pfennigs (about 2d.) an hour for wage earners and 6 per cent. for salaried workers. The City Senate, employer in the municipal undertakings, has offered an increase of 5 pfennigs, but this was rejected by 90 per cent. of the strikers.

First to follow the lead of the Hamburg workers were the Bavarian metalworkers, 236,000 of whom joined the strike at midnight on Sunday. They stake their claim a bit higher, too, asking for 12 pfennigs an hour more, and 12 per cent. for salaried workers.

A total of possibly four million workers are expected to be involved in unrest of one kind or another. These include 900,000 metal and engineering workers in the Ruhr, 5,000 dockers at Duisburg, 180,000 coal miners throughout North Rhine-Westphalia, and local strikes 'of considerable importance' in Hesse, Lower Saxony and the Rhineland Palatinate.

### NOT REVOLUTIONARY

These are, or will be, the most widespread strikes in Germany since Hitler came to power in 1933. Even though they may achieve general strike dimensions, however, they should not be regarded as revolutionary in character.

Behind the strikes lies the simple desire of the German worker to share the extraordinary prosperity which he, by his hard work, has created in Western Germany. The remarkable economic recovery there has been regarded with a mixture of envy and fear by British industrialists, and their desire to curb German competition in the world's markets has been one very good reason behind the move for the rearmament of Western Germany.

Also, the German trade unions' own economic experts maintain that continued economic expansion can only be secured if the purchasing power of the German people is increased, so that surplus consumer goods can be absorbed at home.

The third reason for the unions, usually as docile as ours, vigorously pressing wage demands now, is that they have been losing membership steadily over the last few years. Accusing the unions of lack of activity on their behalf, about one-third of all workers have walked out of their unions. The present

wave of strikes, then, can be taken as welcomed by the unions as an opportunity to justify their existence to their members.

### OUTSIDE REACTIONS

British workers have consistently had the German workers held up before them as examples of patriotic, hard-working, uncomplaining chaps who really buckle into the job of getting their country on its feet again—unlike us lazy British workmen who go on strike, go to football matches, refuse overtime and generally do little but drink tea all day.

We hope our critics will not lose their respect for the German worker because of his present activity! Which rather bears out, incidentally, the conventional idea of the German as one who, when he does a thing, does it thoroughly. The German workers may not strike often, but when they do, they do it on a grand scale.

We wonder, incidentally, what the Communist Party line is on these strikes in West Germany? When the workers of East Germany staged their massive demonstrations last year, it was all the result of agitators and fascist agents from the West.

Will they now be consistent and maintain that these strikes in the West are the result of agitators and red agents from the East?

### PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 31

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## SYNDICALIST NOTEBOOK

# GLASGOW DOCKERS PROTEST MILITARY EXERCISE DEATHS

ALLEGING that thousands of young, inexperienced men were ordered to work as dockers in conditions of grave danger and without the protection of safety regulations, Glasgow dockers have called for an investigation into the conduct of 'Exercise Winch', the recent military exercise in Belgium.

Protesting through the Scottish Transport & General Workers' Union, (the Glasgow dockers' own organisation and not to be confused with Deakins' T. & G.W.U.) the men are claiming that seven men were killed during the exercise and that the number of Territorials injured 'ran into double figures'.

About 4,000 Territorials from Scotland took part in 'Exercise Winch' at Zeebrugge during the second fortnight of July, and, claim the Glasgow dockers, during the loading and unloading many of the young soldiers had to work as many as 20 hours out of 24.

The War Office has, in its usual fashion, denied that there were any deaths resulting directly from the exercise. A W.O. spokesman has said:

"During the period in which the brigade were in Zeebrugge, one man was killed in an accident while off duty. One military policeman attached to the brigade from the Rhine Army for the period of the exercise was killed on the shore.

"There were only two serious injuries as a result of the exercise. One man, while unloading, injured his skull and was left behind at Zeebrugge. He is understood to be recovering. Another man, also unloading, suffered a suspected fracture of the thigh. Any other injuries were of a very minor character."

It is always interesting to note how officialdom attempts to wriggle out of responsibility. The two deaths they admit were 'indirect', although obviously the soldiers were where they were directly as a result of the exercise.

We are not quite sure as to the motives behind the dockers' protest. Are they protesting against the military exercise as such, or are they objecting to the fact that experienced dockers were not employed where they were obviously needed? Is their protest, in other words, one against militarism and war preparation (which, incidentally, kills and injures some of those taking part), or is it against the employment of unskilled and cheap labour on dockers' work?

The latter is a legitimate enough economic reason, but how much more would we like to feel that an organised body of workers are beginning to go into opposition against militarism and, knowing the Glasgow dockers, that it might express

itself in direct action instead of being limited to passing pious resolutions and appealing to Members of Parliament.

The dockers claim seven were killed on the exercise; the War Office admit to only two. If names and evidence of the remaining five can be supplied by the Glasgow workers or their Union, we shall be prepared to continue to publicise the matter in these columns.

## UNION DEMOCRACY

"It's high time that we taught Executive Committees and General Secretaries that the day has passed when they can treat rank and file members as if they were a lot of damned half wits."

So writes William Hacker, Chairman of the Ebbw Vale Branch of the National Union of Municipal & General Workers, in a letter in *Tribune*, 30/7/54.

Mr. Hacker, writing from Aneurin Bevan's home ground, has, after presumably many years in his union, at last become incensed with the lack of democracy within the trade unions. And the issue that has stirred up his anger is that of the Union's Executive choosing Mr. Gaitskell for the job of Treasurer of the Labour Party in preference to Mr. Bevan—without consulting the rank and file.

The odd thing about these protests is that the union bosses have been steam-rolling their membership for years. The block vote has been putting the mock in democracy ever since it began to be used. But now *Tribune*—which I cannot remember protesting overmuch when Sir Hartley Shawcross led the prosecution against seven dockers at the Old Bailey, while Mr. Bevan was Minister of Labour!—publishes a whole rash of letters from indignant union democrats protesting that Mr. Gaitskell has been chosen for a Labour Party job instead of Nye.

Who cares? What on earth has the choosing of a Labour Party Treasurer got to do with the interests of trade unionists? The sooner that the workers' industrial organisations dissociate from political parties the sooner many of the interests of the rank-and-file be considered. But that is certainly unlikely.

For Mr. Hacker, however, the problem may soon be solved by the union dissociating itself from him. For, as he says in his letter:

"According to union rules I am liable to expulsion for daring to criticise a high-ranking union official through the national press."

Dare we hope that, when he is out in the wilderness, Mr. Hacker will look around for a real alternative to the authoritarian trade union—and maybe find it in syndicalism?

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

# Now they kill their Cattle too

A REUTER report from Nairobi (Aug. 2) reveals that a new emergency regulation has now come into force in Kenya which empowers the Defence Minister to order the destruction of livestock and moveable property of an area scheduled for evacuation if he considers it is the best way of securing compliance with the order.

The regulation allows the Minister to force evacuation "of any specified area" in the Colony, but stresses that the powers will be used "only in cases of real necessity." It is understood that any area where the population fails to aid security forces and attempts to harbour and feed Mau Mau is likely to be evacuated by force. Anyone who fails to obey an evacuation order by the Minister will be liable to a fine of £500, or two years' imprisonment, or both.

Another emergency regulation which came into force last week compels farmers and occupiers of all dwellings in areas affected by the Mau Mau to inform authorities of their absence if it exceeds 48 hours and to make "adequate security arrangements" for labour and livestock while they are away. There

are similar penalties for failure to comply with this regulation.

## AFTERMATH IN INDO-CHINA

SAIGON, Vietnam, Aug. 3—The Vietnamese Government announced to-night that it had established two special courts to deal with cases threatening Vietnam's "national independence" and "public security", particularly with acts aimed at overthrowing the national government.

The courts have been set up at Hanoi, capital of North Vietnam, and Hue, capital of Central Vietnam, with powers to impose penalties ranging from one year's imprisonment to death. According to the Vietnamese Press Agency, legal postponements will not be permitted in cases coming before these tribunals.

Under the Geneva agreement French Union forces have until Oct. 10 to evacuate Hanoi in their phased 300-day withdrawal from North Vietnam. Hue lies in Vietnamese Nationalist territory south of the partition line near the Seventeenth Parallel. (N. Y. Times.)

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## THE WORLD OF THE FUTURE

SINCE it was first published in 1931, Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* has aroused a great deal of controversy. It describes a highly technical world of the future, in which, thanks to science, almost all pain and suffering, and everything that might cause social instability, have been eliminated. Into this well-oiled, smoothly running social machine, comes a savage from an Indian reservation. Unfortunately he is not much saner than the society in which he finds himself, being a flagello-maniac, and eventually he destroys himself.

This new edition of the book\* contains a new foreword by the author, in which he says, "At the time this book was written this idea, that human beings are given free will in order to choose between insanity on the one hand and lunacy on the other, was one that I found amusing and regarded as quite possibly true. . . . To-day I feel no wish to demonstrate that sanity is impossible. . . . If I were now to rewrite the book, I would offer the savage a third alternative. Between the utopian and the primitive horns of his dilemma would lie the possibility of sanity—a possibility already actualized, to some extent, in a community of exiles and refugees from the Brave New World, living within the borders of the Reservation. In this community economics would be decentralist and Henry-Georgian, politics Kropotkinesque and co-operative. Science and technology would be used as though, like the Sabbath, they had been made for man, not (as at present and still more so in the Brave New World) as though man were to be adapted and enslaved to them. Religion would be a conscious and intelligent pursuit of man's Final End, the unitive knowledge of the immanent Tao or Logos, the transcendent Godhead or Brahman. And the prevailing philosophy of life would be a kind of Higher Utilitarianism, in which the Greatest Happiness principle would be secondary to the Final End principle—the first question to be asked in every contingency of life being: 'How will this thought or action contribute to, or interfere with, the achievement, by me and the greatest possible number of other individuals, of man's Final End?' . . ."

I must confess that this rather mystic form of anarchism does not thrill me greatly. I do not really understand what the author means when he talks of man's Final End. I suspect that he is little wiser than

\**BRAVE NEW WORLD*, by Aldous Huxley. The Vanguard Library, 3s. 6d.

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Encounter (Articles on McCarthy, Asia: Between Malthus & Marx, etc.) 2/6  
The Struggle, Vol. 1, No. 6. 3d.

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I am about it. Probably it means the form of mystical experience that appeals most to him. The new foreword is in my opinion the best part of the book, which I feel is not so much an attack on the totalitarian state, like "1984", but an attack on Life itself. It is all very well to say that it was written for the amusement of an aesthete, whatever the writer may now believe, to me it seems to be an attack on the system of materialist humanist ethics that most liberals, "progressives", and anarchists support. You either have the bestial neurotic life in an Indian pueblo (I wonder if Huxley is being fair to the pueblo Indians, the accounts that I have read of them have nothing in common with his), or the unnatural soulless life in the machine-made Utopia.

Huxley, when he wrote this book at least, but I doubt whether, after having read his new foreword, he has changed as much as he thinks he has, seems to hate Life and the "Flesh". He hates sex, and significantly uses the word "childish" as a term of contempt, he detests the idea of children indulging in erotic play, he appears to be declaring war upon tenderness and happiness. The only emotions he approves being passionate tragic possessive ones. He shows us what he believes to be the logical end of social humanitarianism, sex without love, babies decanted from bottles, people who never grow old, but who die suddenly at about sixty or so, when seemingly in their first youth.

That he has not changed his opinion on this matter can be shown from the following, "As political and economic freedom diminishes, sexual freedom tends compensatingly to increase. And the dictator (unless he needs cannon fodder and families with which to colonize empty or conquered territories) will do well to encourage that freedom.

In conjunction with the freedom to daydream under the influence of dope and movies and the radio, it will help to reconcile his subjects to the servitude which is their fate." In other words sex is no better than dope. I need hardly point out that all totalitarianisms of modern times have done the opposite to what Huxley says they should. They have all bolstered up the compulsive family and done all they could to restrict people's freedom in sexual matters. This was a fact realised long before Reich by the Marquis de Sade, whom Huxley goes out of his way, in another part of this foreword, to attack, as he did in "Ends and Means" with a great lack of understanding of de Sade and his ideas. "This really revolutionary revolution is to be achieved, not in the external world, but in the souls and flesh of human beings. Living as he did in a revolutionary period, the Marquis de Sade very naturally made use of this theory of revolutions to rationalise his peculiar brand of insanity." One could almost say the same of this book. In it Huxley tries to rationalise his own peculiar anti-life philosophy, and in his new foreword he does not mitigate his attitude much. He is still the mystic, seeking man's Final End in the clouds, and ignoring or despising the world at his feet.

Certainly it is true that life is becoming more and more mechanised, and at the same time more authoritarian and centralised. But to postulate a world in which there will be no suffering still seems to me to be fantastic. There is too little happiness in the world at present, and it will be a very long time indeed before there is too much. I do not think the problem lies in the direction of too much comfort, happiness, or security, but in the increasing lack of freedom that the future society promises.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

## Voice from the Menagerie

*SPARE THE ROD*, by Michael Croft. (Longmans, 10s. 6d.).

JOHN SANDERS, the hero of Mr. Croft's novel is an ex-service man who, after a variety of post-war jobs, seeks something more satisfying, and as he has been to a university, is taken on as a teacher by a local authority. He is sent to Worrell Street, a secondary modern school in a "bad district of a bad town". The harassed headmaster explains to him:

"You'll be in charge of Class II. That can't be helped I'm afraid. They're a first-class crowd of dyed-in-the-wool heart-breakers. Half of them are as likely to land in Borstal as anywhere else, and where the other half will land doesn't bear thinking about. . . . I don't care what methods you use with them, so long as you hold them down. Believe me, if you can keep this lot down, you'll keep any class down."

Sanders mentally rejects this as the attitude of a defeated man, and determines that his approach will be different from the nagging and caning and mechanical teaching methods which the Head's attitude implies. But from his very first day he is faced with the difficulty of making any real contact with his class of 42 adolescent boys and girls.

His attempts to reach a workable relationship with them and to introduce imaginative teaching methods have occasional slight successes but the general result is failure and he is driven by frustration and desperation to the same routine of threats and punishments as the rest of the staff who "were disappointed, embittered people for whom the strain had been too great. Standing before forty and fifty children at a time, of all kinds, the docile, the abandoned, the uncouth, the imbecile, year after year, week after week, struggling, scolding, suffering . . . had numbed and eaten their vitality and destroyed their vision."

Gradually things improve, and the children's growing confidence in him and

The "GAP" is being reduced—  
Are YOU helping?

(see page 1)

### Theatre

## An Indictment of Capital Punishment

*MURDER STORY* by Ludovic Kennedy (at the Cambridge Theatre)

*MURDER STORY* is a grim, passionately sincere indictment of capital punishment. The central and most effective part of the play takes place in the condemned cell, and shows the fattening for the kill which is perhaps the most disgusting part of capital punishment and is something which 'nice' law-abiding people just will not think about: *Murder Story* is capable, not through violence or hysteria but by its unbearably restrained presentation of the last weeks of the boy who awaits the result, first of his appeal, and then of his recommendation to mercy, both of which fail, of bringing home to audiences the obscenity and cruelty of capital punishment. But, as the murder of Derek Bentley in reality did not lead to a nation-wide agitation against judicial assassination, it is doubtful whether it will have much influence on people whose consciences are dulled by custom and falsehood. The scenes laid in the condemned cell vividly convey the horror, the spiritual horror of a human being trapped in a cell, surrounded by walls and doors and endless locks and bolts, without hope of escape—the anguish of the human spirit deprived of the right to live, the dignity of unalienable individual freedom. A human being made into a mere object—a body to be kept alive, to be guarded day and night, to deny the victim even the right to end his own life, to be examined every day by a doctor, to be well cared for, under the continual gaze of uniformed strangers, who are spiritually indifferent to the condemned man's existence—and then after weeks of suspense and hope and finally to know only a couple of days before the execution that he is not to be reprieved, and to have to wait for the morning to be trussed up like a fowl and to die, not at the hands of the "Law", but at the hands of other dehumanized men.

And this obscene, horrible murder called capital punishment is invested with the approval of Society! And who can say of the lonely, pathetically inarticulate

and frustrated nineteen-year-old boy, Jim Tanner, the condemned man of *Murder Story*, that he deserves to die? For he is innocent, like Derek Bentley, and is legally murdered in the name of law and order. And what murderer can ever inflict such monstrous mental torture upon his victim of compelling him to wait in uncertainty for a month knowing that he is sentenced to death? Will the people never awake and revolt, will reason never rouse from her slumbers, and darting through the veil of superstition and falsehood her eagle eye, see in the majesty of power and the sable garments of the law, oppression and revenge concealed? True justice can never be linked with force and cruelty. Free men would never in the calmer hour of reason condemn an erring brother to be slain, cut him at once from all the joys of life, all hopes of reformation and self-development, to revenge the deed his punishment cannot recall. The momentary violence of an individual in anger or fear may be excused, but the cold-bloodedly premeditated vengeance of the State is degrading and inhuman. Is there among the catalogue of crimes a sin so black that only death can expiate? Every individual has the right to live no matter what he may have done.

Jim Tanner is regarded as "backward" because he cannot read or write, is silent and spends much of his time by himself, but is fond of playing with his toy soldiers. But are not the majority of people "backward"? They are free to think as they please, but regrettably enough they cease to think at all, and follow the fashions in thought and feeling as servilely as they follow the fashions in clothes. Are the children who can read and write really so much more enlightened than the half-consciously rebellious Jim Tanner, who is sacked for threatening to strike his boss when that gentleman laughs at him because he is unable to read? Children and men are standardised: the State aims at making them like the docile slaves comprising the herd, the majority, instead of allowing them to be themselves—new incarnations of the human spirit, new prophets

and free men, new adventurers in existence and the wilderness of the world.

Jim Tanner is persuaded by a friend to assist them in a robbery of the shop where he used to work. He is reluctant to do so, but he finally agrees to come with them. Later in the evening a police officer calls at the house: it is ironic to see this uniformed intruder being compulsorily admitted into what the Englishman pitifully calls his "castle". Jim is accused of the murder of a policeman: he admits that he was with the man who fired the shots but he never knew this was going to happen. But the law is not interested in motives, in the feelings and thoughts of the human individual, but only in external actions. Jim is tried for murder with the other man, and is sentenced to death.

The changes of scene between the cosy, suburban living room and the condemned cell may be intended to have deeper philosophical significance. The boarded-up entrance to the execution-shed is a grim reminder to the audience: what is man in face of the infinite? Each of us is adrift in a meaningless universe, infinitely distant from comprehending extremes, our invisible minds equally incapable of seeing the nothing from which he is drawn or the infinite in which he is engaged, whether he thinks or only thinks he thinks, whether he is real or whether mind is "a mysterious form secreted by the brain", the end of things and the explanation of time and being are for him invincibly hidden in torturing, impenetrable secrecy. As Blaise Pascal said: "Imagine a number of men in chains, and all condemned to death, of whom every day some are butchered in sight of the others, those remaining seeing their own fate in that of their fellows, regarding each other with grief and despair while awaiting their turn; this is a picture of the condition of man."

*Murder Story* shows that capital punishment is not only the murder of a man's body, but it is an attempt to destroy his very personality and consciousness, to try to make him believe

the Inspector's praise and encouragement help him to establish an atmosphere in which teaching was possible. But his intervention in a feud between another teacher and a boy in his class, oblige him to leave the school at the end of the term. What should he do? Should he give up the idea of teaching, or should he accept the job at another school which the Education department has offered him? The headmaster tells him:

"When I started teaching, my experience was very much the same as yours. I expected miracles and I imagined that everybody else would expect them too. I felt I had a mission, till in time I saw that I was deceiving myself. I realised that effective teaching did not depend on bright visions and good intentions, but that it was a matter of making the best of what was available in physical as well as human material; it was hard work with very limited rewards; and it required continual compromises."

He visits the Inspector who says, "You've had a rough time, though some men have had far worse. Worrell Street is by no means an exception. You know the problems. Some of them are beyond the teacher's control and always will be in this country, until education is treated as seriously as money-making or sport."

"Some of the teachers, of course, are no better. There are many who teach without desire, simply because they want a job, or because they're too lazy to do anything else, and they imagine teaching is an easy way out. Or because they're afraid of the adult world and must keep wandering back in a perpetual search for their lost adolescence. Many of them despise education even more than their pupils resent it if, by education, we imply a certain dignity in living, tolerance and morality, poetry and learning, a belief in people, and a little brotherly love to help the belief along."

Sanders makes his decision, and Worrell Street, presumably, carries on as usual—"a combination of a reformatory, a pathological ward, and a menagerie".

*Spare the Rod* is not a novel to be assessed on its literary merits, although it is competently written. It is a "novel with a purpose", and its purpose is to draw our attention to the survival of many Worrell Street schools, unaffected, except in name, by the Education Act of 1944. ("We're supposed to be Secondary and Modern, but to all intents and purposes we're still an Elementary School and very elementary at that"). Worrell Street has all the disadvantages a school can have. The buildings are old, drab and inadequate, the books and equipment are insufficient and worn out, the children come from very poor homes, the classes are enormous, the teachers are defeated.

But although one cannot imagine such a squalid travesty of education in a new, bright and properly equipped school it is the last in Worrell Street's list of defects which is the most telling, for there are schools where good teachers have triumphantly surmounted the disadvantages of a poor environment—among the best known of them Mr. A. Bloom's, St. George's-in-the-East secondary school at Stepney, Steward Street School, Birmingham under Mr. A. L. Stone, and Mr. Teddy O'Neil's school at Prestolee in Lancashire.

So Mr. Croft's exposé is a plea for better teachers and better teaching. May it get the attention it deserves. C.W.

he has no right to live, no right to continue to exist as a human being, as a unique individual. The only part of this play I disliked was the treating of the prison chaplain as a sympathetic character. Even the author's skill cannot disguise the hypocrisy and lying of this profession, sanctioning with the name of God the murder and violence of the rich. The chaplain convinces Jim that God is waiting for him, so he goes to the gallows almost contentedly. But this is simply spiritual drugging: a man should struggle with his whole being and soul against oppression and injustice to the very last. Belief in God merely produces "dutch courage". Even the warder who says that "he never gets sorry for the condemned man: as far as his job's concerned you don't want imagination", seems less hateful than this unctuous chaplain.

Donald Bradley gives a movingly sensitive and sincere performance as the boy who for the first time in his life comes under the dim shadow of the scaffold towards a dim comprehension of what is meant by the dignity of a human being. D.M.M.

## POLITICAL ACROBATICS

SOMERSAULTS in foreign policy are no longer viewed with contempt—or dismay by progressives. The word Somersault has come to be considered in practically every language of the world as being synonymous with "political realism" with "practical politics" with "give and take" with "live and let live" with "statesmanship" with "keeping up with the times". A political leader who can stand on his head is obviously a born leader who sees things from more than one angle. He has "breadth of vision"; he is a "big" man. Mussolini was right when he insisted that his ministers should shave off their beards and should all engage in the most strenuous physical exercises, from leaping through flaming hoops to the most exacting hand-stands which became the envy of every political gymnast and contortionist of the world.

The Communists were obviously right when they declared that the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was a masterly piece of statesmanship, as was the Stalin-Matsuoka embrace followed by those historic words: "We are both Asiatics", for did not Germany then attack Russia and did not Russia make the symbolic gesture of attacking Japan. Two perfect somersaults. And since the end of World War II have not the erstwhile allies become the potential enemies and the erstwhile enemies the newfound allies? Surely two perfect examples of standing on one's head. And from this angle, is not the re-arming of Germany an example of inspired statesmanship (whatever may have been said about German militarism, and the aggressive Prussianism of the German people for so many years)?

And is not the buttressing of dictator Franco a stroke of American political genius? But this is not the only example, as the following agency report, tucked away in a corner of the *New York Times* clearly shows:

TOKYO, Aug. 2 (A.P.)—Japan sent 443 navy men to the United States to-day to pick up two 1,600-ton destroyers leased under an agreement for build-up of Japan's military forces. The Japanese will go through a three-month training course at the United States Navy's Norfolk (Va.) base before taking over the destroyers.

You see what we mean? This is Pearl Harbor viewed from the new diplomatic angle, standing on one's head and wearing pink spectacles.

THERE will be many in the international Anarchist movement who will miss our old friend M.P.T. Acharya, who died recently in Bombay. He was one of the most ardent propagandists for the libertarian cause as well as being typical of the old school of Anarchists, undaunted by isolation or poverty.

Early in his life, M. P. T. Acharya was—like the majority of Indian students then and later—a nationalist, and he undertook the tasks of resistance which led to a long exile. He went to Russia in the early days of the Revolution, and was one of the first three to join the "Indian Communist Party" (all of them subsequently broke with the Comintern). Acharya himself was the first to leave the Indian C.P., having come into contact with the Russian Anarcho-Syndicalist group who—at the international conference of "revolutionary trade unions" at which foreign Anarcho-Syndicalists and others, apart from Communists, attended—drew the attention of their comrades from abroad to the terrible plight in which the Russian workers really found themselves.

Before leaving Russia for good, Acharya met Magda Nachman, the artist, who was to become his lifelong companion. Coming from a family who had long been associated with the Imperial theatre and ballet, she broke away from conventional art to become a leader of the modernistic movement in German art—and later, when they finally settled in India, completely assimilated herself in

THOSE of us who read our elementary economics text books years ago and learned that money functioned simply as a means of exchange will be surprised to learn that the functions of money are now classified into two broad categories: static, and dynamic.

The static functions are (1) a means of exchange, (2) a means of non-commercial payments, (taxations, fines, etc.), (3) a standard of value, (4) a standard of deferred payments, (5) a store of value, and (6) a medium through which the price mechanism operates.

The dynamic functions are (1) to influence economic trends through the inadequacy or excess of its quantity compared with the amount required for maintaining the stability of its value, (2) to enable governments to embark on costly economic, social, political, and military policies which would be out of their reach financially if they were not able to borrow well in excess of the amounts they can raise by taxation (3) a means whereby excessive indebtedness can be reduced through depreciation of the monetary unit.

One of the more interesting parts of the book to readers of this journal is an unfortunately rather brief historical survey of money in ancient and primitive societies. The Author regrets that the Ancient Greeks were more interested in philosophy and the arts than in monetary policy, and suggests that lack of monetary knowledge contributed greatly to the fall of the Roman Empire.

**HOW MONEY IS MANAGED,**  
by Paul Einzig. Pelican Books,  
2s.

## HOW IS MONEY MANAGED?

The Author suggests that moneyless communities have existed due to (1) Low standard of intelligence, (2) Absence of an adequate sense of values, (3) Low stage of economic development, (4) Absence of a system of private property, (5) Existence of a more or less totalitarian planned economy, (6) Religious objection to the use of money, (7) Existence of a closed self-sufficient economic unit, (8) Extreme distrust in the monetary system.

Modern religious communities in the U.S.A. that do not use money, are discussed together with such moneyless societies as Ancient Egypt and the Inca Empire of South America, where the country's large supply of precious metals was used solely for ornamental or industrial purposes.

### An Instrument of Government

The author disagrees with the classical theory that money developed through the progress of division of labour and the resulting complexity of trade. He believes that it developed through the economic evolution of non-commercial payments. As these were mainly payments to governments in the form of taxation, fines, etc., his theory can be used to demonstrate that money developed as an instrument of government and his book is full of examples of how it serves this purpose in present-day society.

However, its success in this sphere as in others depends upon psychological factors. People must believe in the currency or else it will collapse and with it the government.

Monetary metals may be chosen either for their scarcity, e.g.: gold, silver, or for their plentifulness, e.g.: iron in Sparta. As the State is in a position to choose the money and to some extent influence its value, the tendency is inevitable that states will secure for themselves the monopoly of producing or importing monetary metals.

### Financial Utopia

One of the principal duties of the State is apparently to safeguard the value of the national currency. This it does by measures against the private counterfeiting of coinage which would debase the currency. The State ensures that the debasing of currency remains a profitable State monopoly and it is the usual means of financing wars and the extravagances of princes, or for that matter, parliamentary governments.

Much space is devoted to showing how money can be used to control and initiate inflation and deflation, and manipulate price levels. The author shows how the upward trend in prices has been going on almost uninterruptedly since the invention of money and he appears to advocate a monetary system of permanent moderate inflation as being the most conducive to the happiness of the people. So perhaps we are already living in the Utopia of finance capitalism.

The occasional slumps which reverse this trend have only to be avoided by monetary policy and human welfare is assured. A downward trend in prices should be a normal consequence of technological development but this can and

should be offset according to the author, by monetary expansion as it would mean great hardship to a large proportion of producers unable to lower costs sufficiently.

A rise in prices is also attractive to governments because it assists treasuries in showing their budgetary problems by automatically raising the yield of taxes. This occurred in Britain after the war. However in France the high degree of resistance of the French public to taxation resulted in budgetary deficits. Rising prices also reduce the relative interest rates on the public or government debt.

In the section dealing with the social objectives of monetary policy, the author shows how in the origin and early evolution of money it was a means of establishing and accentuating distinctions between social classes, and how the evolution of modern money has largely contributed towards the evolution of the present social system in which class differences are accentuated, and these is a relative increase in the numerical proportion of low income groups. Attempts to counteract this effect by monetary means such as were used by the Labour Government are of only limited value.

### Complexity of Trends

The rest of the book is devoted to a discussion of the means of monetary policy such as varying the quantity and quality of money, availability of credit, variation of interest rates, the use of the budget, influencing the velocity of circulation, price controls, foreign exchange policy, exchange restrictions, and physical controls. These chapters are a "must" for any young anarchist who aspires to a job in the Treasury.

The object of this book is to present a broad picture covering the entire field of monetary policy in the wider sense of the term, and indeed the field covered is so great that the mind falters before such a mass of factual descriptions of monetary trends. Monetary theory is not dealt with but a knowledge of the subject from Gresham to Keynes is helpful, although the writer continually stresses that in this subject theory and practice do not go hand in hand.

It is interesting to note that monetary policy has been defined as the effort to reduce to a minimum, the disadvantages resulting from the existence and operation of a monetary system. It does not occur to the author of this book that it might be wiser to abolish the monetary system. H.H.S.

## The Rains bring in the Gods

MR. F. A. RIDLEY describes in *The Freethinker* a novel theory propounded by the French author, Monsieur Robert Louzon, to explain the excessive religiosity of Indians. India has been arraigned as the "Most Religious Land in the World". Mr. Ridley says: "India simply swarms with gods! Religion there has, from time immemorial, assumed a totalitarian form, and religious rites occupy, one can say truly, every nook and cranny of daily life in Hindu society. Historically, ever since Buddhism was driven out of its land of origin a millenium ago, the Brahmins, the priestly caste, have exercised a virtual dictatorship over Hindu society." Is this description of India true? Whether true or not, these words which express the opinion about India held by the world outside, make every Indian feel ashamed. Mr. Ridley ought to be aware of the mighty current of materialism running through the history of India. Having its origin in the teachings of Brihaspathi in Vedic times, materialism was popularised by Charvaka as the *Laukik* way of life which the masses followed, as opposed to the *Vaidic* faith of the few adherents of the Vedic teachings and practices. Whatever that might be it is no doubt true that the minority of believers in the Vedas have to-day captured influence and political power and have subjugated

the people. We, in India, cannot well repudiate the accusation of Karl Marx that we worship our "own helplessness before Nature, bending in adoration before Hanuman, the sacred monkey, and before Durga, the sacred cow".

WHAT is the reason of this feeling of subservience which appears to be the special weakness of Indians? The French author attributes it to the material dependence of India on the rains brought by the monsoon winds. The monsoon is erratic but the rains which it brings are a matter of life and death to the millions of India's peasantry. The droughts and the famines caused by the failure of the monsoon have taken a fearful toll of life and of happiness in India. Up-to-date no human device has been invented to regulate the flow of monsoon rains. What is not within his power to regulate, man ascribes to supernatural agency: rain is an act of God, man cannot but pray to God to bring by human agency and there is no need for God to intervene. Hence the Chinese, by their geographical environment, are driven to rely more upon their own efforts rather than to prostrate in prayer before an invisible God. "One can only

pray for rain, one can work to prevent floods." In India man adores Nature in her capricious mood whereas in China one can work co-operatively to control her irregularities.

THIS ingenious French theory, we are bound to admit, is partly true. In regard to the origin of religion, this is a plausible explanation. This theory applies not only to India but to the rest of the world. The Semitic races who were nomadic and were dependent upon rainfall for the growth of grass on which their cattle grazed, were as much prone to believe in God, the giver of rains, as were the Indians. Primitive man all over the world was the slave of Nature and was driven to invent gods and to pray to them to relieve him of the difficulties presented by Nature. As civilisation progressed and as man acquired greater and greater control over Nature, the need for the supernatural gradually evaporated. Logically, therefore, there is little need for God or religion in the industrially advanced countries which no longer depend upon the whims of Nature to supply the necessities of life. If the Chinese were ahead of the Indians in the discarding of superstitions it might be so due to the fact that cultivation of food crops by irrigation is a more advanced form of agriculture than cultivation dependent upon rain fall. Cultivation with the help of man-made canals from the river is a step in advance of cultivation by rainwater which pours direct from "heaven".

But much water has flown down the bridge since the Chinese took to irrigating their fields from river waters and humanity has taken several steps further than what the Chinese took in regard to cultivation of the soil. The growth of industrial establishments, of factories run by power-driven machinery, the conquest of distances by the steam engine, by the motor car, by aeroplane, by radio, and T.V. and cultivation of the soil by tractors are steps taken miles ahead of the Chinese who irrigated their fields from river waters. Are the modern Europeans and the Americans who have mastered the technique of advanced science freer than the Chinese in matters of religion? Unfortunately this is not the case. Religion seems to grow apace with modern science. This does not accord with the French theory described by Mr. Ridley. The Roman Catholic religion, which is undoubtedly the most fanatic of all religions, is taking deep root in America and in England where modern industrial progress has reached its summit. The French theory therefore requires further modification. While religion in regard to its origin might be due to the helplessness of man before Nature, its subsequent growth is no longer dependent upon such helplessness. Religion

## M.P.T. Acharya

the Indian scene so that the paintings of this Russian-Jewish artist are considered to be the most typically Indian work of her decade.

Acharya and Magda lived in Germany for many years, and Acharya is known to most of the old generation of German revolutionaries. They were later obliged to move to Switzerland, and finally, under an amnesty, he was able to return to India. In India, despite almost complete isolation, Acharya hammered away at the Anarchist message. His writings were prolific. He managed to speak in the popular press, in English and in other languages, and is best known as "Marco Polo" in the vernacular *Kaiser-i-Hind*. He also contributed regularly to *Harijan*, and counted on much support from Gandhians despite certain obvious differences of approach.

His articles on the wage system, money, and foreign affairs—in particular, on the rôle of the Communists in Russia—were widely read. Despite the fact that there were a few other Anarchists, over the whole of India, it was the great tragedy of Acharya's later years that he was in such isolation that headway was made almost impossible.

For many years he had been ill, and was supported by his wife's paintings which had begun to achieve gradual recognition. With her death, however,

he was left in complete destitution. With the help of friends in England, it was planned that an exhibition of Magda Nachman's paintings should be held, in order to help perpetuate her name as well as to provide for Acharya. Delay arose due to the problem of forwarding the canvasses but when problems had been straightened out, news came in the form of a laconic message from the Dead Letter Office that M. P. T. Acharya had died.

It was impossible to comprehend the difficulty in standing out against the tide so completely as was necessary in a country like India. It was easy for former "nationalist revolutionaries" to assert their claims to the positions left vacant by the old "imperialist oppressors". This Acharya would not do. He remained an uncompromising rebel, and when age prevented him from speaking, he continued writing right up to the time of his death.

While we only met on two occasions, Acharya and I continued an unbroken correspondence for fifteen years. With many comrades in Europe he had corresponded for thirty years, broken only by the war. It will be a personal loss for us, as well as the loss of a man with integrity whom we could ill afford to lose at the present time.

INTERNATIONALIST.

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## 4 Tipping—An Aspect of Social Parasitism

THE giving and receiving of tips or gratuities is of doubtful origin. Most dictionaries stress the fact that it is something bestowed as a favour to an inferior. It was known to exist in the early Roman Empire especially just prior to its downfall when the exclusive minority in whose hands the wealth and luxury were concentrated debased the whole social organism by becoming parasites on those whom they conquered and afterwards ruled over.

Almost everyone but the conquered indulged in a wild, riotous, sensational life. Lewis Mumford in *The Condition of Man* tells us that: "... Sponging in Rome was reduced to a science: bribes, gifts, tips, gratuities, extortions supplemented the economic rewards of the market ..."

In modern society this form of gaining favour has grown: more so since the last war, and it is difficult to think of any part of industry where this practice hasn't developed; perhaps not in such an open way as between client and waiter or waitress, client and barber, taxi driver, etc., but perhaps more subtly. "Everyone", we often hear, expects the "drop".

The cause of this growth can be traced to shortages that existed during the height of the rationing period when the well-known phrase "under the counter" came into vogue.

### Various Techniques

In a much larger sense the famous 'Sidney Stanley' affair showed that even the 'incorruptibles' are sometimes prone to accept a money favour, and our present Government appears to have no ethical objections to the degrading form of social parasitism known as tipping, the Minister of Labour having recently decided to enforce the Labour Relations wages board proposals permitting tips to be reckoned as part of wages in licensed

hotels and restaurants.

There is always some difficulty in knowing how much to leave a waitress or waiter so as not to offend, and we differ in our ways of bestowing tips; some grandly hand it over with a 'There you are', others fold it in a bill, others surreptitiously push 3d. bits under saucers or plates, but whichever way we do it there is no doubt that it is degrading both to receiver and giver, more so under conditions where people have to depend on other people's generosity to earn a 'living' wage.

The most that apologists for its continuance could say in favour of tipping is that a tip is given for service and no doubt people feel after a good meal and courteous attendance a desire to reward. Many of course like to make an impression in front of their guest, and sometimes it is done to gain preferential treatment. Hence the reason for 'sorry sir, haven't a table left' by the *maitre d'hôtels* in the classy establishments where often the names of those known in the trade as 'stiffs', or poor tipplers, are recorded. It is a form of blackmail which is not unknown in many parts of our economic and social life. Shortage is tipping's best condition for existence. During the war an extra course, a steak or a chop, produced by magic, could be had by the lavish tipper.

Depending on tips for a living is becoming more precarious chiefly because the average tip has not risen since the war and its comparative value may well be judged. It is therefore necessary that catering workers in the tippable sections fight for higher wages. In fact this is doubly necessary for other sections, because profits have never been higher, and wages have only risen by a paltry few shillings since the Catering Wage Act came into force in 1948.

By this passing reference I do not wish

to detract from the main contention of this evil of property society. That from its simplest form of rewarding for a personal service it has developed into large-scale bribery and corruption, it produces antagonisms as between those who receive and those who do not, an obstacle to 100 per cent. solidarity in the catering trades. It debases men and women reducing them to snivelling servile worms, and must often offend a giver who is morally conscious of its evil.

### Bribery & Corruption

In an anarchist society, which would be a classless, moneyless way of life, leaving the individual free to render service to, and receive service from, his fellow humans, such service would have an entirely different meaning; it would stem from a natural co-operative desire to be at one with his fellow humans just like typical examples of family co-operation exist to-day, and in the various communities throughout the world where sociologists and anthropologists have found examples of such co-operation and mutual aid.

To-day much of the surplus wealth wrung out of the hides and carcasses of the workers is spent lavishly on stupid, senseless ostentation. Hostesses vie with each other in the London Season to prevent the 'debs' from becoming bored, by making or trying to make their *the party* of the season. Sums of £2,000 to £10,000 have been spent to make a success of these 'belly and bubbly' events for the bright young things and the 'bloods' of our present age. Like Rome of old our 'high society' has debilitated the whole social organism.

### Equalitarianism?

Never has there been a time when the 'lower orders' have aped the 'top layer' as to-day. The 'cream' is often hard put to possess something distinctly different. The 'New Look' was copied and later the Edwardian style. A sign of growing equalitarianism? I wonder if Sir Bernard and Lady Dockers' recent 'belly and bubbly' spree for the miners was an introduction to their future rôle in society as landlords. (It being recently reported that the N.U.M. have become landlords of the Café Royal). Is this a foretaste of a coming managerial-proletariat dictatorship? Who will be the tippers and tippees then? And if we are all to take part in 'belly and bubbly' sprees, who will do the work? Is this I wonder what certain socialists visualise as Socialism? A glorified Capitalism with knobs on.

Thus does the chain of social parasitism complete itself. Tipping is but an aspect related to the whole. G.H.

## The Immorality of Government

THE conclusion that the general public is supposed to draw from the rescue of the Polish refugee from the ship *Jaroslav Dabrowski* is that justice has been vindicated and that 'genuine' cases of refugees from tyranny will find a sanctuary in the 'free world'. If our memories were short, as Governments would often like them to be, we could perhaps accept this at its face value. Too many tragic examples however of the indifference of authority to political refugees spring to mind and one may ask if the fate of the refugees from Germany who were refused entry into Palestine with the alternative of returning to a Europe made hateful for them, or suicide, is an example of British consideration.

The treatment meted out to the Jewish refugees is more in keeping with the nature of Government than that of saviour, and the fuss being made now over a Polish seaman has failed to cover up the unsavoury aspects of another refugee—the case of Dr. Cort.

As was suggested in the columns of *FREEDOM* last week, it was fortunate for the British authorities that they found a Klimowicz when they did (and the subsequent behaviour of the authorities indicates that they hoped our minds would be taken off Dr. Cort). It was unfortunate for them that the two men happened to be sharing the same ship because intelligent observers cannot fail to draw the obvious conclusion that Governments are indifferent to the fate of individuals when political expediency demands a course of action which conflicts with the interest of the helpless individual.

This is proved in the case of Klimowicz, who we are now told, was in the first place refused leave to land because the Home Secretary considered that there were insufficient grounds for his being treated differently from any other stow-away. "Further information" was received however from, among other sources, the representative of the Port of London dockers. We are not told what the further information was but we suggest that it had little to do with the Home Secretary's final decision. Would Klimowicz have been 'rescued' if in the first instance he had only been seen by the immigration authorities and not by the London dockers? The publicity which may well have followed the discovery by the dockers of a starving stow-away refused asylum in this country sailing in the same ship with another refugee refused the benefits of our democratic system would have made British justice smell slightly in the nostrils of the world.

On the other hand we must remember that Governments are motivated by many reasons, which, in this case must be speculative in the absence of factual knowledge. The seaman may well have been found to be more useful than was at first supposed, and no opportunities must be overlooked which may provide information to help the downfall of a foreign Government when the need arises. Such is the morality of Governments everywhere.

The British Government too will have considered the effect on anti-communist sources in Poland. It will give a boost to their morale and may indicate to them that in the event of an uprising against the Polish Government, Britain can be relied on for help if only indirectly.

Popular uprisings are often encouraged by rival Governments as witness the support given to the 'heroic East German Workers' when they rioted in June of last year by the American and British authorities. The Americans through their broadcasting system even appealed to the workers in Eastern Europe to 'rise'. We wonder if the present striking West Germans and the opposition of the ordinary people in the suburbs of Hamburg to American troops occupying badly needed dwellings will be labelled as heroic or as agents of the East?

The Cortis and the Klimowicz; the Jewish refugees and the Berlin strikers are all manifestations of a Governmental society and all that it implies. If ordinary people continue to support Government, in spite of their experiences, they will have to take the consequences of a divided society. R.M.

## MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

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Rita Milton  
Sam Fanaroff  
Philip Sansom

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## 'Freedom' only to Agree Continued from p. 1

affecting the free expression of national sentiments are being enforced. The Cyprus people demand the immediate withdrawal of all illiberal laws, and demand the respect of all the rights of man and the right of self-determination."

To add to the confusion, an Athens Court last week sentenced the editors of the fortnightly *Police News* to four and a half months' imprisonment for publishing an article criticising Greek policy on the Cyprus issue. The article on which the charge was based said that the Enosis (union with Greece) campaign would benefit only the Communists!

★

REACTIONS in the British Press have been almost unanimous in their condemnation. As the *Manchester Guardian* editorial puts it:

"The Cyprus Government's attack on the press has been condemned by newspapers of all shades of opinion. While by no means all would be ready to go so far as to try to meet the Cypriot demand for union with Greece, they all object to the Government's method of stifling free discussion. When the *Daily Mail*, the *Yorkshire Post*, the *Scotsman*, the *Daily Dispatch*, the *News Chronicle*, the *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Mirror* (to say nothing of papers like ourselves, *Tribune*, the *New Statesman*, and the *Daily Worker*) can make common cause the Government should wonder whether somebody, whether Minister or civil servant, has not blundered badly. The

Government has only one open friend in the press, the *Daily Telegraph*, which seems to view with some glee the substitution of Government 'news broadcasts' for a free press. These broadcasts, it says, 'well handled, should be a most effective means of explaining the advantages of constitutional progress and the British connection.' If Government news broadcasts are effective for Cyprus, why not, in some time of acute controversy, should they not be here? This is surely strange press doctrine, even by orthodox Tory standards. Are we to accept that the British Empire must be kept together by repressive seditious laws and Government news broadcasts?"

And that champion of the Colonial peoples, Mr. Fenner Brockway, commenting on the news in his capacity as chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom expressed the view that British Colonial policy had not reached lower depths since the war than in its cynical repudiation of the right of the people of Cyprus to self-determination on the ground that the island is necessary for the strategic purposes of Britain. He added:

"This is the policy of might over right, and repudiates the principles of the United Nations and declarations which British statesmen have repeatedly made in association with America. As though this were not sufficient humiliation, the new Constitution would deny the people of Cyprus a majority of elected members, and offers less than the constitutional proposals previously made.

"These announcements in London have been followed by a new seditious law in Cyprus which the most totalitarian regime, whether Nazi or Communist, has not exceeded in severity."

★

ONE fact in the Cyprus crisis has not been, to our minds, sufficiently stressed. It is that the present repressive measures are not the result of some new legislation but are simply the tightening up and enforcement of existing laws. In other words that the legal machinery already existed, ready to be used if and when required. This fact alone makes a mockery of all the talk about freedom of speech and of the press, for it is clear that under such circumstances governments can suppress these freedoms the moment the exercising of them threatens their absolute authority. And this is exactly what has happened in Cyprus during the past fortnight.

## News in Brief Continued from p. 1

### Newspapermen Ban "Reds"

THE American Newspaper Guild, C.I.O. at their twenty-first annual Convention held in Los Angeles last week unanimously agreed on a policy opposing subversives, and instructed its officers to prepare suitable amendments to the organization's constitution to be adopted at its 1955 convention in Albany, N.Y.

According to a *N.Y. Times* report: "The deferment in implementation of the policy was decided on after hours of discussion. During the debate it was suggested that immediate ouster of any Communists by suggested methods short of constitutional amendment might, under the union's by-laws, give rise to injustices."

The declaration of policy adopted by the convention reads:

"This convention declares it to be the policy of the American Newspaper Guild to hold ineligible for membership in the Guild any proven or admitted member of the Communist party or any person who consistently adheres to the policies and actions of the Communist party or any similar subversive organization.

"The international executive board is directed to prepare for submission to the 1955 convention all constitutional changes required to make this declaration of policy effective."

### SCULLING WENT TO HIS HEAD

MOSCOW, AUGUST 3.—Russia's champion sculler, 24-year-old Yuri Tukulov, who lost to a Yugoslav at Henley, is accused of vanity and conceit by the leading Russian sports newspaper *Soviet Sport*. The article headed "Why Yuri Tukulov Loses," declares:

"Tukulov's name became known in the Soviet Union first in 1948 and he progressed fast in sculling to become a top-ranker in 1951. In 1952 he won several international matches and then went to Helsinki to win a brilliant, almost fairy-tale victory over world-famed competitors.

"He became the Soviet Union's youngest merited Master of Sport. Newspapers and magazines published his picture and he himself and many other people began to believe that he had no equal.

"Immediately Yuri's behaviour began to change. Modesty vanished and there appeared vanity and self-conceit. Now, in a race, he thought only how to pass the stands in picturesque style, and when he received the winner's bouquet he did so with a bored air. Gradually he declined from a high-class sculler into a spoiled boy. . . .

"In the European championships in 1953 he lost and in the Henley Regatta of 1954 this world's best sculler also lost, by twelve seconds to Vlasic, of Yugoslavia. All this can be explained by his spoiled attitude, his weak will and lack of perseverance. It is a very unpleasant fact that a brilliant sculler who won at the Olympics declined so badly."—*Associated Press*.

### PRACTICAL FRIENDSHIP

FOURTEEN member of the International Voluntary Service for Peace, who arrived in Hull yesterday on a fortnight's visit, are to clean walls and distemper rooms in the homes of old age pensioners. The Hull Council for Old People's Welfare is to provide the brushes and distemper for the work, which will begin to-day. According to the leader of the party, they will do one room for each pensioner, so as to spread the work as far as possible.

The party includes a New Zealander, an Italian, a Spaniard, a Norwegian, a German, and a Frenchman, and one or two English people—"about as near a League of Nations as you can get"—and their aim is to create a "spirit of friendship and a constructive attitude towards peace." Their headquarters are at the King's Hall Methodist Mission: they will sleep on stretchers loaned by the Red Cross Society and in blankets provided by the W.V.S. (Manchester Guardian).