"Political Rights have been preserved by traitors; the liberty of mind by heretics."

-ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

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Threepence

### IN PERSIA

# Heads Roll, Oil Flows

IN the matter of Persian oil, FREEDOM has always shown much more faith in the abilities of British politicians and businessmen to pull the chestnuts out of the fire than did their own friends. Whilst Mr. Churchill, for the opposition was deriding the then government's efforts in Teheran FREEDOM was pointing out even at the time of the Abadan Evacuation (FREEDOM, 13/10/51):

"What is significant to our mind, is the fact that if all the bluff is on one side only, and Dr. Mossadig is successfully seeing through it all [as Churchill then maintained] how is it that at this stage he is still prepared to make important concessions? Is it perhaps that in fact, the British Government has still a few tricks up their sleeve, and that Dr. Mossadig knows it?".\*

And in November, 1954, poor old Dr. Mossadig is kicking his heels in prison, his Foreign Minister Dr. Fatemi has just been shot down in cold blood by a firing squad after a trial à la Russe. Before him, twenty-one other men were executed in secret by the Shah's firing squads, guilty of "having participated in a Communist revolutionary conspiracy in the armed forces", and another four "communist" police officers

### The Dock Strike Inquiry Report

THE Court of Inquiry into the causes and circumstances of the recent dock strike heard for two days in public, one day in private, and considered their Report for a further three days in private. Six days did they labour and brought forth a mouse.

Not even a very definite mouse, either. The main bulk of the Report's 24 pages are a factual outline of the meetings and letters and exchanges of memos that went on during the time of the Stevedores' and Dockers' Union's operation of their overtime ban and strike.

At the end came the conclusions. And the Report decides, after all its deliberations, that it is not quite right to call overtime 'compulsory' and not quite right to call it 'voluntary' either. Interpreting Clause 8 (5) (6) of the Dock Labour Scheme (the offending clause which says dockers must do overtime where 'reasonable') the Report suggests that the obligation on the docker is to act 'reasonably' as a dock worker as regards overtime.

It is of course true that if you start work in the docks you recognise that a certain amount of overtime has to be worked. You also recognise that your wages fluctuate so much that you welcome some overtime when it is available. What has always irked the dockers however is the fact that the employers have claimed the right to say when and how much should be done-and dockers. stevedores and lightermen were reported to the Dock Labour Board and disciplined if they didn't do as they were told.

It strikes one as odd, however, that although this was the central cause of the dispute, and discussion on it features in the Report, not one of the thirteen paragraphs of conclusions, squarely faces up to this issue. The Court has not hesitated to declare that the action of the N.A.S.D. in banning overtime and leading the strike were repudiating and breaching the conciliatory machinery and the National Joint Committee Constitution, but it has not deemed it proper to condemn the threat and use of punishments and sanctions against workers who interpret 'reasonable' differently from their bosses.

Could it be that Constitutions always operate on the employers' side?

found guilty of "treason" are awaiting their bullets.

Now that the pipes are cleared of obstacles, the oil can flow.

And what better fillip to British prestige than the proposed change of name from The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to British Petroleum Company? (That will also teach the "wogs" who are the masters). And what better news for the stockholders than that they will be issued with four £1 shares for every £1 of ordinary stock held on November 23. (Not that they have been existing on bread and cheese during the years they were wating for the Persian oil to flow again, for Anglo-Iranian interests are numerous. In 1953 the net earnings for ordinary shares were equal to 1681 per cent.. while stockholders received dividends of 30 per cent. and a bonus of 12½ per cent.). And finally, Mr. Butler was able to tell a questioner in the House last week that the Government's holding in Anglo-Iranian was worth £201 millions at current prices. Quite a bonus when one recalls that in 1951 Mr. Butler's party (in the opposition) and most of Fleet Street had written Abadan off as a complete loss.

Perhaps next week someone will ask Sir Anthony whether the Government was consulted about the shootings in Teheran, and what advice he gave. Someone might even ask a supplementary as to what part the British Government played in putting General Zahedi in office.

\*Reprinted in Selection from Freedom, Vol. 1, p. 171.

### London Busmen Lift Colour Bar

THE attempted colour bar on London buses (FREEDOM last week) has been lifted

At Stockwell Garage 500 men complained that the union had not been consulted before two coloured trainee conductors were introduced. We put our arguments against this action by the busmen last week and are pleased to see that a change of attitude has now been adopted.

The trainees, Charles Nesbit, a Jamaican, and Robert Martin, an Anglo-Burmese are now going out with white crews, and so far there have been no reports of passengers fainting or refusing to take their change from a brown hand.

The new reports stress the friendliness of the busmen to their new workmates and declare that it was all a matter of union principle and nothing personal about it. The fact remains however that it was not the taking on of two new trainees that the men objected to, but the engagement of coloured trainees. And that's pretty personal.

It has now been agreed between the union and the Transport Executive that the employment of any coloured workers will be discussed in the future. We hope to hear the union press for the right to be consulted on all intake of labour, and eventually to take over the recruitment of labour completely, as the Australian dockers have done for the last seven years. To let the matter rest with consultation only for coloured workers is still-discrimination.

The men now seem to be doing their best to make the 'new boys' feel at home. An inspector said "Conductors are always ready to help the coloured boys with their cash checks when they return with the day's takings." And Nesbit, the Jamaican, said "I'm very glad to be working again and I have absolutely no complaints. The other men have been very good to me and have helped me whenever I have asked them."

The official Transport Executive view is: "We have no colour bar. If a coloured man applies for a job he gets the same consideration as a white man. If he is up to standard he will get the job."

### WITCHHUNT

# Second Thoughts?

TO what extent is the present anti-McCarthyism of the Senate, and the interest displayed in the attempted interference by Government officers in the Lattimore case, purely political? Or is it perhaps the first healthy signs of protest (and of heed to international opinion). against a situation which threatens all decent values in American life?

According to reports:

a Senate subcommittee is now considering the question of examining Mr. Leo Rover, United States Attorney, and Mr. Herbert Brownell, the Attorney-General, for their part in the Owen Lattimore case. The transcript of Mr. Rover's remarks as he called upon Judge Youngdahl to disqualify himself because of "fixed personal bias" in favour of Mr. Lattimore, has angered several senators. They want Mr. Brownell to explain why he expressed "complete confidence" in Mr. Rover's methods and why the Department of Justice has shown such unusual diligence in this case.

More light is also being shed on the motives behind Mr. Rover's attack on Judge Youngdahl. According to the political commentator Mr. Marquis

Childs, it is a question of

politics involving high ambitions and fierce partisanship. It reached a climax early this year when on two separate occasions Judge Youngdahl was approached by a spokesman close to the Eisenhower Administration with the suggestion that Youngdahl resign from the Bench and return to his native Minnesota to run for the Senate against Senator Hubert Humphrey. While Youngdahl will discuss no phase of the case this information comes from unimpeachable sources and there can be no doubt of its authenticity. Youngdahl's friends believe the charge of prejudice is a reprisal for declining to run for the Senate. What is McCarthyism?

In the address which he released before the hearing of the resolution of censure, McCarthy describes himself as the "symbol of resistance to Communist subversion" and declared that "McCarthyism is a household word describing a way of dealing with treason and the threat of treason". The New York

Times almost breaks an editorial blood vessel in denouncing this "arrant nonsense" this "falsification of history", and proceeds to give its own definition of McCarthyism in these terms:

It is the invasion of personal rights, the irresponsible attacks on individuals and institutions, the disregard of fair democratic procedures, the reckless shattering of mutual trust among the citizens of this country, the terrorization of loyal civil servants—these are all elements of McCarthyism. It is the disruption of orderly governmental processes; it is the destruction of the constitutional relationship between the equal branches of our Government; it is the assault on Federal agencies amost intimately concerned with the actual "cold war" or a potential "hot" one; it is contempt for the Bill of Rights and for the ordinary rules of public and political decency. It is the encouragement of fear, the undermining of self-confidence, the pandering of emotionalism; it is the divisive force of accusation, recrimination and suspicion. All of this is McCarthyism; and it can only help our enemies.

But how did McCarthy and his -ism achieve power to do so much harm? And what are the factors that have made it possible to knock him off his pedestal only now and not sooner?

The N.Y. Times does not ask these questions but in its exposure of Mc-Carthy's "falsification of history" provides a possible answer to our first question:

By his own words it was not until 1950 that Mr. McCarthy, who had then been in the Senate three years, "entered the fight against subversion." By 1940-ten years before 1950-the Smith Act had been passed. By 1950 the principal leaders of the American Communist party had been indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced for violation of this law. By 1950 Congress had prohibited Federal employment to any member of an organization advocating forcible overthrow of the Government. By 1950 a thoroughgoing loyalty and security program had been established within the Federal ser-

In other words, that the witch-hunt had started long before McCarthy appeared on the scene, and that the atmosphere created by it made it easy for a McCarthy to carry it a few stages further. In the light of the N.Y. Times' defence of the pre-McCarthy witch-hunt their outburst of indignation at the crimes of McCarthyism sounds somewhat phoney!

As to our second question we cannot be sure whether the present anti-Mc-Carthy campaign is simply a move by the Government to remove him from the limelight without calling a halt to the witch-hunt, or whether it represents a recognition of a growing public resent-

ment of all that McCarthyism stands for. Perhaps readers of FREEDOM on the other side of the Atlantic will enlighten

# The Pope

ROME, Nov. 3-According to Pope Pius XII, the belief that "the Church's authority is limited to purely religious matters" is an error. Roman Catholics "must take an open and firm stand" against it, he added.

Social problems, whether merely social or socio-political, were singled out by the Pope as being "of concern to the conscience and salvation of man" and thus as not "outside the authority and

care of the Church." Pope Pius said emphatically at a meeting of cardinals, archbishops and bishops that those who sought to limit the Church's authority to purely religious matters were in error.

Far from being thus limited, the Church's power extends to the whole matter of natural law and to the moral aspects of its foundation, its interpretation and its application, the Pope said.

By natural law is meant the law implanted by God in the minds of his reasoning creatures, distinguishing for them the good from the evil and bidding them follow the good and shun the evil, the Pope declared.

Instructions and propositions published on matters within the moral law by the Pope for the whole Church, and by bishops for those in their dioceses, cannot be rejected on the ground that "the strength of the authority is no more than the strength of the arguments," the Pontiff

On the contrary, "even though to someone certain declarations of the Church may not seem proved by the arguments put forward, his obligation to obey still remains," the Pope continued.

The Pope's statements were made in an address he delivered yesterday in Latin to twenty-five cardinals and 150 archbishops and bishops who had gathered in Rome for Monday's Marian Year celebration.

The Latin text was published to-day by

# Defines Church's Role

L'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican newspaper. Translations in six languages were made available by the Vatican press service.

"The keeping of the natural law by God's appointment has reference to the road whereby man has to approach his supernatural end," the Pope declared.

In addition to social questions there are problems not strictly religious-even some political problems—that rightly fall within the authority of the Church because they belong to the moral order. weigh on the conscience and can and very often do hinder the attainment of man's final end, the Pope said.

Among these he enumerated the following:

1. The purpose and limits of temporal authority.

Relations between the individual and society—the so-called totalitarian state, whatever be the principle on which it is based.

The "complete laicization [putting under the control of laymen] of the state" and of public life.

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6. Moral relationships binding and ruling the various nations.

tion in it.

"Common sense and truth as well are contradicted by whoever asserts that this and like problems are outside the field of morals and hence are, or at least can be beyond the influence of that authority established by God to see to a just order and to direct the conscience and actions of men along the path to their true and final destiny," the Pope continued.

He then spoke about ecclesiastical discipline and condemned in strong terms the tendency among present-day Catholies, both men and women, to "think that the leadership and vigilance of the Church are not to be suffered by one who is grown up."

He said such persons "are unwilling in their final personal decisions to have any intermediary placed between themselves and God, no matter what his rank or

It is right and just that adults should not be treated like children, the Pope said, "but to be an adult and to have put off the things of childhood is one thing and quite another to be an adult and not to be subject to the guidance and government of legitimate authority."

Speaking about the tasks of bishops. the Pope urged them to coordinate their activities by holding frequent meetings among themselves and to bind themselves closely to the Holy See.

"Union and harmonious communion with the Holy See arises not from a kind of desire to centralize and unify everything but by divine right and by reason of an essential element of the constitution of the Church of Christ," he concluded.

(See Editorial Comment page 3)

### An Exclusive Profession

There is no doubt that a stockbroker would find it easier to get a job as a docker, in spite of the apparent exclusiveness of that job than a docker would to get into the stock exchange! It is reported in the Evening Standard that:

A seat on the New York Stock Exchange has just been sold for 75,000 dollars (£26,785)—the highest price since 1946. The rise reflects the Wall Street boom. At the end of 1953, a seat was worth only £16,420.

Joining the London Stock Exchange is less expensive. The cheapest way is by serving four years as a clerk. After that you can become a member by paying £525 entrance fee and buying a "nomination" (that is, a seat) in the open market. The current price for a nomination is £65.

Members also pay an annual subscription of £110 5s., so anyone entering in this way pays £700 5s. at the outset.

An outsider who joins without having served four years as a clerk pays an entrance fee of £1,050. This, with the price of his nomination and his first annual subscription, brings the cost to £1,225 5s.

After the last war the cost of a nomination sank to about £5. The highest price ever was in the glittering boom days of the 'twenties, when £2,000 was paid.

### BOOK REVIEW VOLUNTARY SLAVERY

DISCOURS DE LA SERVI-TUDE VOLONTAIRE, by Etienne de la Boetie. Les Cahiers Pensee et Action. 1/6.

ETIENNE DE LA BOETIE was born in 1530, and died in 1563. His most famous work A Discourse on Voluntary Slavery is supposed to have been written between the ages of sixteen and twenty. He was precocious in an age of precocity. It is a most remarkable book, little more than a pamphlet in fact, but it has a vigour and originality that one is not used to finding in revolutionary literature. Hem Day in his introduction describes La Boetie as able "without exaggeration to be considered as one of the precursors of modern anarchist ideas."

The basic idea is that tyranny is not something suffered perforce, but something voluntarily accepted. The tyrant continues to flourish because he is supported by the vast mass of the people, and even if a few enlightened individuals make a conspiracy and overthrow him, another tyranny comes along to replace the old almost at once.

"Just like the fire, which, starting from a little spark becomes big, and continually grows greater, the more wood it finds to burn, provided no water is poured on it; but if no more wood is put on, having nothing more to consume, it feeds on itself and dies away. The same with the tyrants, they ruin, pillage, exact, and destroy, the more one serves and provides for them, and they fortify themselves, and become ever stronger and readier to obliterate and destroy everything; but if one provides them with nothing, if one refuses to obey them at all, without fighting or striking a blow, they become naked and defenceless, and are no longer of any account, like the branch of a tree, if the root can no longer get nourishment from the soil, becomes dry and dead."

La Boetie considered that the desire for liberty was natural not only to man, but to all animals. Indeed animals will die, or fail to breed, in captivity. But man is weighed down and corrupted by custom. His nature is perverted by the institutions among which he lives. Men reared in a society where there is no freedom do not feel the lack of it, and the paralysing power of custom keeps him in the state of serfdom. How this state of affairs arose in the first place La Boetie does not enquire, the knowledge was not at the disposal of the men of his day for such an enquiry. Nevertheless he would have nothing to learn from us about the conditioning effects of environment upon human beings, and its

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effects upon their natural instincts.

Nevertheless there are a few people who nevr quiete surrender to the prevailing social customs.

"There are those, who, being intelligent, have improved themselves by study and the acquisition of knowledge. They, when freedom is entirely lost and vanished from the world, imagine it and feel it in their spirit, and continue to savour it, slavery not being to their taste, although they submit to it. The Grand Turk is well aware of the fact that books and learning give, more than any other thing, understanding to men, teaching them to recognise themselves for what they are, and to hate tyranny; I believe that he has hardly any men of learning in his territories, and that he does not ask for any. But usually the zeal and affection of those who have kept, despite the times they live in, a devotion to freedom, however large their number may be, remains without effect, for there is no contact between them: all liberty is taken from them by the tyrant, to do things, to speak, and very nearly to think; so they tend to become quite singular in their fantasies . . . Brutus and Cassius when they undertook the deliverance of Rome . . . did not want Cicero, that great zealot for the public good as he always was, to be one of their party, considering his heart too weak for such a dangerous enterprise. They trusted his good will, but were not sure of his courage."

Things have not changed very much since this was written, at least in many things they certainly have not. No doubt when he was writing this the author thought of such men as Montaigne, who became his friend, but would not publish "The Discourse" in the posthumus collection of La Boetie's writings, which he brought out in Paris in November, 1570. Such "humanist" philosophers remained above the battle, philosophising in their ivory towers. It is difficult to blame them, but on the other hand they did not do much good that way, nor succeed in spreading their ideas among the people. One wonders what would have happened to La Boetie if he had lived longer, and circulated more pamphlets of this nature. It is a call for revolt, aimed quite clearly at the masses of the people, not a mental exercise for the intelligentsia.

He seems to have had rather a contempt for urban civilisation, and to consider the life of the peasant more healthy, and even more free. He well describes the cunning shifts whereby tyrants control their people.

"But this ruse of brutalising their subjects cannot be better shown than by describing what Cyrus did to the Lydians, after he had taken Sardis, the capital of Lydia . . . news was brought that the Sardians were in revolt, and he soon got them under control again; but he did not wish to put such a beautiful city to the sack, nor did he want to go to the trouble of keeping an army there to guard it, so he thought up a great expedient to keep control of it. He established brothels, taverns, and public games, and published an ordinance that

the inhabitants had to be responsible for keeping them up. He found this garrison so efficient that he never had to raise the sword against the Lydians again. These poor wretched folk amused themselves inventing all sorts of games, to such an extent that the Latins coined their word for pastime from them, calling it 'ludi', as if they wished to say 'Lydia'."

Although subsequent publications of the book have had apologetic little paragraphs added to them by their various editors, to the effect that the author only opposed "great injustices", it is quite evident that he was against the principle of authority itself. It sometimes mentions "good kings", but he has not much use for the "good" ruler. Of Julius Caesar he says, "His very humanity, which one preaches so, was worse than the cruelty of the most savage tyrant that ever was, for truly it was this venomous sweetness towards the Roman people that sugared the bitterness of their

servitude." He considered elected rulers, if possible, worse than hereditary despots or foreign conquerors, for an elected ruler becomes so determined to ensure his

position that he becomes as harsh as any other kind, and his interests soon cease to coincide with those who elected him to office. To elect a man to power because of his generally admitted goodness would be simply to put him into a position where, if he wishes, he may do harm, while removing him from his former position where he was doing good.

"Poor miserable senseless people, nations stubborn in your evil, blind to your good, you allow yourselves to be deprived of the best part of your revenue, your fields to be pillaged, your houses stolen, and your possessions, however old and cherished, taken from you! You live in such a way that you can truly say that nothing belongs to you . . . all this trouble, this misfortune, this ruin, comes to you, not from enemies, or rather, yes from the enemy, he whom you make so great, for whom you go so bravely to war, for the grandeur of whom vou do not hesitate to offer up your own persons to death.

He who masters you has only two eyes, two hands, and one body. He is no greater than the meanest man in the great and infinite number of our cities, except for the advantage that you give him over you to destroy you. From whence does he get so many eyes to spy upon you, if you do not give them to him? How has he so many hands to strike you, if he does not take yours? The feet with which he tramples your

cities, from whence has he them, if they are not yours? How can he have any power over you, but by your aid? How would he dare to ride roughshod over you, if he had not come to an understanding with you? What could he do to you, if you were not the receiver of the thief that pillages you, the accomplices of the murderer who kills you? You are traitors to yourselves. You sow your fruits, that he may despoil them. You furnish and fill your houses with goods, in order to provide him with plunder. You carefully nourish your daughters to gratify his lust. You raise your sons for him to lead in his wars, for him to send to the slaughter, that he may make them minister to his coveteousness and execute his vengeance. You destroy your own bodies by labour, so that he may go mincing and simpering to his delights, and vaunt himself in his vile and filthy pleasures. You wear yourselves out so as to make him stronger, and abler to hold you with a tight rein. And you give yourselves up to so many indignities that the beasts themselves would not suffer or endure them. You could free yourselves if you tried, if only you wished to do so. Be resolved to serve no more, and you are free. I do not want to push you on to overthrow him, but just don't support him any more, and you will see him, like a great colossus from whom one has taken away the base, crash down of his own weight, and break in fragments."

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

## Sense of Guilt

THE obstacles we meet on our road to happiness are frequent and unforseen, yet animal faith tells us they will all be surmounted or got round—that is as long as we have not with us a companion whose very breath will kill the flower of happiness a mile away or who will snatch it from our hand the very moment we pick it. Such a companion is conscience or, to be more exact, a sense of guilt. For those who travel with it the search for happiness is merely perfunctory or, rather, made to consist in a constant endeavour to draw a smile from their companion by works and sacrifice. It is rather awkward for them to tell conscience to mind its own business because its business is precisely to mind theirs. Luckily there is business from which conscience kindly refrains from interfering, and it is possible for such people to concern themselves exclusively with business of this kind. As soon, however, as they secure some semblance of happiness through this tactic conscience regularly turns up and makes them realize that that is the most appropriate time to experience sense of guilt.

On this evidence efforts are spent by many an adolescent-minded person to get rid of conscience, and curses are duly bawled at those morbid introvert founders of religions that put on the market such a refined instrument of self-torture, and at those cunning rulers who make sure it is universally bought. But adolescent-minded persons, in this as in most cases, credit their elders and ancestors

with a measure of stupidity far greater than human nature normally admits. Whatever the archist, artistic or sadistic satisfaction of professionals engaged in the production and maintenance of other people's conscience and whatever the cutting down of expenses it means for the ruling classes in the economy of oppression it is difficult to account for the high degree of success conscience has obtained with people of many centuries and lands and with men of all classes and temperaments. The chances are that the acquisition of conscience brings with it some valuable and undeniable advantage not so easily to be gotten by other means. With the realization, as the Greeks put it, that the gods are jealous of human happiness, it was most probably found that conscience constituted a safeguard against the most extreme forms of happiness which are bound to draw the gods' attention, and also to prevent all but a few from turning into tragic heroes, men who attempt to dictate terms to fate and end in disaster.

THAT men should so naturally long for happiness and never get it for long or with impunity is a sad fact that can only be remedied through religion either by a total renunciation of the longing or by precarious prayer to be delivered from evil. A papa to intellect and imagination is additionally supplied by pictures of heavens before the fall or after trial and purification. But as with conscience so with religion it has been arrogantly claimed that far from being remedies they are the very causes of the evils they pretend to cure. One can be so well protected against awareness of the human condition that for him the claim is like the trumpet blast of a Copernican discovery, but for the aware, removal of religion means despair, and removal of conscience is not possible because conscience and awareness are one and the same thing.

Only by radically altering the categories of the human condition, as Nietzsche clearly saw, could conscience and religion be disposed of with no repentance. With all respect for Nietzche's lucidity, courage and fervour, his superman, both as he dreamed it and some believed to see it actualized in this or that historical figure, has far too many disconcerting traits in common with the beast and the barbarian. The leap beyond good and evil, likewise, lands in good and evil issue at war. Guilt is of such a nature that it can never lead to innocence. Conscience cannot be abolished or, if it can, it effaces not only ability to discriminate between good and evil but also,

Continued on p. 3

### VOICES...

The Voice of Innocence

Highlights on the Queen Mother's visit to a "day care centre" in Manhattan as reported by the New York Times (2/11/54):

The Queen's manner was too motherly and friendly to give the children any inkling of her importance on the international scene. She leaned over to talk to them, tried hard to comfort a 3-yearold boy who wailed, and grinned back at older children outside the nursery who yelled, "Hi, Queen," and whistled and catcalled at her.

While she watched Negro and white children clambering about a jungle gym, a little boy in the corner of the playground hit another one with one of the big wood blocks they were playing with. "You shouldn't do that when the

Queen is here," the victim said indignantly.

"What's a Queen?" the other youngster scoffed. Looking up to see the visitors, he added, not too interestedly, "Which one is the Queen?"

### A Voice from the Past

Gordon Kenneth Denniss, a schoolmaster, of Burton Street, Loughborough, who caned a class of boys after none would own up to stamping on the school stairs, was found by the Loughborough magistrates yesterday to have acted in the interests of discipline.

Five summonses, brought by parents, alleging common assault by caning boys aged 13 at Garendon secondary modern school were dismissed. Denniss had pleaded not guilty.

One of the boys said that Denniss gave them a minute to own up and as no one did so, he caned the class. After another minute he gave each boy a further stroke. This happened twice more. The class was kept standing for two periods, and later had to write passages out of the Bible instead of playing football.

Denniss said that the staff had been told to exercise great care and discipline on the stairs to avoid accident. As the boys went up the stairs there was organised stamping. He stopped it, but it started again. It was "open defiance".

### A Voice from the Ranks

A National Serviceman due for demobilisation may have to spend a further 56 days in the Army for addressing an anonymous letter to his Commanding Officer in which among other things he wrote:

"It is time someone put you wise. You sound like a mad, bellowing bull, trumpeting to someone three miles away. No wonder we hate your guts."

The letter complained that permanent passes were only issued until 23.59 hours, unlike other stations. "Little children and cavemen have better manners than you," it continued. "You are as ignorant as a pig and as ugly as a monkey. You are a typical Regular soldier. I hope this letter will sink into your thick skull.'

It seems rather a shame that five days later the soldier wrote apologising for the "disgusting letter"!

### The Voice of Conscience?

Mrs. Clementine Hess, aged 52, of Long Beach, California, has refused a £71.000 legacy of her grandmother in Luxemburg.

"I don't feel I deserve it," she said,

(News Chronicle)

Theatre \_\_\_\_\_ THE GOOD SOLDIER SCHWEIK

THE anti-militarist satire, The Good Soldier Schweik is well worth reviving.\* In this play we see that war and everything connected with it is not only the most extreme form and the utmost limit of violence, it is also the utmost limit of anti-personalism, it is a denial of courage, brotherhood, personality. The good soldier is reduced to such depths of idiocy that he will even fire on his brothers, when he is ordered to by their oppressors, the bourgeois capitalist class. The authority of the State is always surrounded by the symbols of war, by armies, flags, orders, and military music. A military style of society always means stupidity and violence and the enslavement of man, psychologically and physically. The ridiculousness of the military character, the first constituent of which is obedience (for there are no "soldierly ideas", they are altogether an impossibility, because always and everywhere the soldier has been taught not to think, and if he did think he was punished for it) was excellently described by Godwin in The Enquirer: "A soldier is, of all descriptions of men, the most completely a machine; yet his profession inevitably teaches him something of dogmatism, swaggering, and self-consequence: he is like the puppet of a showman, who, at the very time he is made to strut and swell and display the most farcical airs, we perfectly know cannot assume the most insignificant gesture, advance either to the right or the left, but as he is moved by his exhibitor." Man ought to be a warrior, he is called to spiritual, existential warfare, but this has nothing in common with a body of soldiers, which is an extreme form of the servitude and enslavement of man. Ewan Maccoll's adaptation of Jaroslav Hasek's novel The Good Soldier Schweik preserves the exuberance of the original, in

its presentation of the experiences and

misfortunes of the little Czech soldier in the clutches of an obtuse and unpredictable Authority. It does not emphasise enough perhaps the deeper indignation in the story: the ruthlessness of the inhuman machine of the Army and the State, which do not care how much misery and humiliation they hypocritically inflict on individuals in the name of higher interests and values (and there can be no higher value than the individual human being: the responsibility for the crimes of the State cannot be put on an abstraction, it is dehumanized authoritarians who are really the cowards behind its cruelty), so long as the machine works smoothly externally.

\*Now showing at the Theatre Royal, Stratford, and to be transferred to The Embassy, Swiss Cottage, London, on November 30.

D.M.M.

### Moulding Public Taste

Mr. H. Strauss (Parliamentary Secretary, Board of Trade) told Mr. H. Wilson (Lab. Huyton) that no official estimate of total national expenditure on advertising was available. The best avaliable estimate, made by the Advertising Association, gave an approximate figure of £144 millions in 1949, and £230 millions

There are beautiful girls and magicians and electric machines which blow six-inch bubbles high above the pavements and tanks with live fish and planes writing in the sky.

Their job is to help sell 5,000,000 or so new cars to the American people from coast to coast—the super stupendous 1955 models, the unveiling of which has just begun.

(News Chronicle).

# Freedom

Vol. 15, No. 47 November 20, 1954

### **ARGUMENT** versus AUTHORITY

WE are always pointing out to those correspondents who protest against what they consider FREEDOM'S "inconsistent intolerance" and "un-anarchistic" attitude to the Church, that we shall always defend the right of the individual to his religious beliefs, but that when it ceases to be a personal matter and enters the political arena, organised and institutionalised as any political party, and with the same intentions of controlling every detail of our lives and thought, then we do not hesitate to attack it for what it is, and in defence of our freedom.

It may be argued, and we think justly, that the convinced christian, no less than the convinced socialist or anarchist, cannot isolate his belief from his daily actions and contacts with his fellow-beings, but that, on the contrary, these will always be informed by his belief. To such an argument the anarchist cannot but say that while disagreeing with him he is the first to respect his integrity as a practising Christian. It is only when, by his identification with a centralised organisation, he seeks to impose his views on all and sundry that he as an individual, just as much as the organisation of which he is a part, becomes a potential menace which we must expose and challenge as thoroughly and uncompromisingly as we do any authoritarian party or political organisation.

The Church militant is as much a threat to progress and freedom as any government. The Vatican and the Kremlin are equally factories of thought-control, and the Pope as astute a politician as is to be found anywhere in the world to-day. And if confirmation of this is required one has but to read the Pope's address to a meeting of the Church hierarchy held in Rome earlier this month (reported on another page).

The complete subjection of the individual to the authority of the Church is made brutally clear in the Pope's statement when he said that instructions and propositions published on matters within the moral law by the

Pope for the whole Church and by bishops for their dioceses, cannot be rejected on the ground that "the strength of the authority is no more than the strength of the arguments. On the contrary, "even though to someone certain declarations of the Church may not seem proved by the arguments put forward, his obligation to obey still remains."

THIS infallibility of the Pope in the Church has its equivalent in the arguments which have been used in the current row between the Tribune group and the Labour Party Executive. In his interim reply to the long statement by the Editors of Tribune, the Labour Party Secretary, Mr. Morgan Phillips, states that his Executive has never suggested that minorities should be denied the "right to argue and criticise".

"That issue—he writes—is not in question, but it must be understood that majorities no less than minorities have their rights and duties in a democratic organisation. It is a fundamental principle of democracy that policy decisions should be based on the majority view. The Labour party as a democratic organisation, while respecting the rights of minorities, is entitled to expect that minorities within its ranks will accept and observe majority decisions."

Under democracy then, one has the right to "argue and criticise" until the vote is taken. Then suddenly the majority assumes the Pope's rôle of infallibility, and to paraphrase his words "the strength

of the authority is more than the strength of the arguments".

FROM the foregoing it is clear that we believe in the infallibility neither of the majority nor of the minority. We believe that an organisation which invariably takes its decisions by the majority vote is inevitably open to all kinds of manoeuvres, behind-the-scenes alignments, and dishonesty. The "fundamental principle of democracy", as Morgan Phillips calls it, can be seen at work any day in the House of Commons where the party with most votes always swamps "the strength of the arguments", or at the last Labour Party conference where the neatest somersault of the season was performed by the Woodworkers' leaders (by special arrangement) to provide the Executive with just the number of votes required to give them a majority! Need we add that

minority rule is even worse?

We believe in a society where the majority will respect the minority, not only in recognising their "right to argue and criticise" but also in not demanding that they should participate in those activities with which the minority is not in agreement. There will always be minorities, even in an anarchist society, and it is possible that among them will be individuals yearning for the "good old days". But the health of Society depends not on the "solid majority" which, as Malatesta once wrote is "by its very nature backward, conservative, the enemy of that which is new, lazy in thought and action", but on individuals, on minorities, for it is they who are always the harbingers of new and vital ideas.

THE attempts by University authorities to censor the magazines and newspapers published by students, which was the subject of the article "More Obscenity" (FREEDOM, 6/11/54) are by no means unique.

ship of the vast majority of Christians is not the metaphysical God to whom they give verbal allegiance, but the concrete realizations of all the false values and superstitions on which the power of the ruling group, and the smug security of the middle class are based. It pointed out in particular two of the greatest crimes of religion; that it gave an ideological basis to the violent oppression of peoples by governments, and that it taught an unhealthy and unnatural

future leaders".

However, the sinister part of the affair occurred at a meeting of the Cornwall County Council on November 9th. An Alderman Lane stated that in his opinion the U.C.S.W. was "Full of Reds, and full of muck", and that "a student who had recently left had written to his mother

## Academic Freedom

During the Trinity Term 1954 a lighthearted, anti-religious article appeared in the South Westerner, the organ of the Guild of Undergraduates of University College, Exeter, in which the writer pointed out that the real object of worcode of sexual behaviour.

The first response to this came from a regular columnist of the Western Times who, on the basis of the issue of the South Westerner which contained the article referred to above, and in addition reports of efforts by the Guild Council to establish a licensed bar on its premises, and to obtain permission for students in Halls of Residence to entertain members of the opposite sex in their bedrooms, concluded that the University was not fulfilling its true function, and that "we should be more careful about the vast sums of money that we were pouring into our Colleges to train our

complaining in those terms". He quoted the report in the Western Times and proposed that, in order to bring the college to its senses, the County should discontinue its financial support. Other councillors agreed, and said that it was a very serious matter if our young people were going to be subjected to such scurrilous influences.

Although Alderman Lane's motion was eventually defeated, and Cornwall County Council is well known for its rather crudely reactionary outlook (as for instance in its dismissal, about two years ago, of a teacher who had been a Conscientious Objector about ten years previously), the fact that it was put forward, and found support both in the Council and in the local press, shows on what a flimsy basis the so-called independence of the Universities rests. The fact that the government hands over large sums of money without having any formal legislative authority over its disposal, is something which the idealist believers in Constitutional Democracy point to in support of their ideas, but it seems that this depends more on the fact that University authorities always agree with the government anyway, than on any love of freedom. The attitude of Alderman Lane and his supporters shows that, if it became necessary to the interests

of the government, it could reduce its centres of education to a position of dependence similar to that in the openly totalitarian states.

The idea of students providing an intelligent and conscious opposition to the present state of affairs on a quantitative basis seems a little far-fetched to those of us with experience in this field, but it is fair to point out that demonstrations by students against oppressive governments have often initiated far wider and all-embracing movements of protest. We look with suspicion on the Marxian hypothesis that the academic education of the sons and daughters of working people will automatically effect their radicalisation, but it may be possible that a higher proportion of those who do revolt do so intelligently; that is, along libertarian rather than authoritarian lines.

Because of this, one of the main planks in the programme of any group aiming to seize absolute power is the suppression of academic freedom, which is proceeding apace in the U.S.A. and in South Africa. Although it may not now be a conscious and obvious part of the Brtish government's policy, it could quite easily become one, and hence it is necessary to oppose it now when it does occur. with as much enlightened public opinion opinion as can be mustered.

#### Sense of Guilt Continued from p. 2

and obviously so, between the two lands which the moral range divides. The abolition of conscience, besides, must be a conscious act or it has no meaning or value. Being conscious and being a choice of the unknown and unprecedented, being, in short, an act of freedom, it remains signally human in the existential equivalence of freedom and guilt.

The way out, therefore, is not beyond but by the side of good and evil, into those activities which are morally neutral, although their choice and repercussions are not. Thus, for example, artistic pursuits, hobbies, pastimes and, when reduced to an automatic sequence, alternance of work and relaxation. Only with an abnormally sensitized moral awareness, and as a discomfort of the brain more than the heart, can guilt be felt in relation to words, pictures or things. So, by shunning personal contacts or excluding from them the unapproved and the unforseen, by preventing the unforseen from emerging clearly into one's heart, conscience loses all relevance, and is thrown overboard. There is in our day a powerful trend in this direction, but it does not do away with evil, while yielding good of a dubious kind. Responsibility is alienated, but its alienation still remains a matter of conscience, and is liable to a most rude awakening. Somebody has to decide what others have to shun and exclude, what is going to be approved and forseen. A mistake in decision or simply the existence of two or more sets of people who have taken upon themselves to decide for the many bring eventually upon the latter a sense of guilt of crushing proportions such as conscience as a constant companion never allows to develop.

THERE is a use of psycho-analysis which binding individual happiness with adaptation to social surroundings almost openly works for alienation of responsibilities. The other earlier and independent use of it leads to a similar result through so-called sublimization. As a theory mainly concerned with childhood experiences and aiming among other things at freeing the psyche from sense of guilt resulting from the Oedipus complex it does not reach the existential depths which Calderon succinctly exposed when saying that the greatest crime of man is that of having been born. Sense of guilt cannot entirely be eradicated unless one is completely forgetful of the facts of birth and death. To be born in order to die is to be waiting for the consummation of a sentence, and there is no sentence without guilt, whether it is made to lie with the person passing the sentence or with the one whom it is passed upon.

Again, doing violence to the humancondition and living inwardly as a god, as of birth and death were meaningless or simply not there, one steps into a mode of being that in its freedom from anxiety is too strikingly similar to that of certain carnivorous animals, at least of the male sex. Outwardly the difference is none. The actions of a superman or even of the Aryuna of the Bhagavadgita are to all effects and results those of bestial man or, rather, of a complete slave to the mechanics of power. To be a man, instead, that is to have a conscience, is to feel that efforts have been made and are still to be made in order to sever right from might and to establish relations other than those of a test of might, however dramatically inviting they may be.

Anarchism is undoubtedly the most daring and uncompromising statement of the value of such efforts. But, through various alien influences, among which irreligion grounded in anti-clericalism, psycho-analysis, Nietzsche and Stirner, ethical issues have receded into the background, and sense of guilt has been rejected as purely a sediment of authoritarian practice. Fulfilled anarchism may be equivalent to a state of innocence, but only in spasms of exaltation can it be experienced by an anarchist in an anarchist society. Thence the imperativeness of concern with good and evil. In psychological regions I have not explored there may be earnest will to innocence with no recognition of guilt, but in those I have explored I saw will to innocence with no recognition of guilt produce that particular kind of attitude that judges and refuses to be judged, an archist attitude par excellence.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

### Face the Facts!

Addressing the Royal Empire Society in Colombo last week, Sir Edwin Wijeyeratne, former High Commissioner for Ceylon in London asked his audience:

"Do you realise that out of 560 million people in the Commonwealth there are only 75 million whites, including the people of Britain?

"In the face of these figures an entirely new conception of the Commonwealth is necessary. In this conception there is no room for apartheid, a 'white Australia' policy or restriction of Asian immigration into Canada."

Referring to South Africa's disfranchisement of people of mixed race in Natal, Sir Edwin said:

"We are amazed to find that a million people are to be denied their fundamental rights as human beings."

-Agencies.

## The 'Tribune' Statement

REASONED and spirited reply to the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party who rapped the knuckles of the Tribune Editorial Board for their "unwarranted, irresponsible and scurrilous attack on the leadership of the Transport & General Workers' Union" during the recent dock strike, appears in last week's Tribune. A letter from Morgan Phillips, secretary of the Labour Party, invites the Editorial Board to state how they reconcile their attack on the leadership of the T. &G.W.U. with their membership of the party. The reply has to be placed before the National Executive Committee this month.

On the specific issue of Deakin and the dock strike Tribune quotes copiously from Deakin's own public pronouncements at the time of the strike, and one gets the impression of a frustrated man seeing some of the power slipping from his grasp hitting out aimlessly at targets erected by himself, in this instance the rôle of the C.P. in the strike. We pointed out in FREEDOM at the time that following their usual policy the Communists would try to make political capital out of the strike-although at the beginning they were in opposition to any attempt to break with the T. & G.W.U. Their influence however, was negligible, a fact that seems to be acknowledged by most commentators except Deakin who, in an attempt to save his face and maintain the illusion of power over the strike, publicly declared in the official journal of the T. & G.W.U. the Record, that the Stevedores' union is led "by a moronic crowd of irresponsible adventurers, who do not know how much they are being exploited by foreign elements for purposes they do not see or understand".

As Tribune points out these words could be rightly described as scurrilous, and were obviously designed to forestall any sympathy which might have been growing for the dockers. Deakin must have known, as we have been led to understand, that Barrett, leader of the Stevedores, is a catholic and an excommunist out of favour with the party (unless the foreign influence referred to the Vatican). Further, that Deakin's attitude to a union affiliated to the T.U.C. was a clear denial that the rank and file had any genuine grievance and that this stand taken in opposition to the workers by a powerful trade union leader might have considerable influence on the employers to the detriment of the rank and

The National Executive of the Labour Party will have a task before them sustaining their accusation that the comments in Tribune were ill-timed and irresponsible, without exposing Deakin's far more irresponsible attack on the rank and file trade unionists who pay his salary.

Socialism and Democracy

On the wider issue of the right to free discussion and to criticise the policies of a democratic party, the writers of the article maintain that they joined the Labour Party because they "believed that democratic socialism offered the best instrument available for the enlargement of human freedom". They hold that the whole history of the labour movement has been one of criticism and re-valuation, and that one of the events which led to the formation of the Labour Party was the attacks made by Keir

Hardie on Henry Broadhurst, at that time Secretary of the T.U.C. Further, that the origin of the T. & G.W.U. itself was a revolt led by Ben Tillett and Tom Mann against an older "trade union leadership which had become inadequate to meet the needs of a new age". This attitude they declare is the only basis for a truly democratic organisation and the act of the executive in sending a reprimanding note lays the executive open to charges of totalitarianism.

Freedom and Power

Elsewhere in this issue the dangers of the monolithic organisations are discussed. These dangers must be apparent to the Editors of Tribune, and while we do not doubt their sincerity in believing that freedom and liberty can be discussed and practised within a hierarchical structure their own experience over the last few years must have shaken that belief. It is quite obvious that the 'Bevanite' group do not command the support necessary for them to over-ride the right wing section of the Labour Party, and as long as the rank and file put up with Deakin whose union supplies the biggest single support for the Labour Party their success seems unlikely. If the Editors of Tribune feel so strongly the principles of freedom and democracy the only honest thing to do is to leave the Labour Party, trusting in the good sense of the rank and file to support them. If however, we are any judge of political events this is precisely what they do not want. In other words, once in power the desire to hold on to it is stronger than principle, even when it is motivated by the belief that it is the only means to freedom. Further, even although the executive might regard the 'Bevanites' as a growing irritant it is unlikely that they will run the risk of any loss of support which may ensue by expelling them. The conclusions would be then that political expedience will demand an uneasy alliance until such time as either group feel powerful enough to make the final break.

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# How to Cope with Traffic

THE sheer physical problems aroused by centralisation are forcing authorities of all kinds to try to find means of overcoming them.

The traffic problem in London-and indeed all the world's great cities-is assuming such proportions already that clearly the day is not far off when it will be almost impossible to drive through them at all. As it is, it only requires some unusual circumstance—such as the recent State visit of the Emperor of Ethiopia to the Mansion House-to create utter chaos and cause the wastage of incalculable numbers of manhours and petrol.

Every hole in the road became a problem and a sure cause of traffic jams. Finding a place to park gets increasingly difficult and fraught with danger of prosecution. And every year 250,000 more vehicles appear on the roads of Britain.

The problem is clearly not going to be to see the pathetic and authoritarian scale,

attempts made to cope with the results. For instance, Sir John Elliot, chairman of London Transport, has put forward a scheme for preventing private cars

coming into Central London during working hours. They should all be parked on the perimeter of the central area (where?) and the driver then goes on by public transport.

What this would mean in wasted time must be balanced against the time wasted already, but at first glance it is obvious that, short of banning all private cars, some discrimination between classes of drivers will have to be made-and that will entail additional police forces to check them, more courts to deal with offenders and a whole host of new prob-

As in so many things, there is no solution to this product of a lunatic society. short of the abolition of that society. Better, wider roads would help, temporsatisfactorily solved within the existing arily, one-way streets and parking places political and economic framework. The too, but what is fundamentally needed is centralisation of administration inevit- to do away with the problem, which is ably leads to the great modern cities we only an offshoot of the problem facing know, and it is no more than amusing all mankind-how to live on a human

### An Anarchist in the Factory

COMRADE who works in a large clothing factory in Leeds sends us the following note on the state of workers' organisation there:

At my place of work we were for a short time without a shop steward, for each person taking on the job very soon realised the sheer hopelessness of getting any grievances seen to.

At last someone came forward to fill the gap, and at first appeared to get things straightened out. But he was eventually got at by the foreman and the result was that whenever a line of action was proposed, the foreman was duly notified.

The workers got wise to this and said openly that they had no confidence in the steward, but since there was nobody prepared to take his place the union wold him to carry on. He said he would, but would not forward any complaints. Since he never did, this was no great

Then a new employee came forward and said he was prepared to take the steward's job if I was prepared to help him. Of course I was, and eventually he was made steward, with me on the committee and we began bringing forward complaints right away.

So far we have sent our chief steward six times to the foreman, who cannot understand why we won't work with him as former stewards have done. He cannot see we are simply trying to get justice for our workmates.

Our union, the Clothing & Garment Workers', is vety well organised regarding membership, but as a militant union it's hopeless. It is one of the strongest unions in the country, but if its members cannot get improvements in conditions of work—is it any wonder if the rank and file have to take direct action?

After 34 years of trade unionism, I can truthfully say that belonging to a reformist union is a safeguard-for the Directors. At our workplace, owing to our direct action method of approach we are realising that we are getting popular with the workers but-oh the black looks and dirty jobs we get from the foreman and charge hands.

But we don't mind that, for at last the rank and file have a steward and committee-man who can't be bribed, and we are out to get conditions more fit for human beings. Maybe we shall lose our jobs, but in the meantime we shall definitely carry out our obligations to our fellow workers.

G.H.L. Leeds.

We may be sending out Subscription Renewal Notices shortly!

Did you attend to the last one you received?

### A Bitter Priest

ROMAN Catholic Bishop Heenan of Leeds is not imbued with that Christian spirit which should enable him to forgive his enemies by accepting a basic Christian teaching that all men are of infinite importance to God, whatever their misdeeds. In fact, on the occasions when his utterances reach the newspapers one is tempted to think that he has mistaken his century, and that his crusading spirit on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church is more in keeping with the Inquisition than twentieth century Britain.

When Marshal Tito visited Buckingham Palace last year Bishop Heenan said that Catholics were grieved to see such comfort given to the enemies of God. Now, reserving our judgment on the comforts likely to be derived from a visit to Buckingham Palace. but reiterating our uncompromising opposition to all dictators, we do not recall Bishop Heenan uttering a word of protest against the terrorist activities carried out by Catholics, with the support of the Church, in Yugoslavia.\* Even Marshal Tito could have learned some tactics in terror from the Ustashi Catholic organisation. If Bishop Heenan had expressed his horror at the forcible conversions, etc., we would have accorded him our sympathy in his strong feelings against Tito.

The Bishop's latest target is France. With obvious disappointment that more French blood is not going to be spilled in the foreseeable future (as long as it isn't his, of course), in a crusade against communism. Bishop Heenan says:

"The cynics must have been very much amused when there was a discussion as to what sort of contribution France could make to European defence.

"Is there any man who thinks in his heart that France would ever fight again for any reason in the world?

"Do we still really believe that these discussions about the precise number of armoured divisions, planes and guns which France could contribute have any meaning?

"I don't believe it would fight to defend itself because, perhaps, half the Frenchmen have an allegiance which is not to France, but to an ideology which means a foreign country."

Apart from the ethics of a Christian Bishop deploring the reluctance of a people, still not recovered from four years enemy occupation, to fight, we wonder what Bishop Heenan's views were just before the last war when Pacelli, then Secretary of State to the Vatican, now the Pope of Rome, asked Hitler to find means to help France "in establishing a sane and friendly Government which would co-operate with Germany in the re-building of a Christian Europe".

The rôle played by the Vatican and the Catholics Weygand, Petain and Laval at this time in relation to France and Germany has been discussed before in FREEDOM. We therefore leave the reader to draw his own conclusions on the change of tactics as expressed by Bishop

It is a pity that the French authorities found it necessary to answer this "slur" on their fighting prowess by issuing a statement to the press extolling the military virtues of the French soldier. When a man, safely beyond military age, protected by his "Christian" robes, attacks people for their unwillingness to fight.

### Viewpoint

IN reply to Peter B. Thompson in "Intuition and Anarchism" may I first point out that had I the desire to impress anybody I would have quoted from numerous authorities; my object was merely to put a point of view, and it appears I have succeeded. But let me first establish the common ground Peter B. and myself share,

Firstly, we both sadly lament the high prices of boat trips to the Trobriand Islands. Secondly, upon re-reading my own article on "Intuition" I am amazed to discover that sure enough, there in print, is-I quote, "... and the scientist has destroyed another very vital human quality, etc." I cannot agree more with Peter B. that that is a ludicrous statement. It should have read, "and this scientific attitude has destroyed, etc." Further in my article I elaborate by saying, "intuitive perception has so often been linked with mysticism that as a tool of perception and evaluation it has often been rejected by the materialist philosophers or revolutionaries." It may have been a printing error-I don't know —but it is obviously quite silly to say that the functioning scientist has destroyed the intuitive faculty.

I even state, further in my article, the agent responsible for that destruction by saying . . . "sociologically" which suggests throughout authoritarian culture of written history . . . "The emotions have had a stunted growth, as most bourgeois cultures suppress instinctive emotion" (sex activity, spontaneous creativity, spirit of inquiry, etc.), "and substitute artificial ones . . . " (family solidarity, national solidarity, sex morality, racialism, aryanism, and all the minor ones like false pride, or passionately supporting one's football team, etc.) . . . "which may explain why intuition, as a developed faculty, we so seldom encoun-

One has to differentiate between instinctive emotional needs and substitute emotional needs. The latter only sees the light of day because the former has been suppressed. True enough the "psychopath" in office to-day is also governed by his emotions. He feels the need to dictate to all around him in a manner that he imagines gives him power and makes the dictated into underlings. The sadist who hits the prisoner with a rubber truncheon experiences pleasure in doing it, and pleasure is only subjectively felt as emotion. Yet the man who derives full pleasure out of his sex life and is creative in his work because he feels the need for creativity simply could not hit people on the head and derive pleasure therefrom, nor dictate in an authoritarian manner. He would not allow himself to be regimented either physically or mentally. He possesses no reservoir of suppressed emotion for antisocial behaviour, and those emotions that fundamentally move him are too vital and alive to allow any kind of regimentation or irrational restriction. Here I would recommend Wilhelm Reich's book The Function of the Orgasm for greater elaboration of this theme.

Sex morality, Hitler, Fascism red or black, belong to the first category of substitute emotions. The real, feeling revolutionary is the one who has had intelligent parents and a free sexual upbringing, which probably includes thousands of people who don't identify themselves with a political party or group. These people feel inequality or the regimenta-

one would have thought that there were

priest seething with hate, and his oppo-

sition to the present régime in France

is as much political as religious. When

the Catholic Bidault was Premier, dodg-

ing the issue of E.D.C. for political

reasons and lacking the initiative of

Mendès-France, Heenan was silent. The

growing support for Mendès-France in

France is a bitter pill for him-and the

crawl into his Cathedral and forever

hold his peace, or throw off his cloak

\*For a true historical account readers are

advised to read Terror Over Yugo-

DEPRAVED!

people having to decree that alcohol

must not be served between 5 a.m. and

"What a disgrace that a nation should

(Bishop of Leeds on France).

need to make such a decree. That is a

nation which cannot be relied upon."

"Imagine, in our day, a civilised

and do a useful job for a change.

slavia, by Avro Manhattan.

We suggest that Bishop Heenan should

The fact is that Heenan is a bitter

more appropriate answers.

Vatican-to swallow.

10 a.m.

# Intuition & Anarchism

tion of thinking, sex morality, noncreativity in mass-production, the artificiality of life as a whole, and do something with themselves. The thinking revolutionary may start off as a Fascist, become a "commy" and land up as a Labour M.P. for Twickelbury and finally end up as a cynic or a dirty old man. Whereas the feeling revolutionary maintains basically his life-affirmative feelings all his life. Normal "goodness" once possessed, cannot be destroyed. He may develop within these emotions, but can

It may be true that anarchists are merely infantile protesters projecting their protest attitude against authority (now the State), in youth, parental authority. Maybe that explains why an actual change in their daily lives doesn't much occur. We are so busy protesting we have no time to be constructive on the basis of our ideology. Some of us may be giving vent to a substitute emotion as well, anchored to anarchism for reasons that only psycho-analysis would reveal.

card our five obvious senses of perception and merely rely on intuition. My plea was for intuition to become an acknowledged addition to our five senses. after all-even the scientist who looks through the microscope cannot divorce himself from his subjective interpretation of what he sees. All I ask is that he uses intuition and the feeling of truth as an added tool before reaching a conclusion as to what he sees. As I said in my article truth can be felt as materially as a hot object to the touch. It is my suggestion that intuition is not only the sum total of past experience but is something additionally atavistic in itself; a faculty that escapes cultural determination to some degree, and therefore may act as a determining balance between what our eyes think they see and the object viewed.

lation and work democracy is nothing but anarchy in practice as far as I understand it, yet Reich is no anarchist in the orthodox sense of the word. One can find innumerable scientists who have never heard of anarchy affirming the principle of self-government, so I cannot be against science as such. My pleas for the use of intuition were for the scientist as well as for the layman. Adding an extra hand to lifting a heavy weight can only be desirable.

authorities in various fields of knowledge—this point need not be elaborated upon. The lamentable aspect is that man has stopped being his own searcher, and the same as morality and value judgment are dished up for everyone, so knowledge is dished up too. We have become wedded to the authorities on each subject.

and idea we fossilize our thinking. Any new idea, revolutionary in its neweness, must be affirmed by the authority in that field before it gets any recognition; until then it is deemed metaphysical, mysticism, or pure nonsense.

As for the industrial psychologist it may be "rational" to fit the moron into a moronic job—the strapping fellow with little emotion, to the coal heap, or the slightly mentally mobile person to that section of the job that needs co-ordination of parts. But what about man's need to be creative, for his work to be pleasurable, and each man's desire to

never give them up.

I did not suggest that we should dis-

Wilhelm Reich's concept of self-regu-

Obviously I am not against the use of

Instead of allowing fluidity in thought

### NATURAL

It amazes me that C.W. in your current issue (13/11/54) only tentatively accepts V. S. Pritchett's calling George Orwell an anarchist. I had to read FREEDOM before quite realising that I was one myself. Because I am a natural anarchist; one of the trees in the Anarchy Wood who, being a tree in it, could not see the wood. I am sure it was so with Orwell. He was so naturally an anarchist that he never thought of the term in its ideological sense.

And this constitutes what must be the main problem of the anarchist propagandist. The everyday meaning of the word anarchy has so smothered and obscured its ideological significance that the natural anarchist has to be awakened to the fact that he is an anarchist. It may be much more than probable that there are more natural anarchists than there are shallow casualists so fond of saying. "all that crowd at Westminster needs abolishing."

Incidentally, the leader on The Conductor-less Orchestra must be one of the finest pieces of anarchist propaganda ever written.

DAVID MACCONNELL.

Bakewell, Nov. 14.

feel the glow of actual creative achievement? Industrial psychology is rational but also mechanical, and therefore not human enough for any revolutionary to praise.

Whether it is prejudice or intuition that sums up a new acquaintance I don't know, but prejudice needs some "rational" idea, even though false, to anchor itself upon. When we hate negroes we have an erroneous conception of negroes beforehand. The same goes for antisemitism. But the feeling of either averseness or affinity with one we have just met is almost a spontaneous process, long before any conceptions root themselves. One cannot perhaps prove such a point logically, but those who have experienced it feel the truth of it as well. "Metaphysical" you say: perhaps. But so was the "Elan Vitale" of Henry Bergson, the "life-force" of the nature cure, the human aura of the spiritualist.

To-day these can be seen, subjectively felt, and even measured. So-called "metaphysics" has been the home of most pre-science, and before it became acknowledged it had to fight the materialism and mechanisation that people with only half-alive minds in only halfalive bodies could feel.

> If ever I should fail to feel The sorrow of my friend's ordeal Then lie me down for I am dead, Humanity from me has fled! S.F.

### 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)

NOV. 21-Tony Gibson on ANARCHISM & THE WELFARE STATE.

NOV. 28-Mani Obahiagbon on AN ANALYSIS OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM.

DEC. 5-Donald Rooum on ORIGINS OF THE STATE.

DEC. 12-Eric Kinton on FREEDOM OF THE PRESS DEC. 19.-Rita Milton on THE FUNCTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY PAPER

OPEN AIR MEETINGS Weather Permitting HYDE PARK Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

#### ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP

At the Malatesta Club NOV. 23.-S. E. Parker "WHAT IS ANARCHY?" DEC. 8.—Tony Gibson "YOUTH FOR FREEDOM"

### NORTH-EAST LONDON

**DISCUSSION MEETINGS** AT MANOR PARK Alternate Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m. Apply to Freedom Press for details

### GLASGOW

**INDOORS** at 200 Buchanan Street Every Friday at 7 p.m.

### Debate

UNIVERSITY HOUSE Victoria Park Square, London E.2 THAT THIS HOUSE SEES NO POINT IN MARRIAGE

Propose: Rita Milton Opposer: Councillor C. Fleet FRI. NOV. 26 at 8 p.m.

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