

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

## THE SHIPBUILDING WORKERS' STRIKE

# WHO ARE THE PATIENT ONES?

TWO hundred thousand shipbuilding workers are out on strike in what could be the beginning of the biggest industrial stoppage in this country since 1926.

They are on official strike—that rare event these days—and for those who are astounded at such a display of militancy on the part of the trade unions, we should point out that it is now practically a year since the annual conferences of the main unions involved instructed their leaderships to press for more money.

It was at the Easter conferences of last year that the engineers, electricians, boilermakers and foundry workers asked the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions to go ahead with new wage claims. This was their answer to the slender award that had been agreed upon by unions and bosses of a six per cent. increase instead of the 15 per cent. that had been the men's demand.

For months prior to the March, 1956, settlement, the members watched while their leaders haggled with the employers. From the 15 per cent. of the original claim the unions had been beaten down to six per cent. This meant for unskilled workers a rise of 9s. 6d. in their pay of £7. 19. 0., bringing a new rate of £8. 8. 6. For skilled men pay rose 12s. 6d. from £10. 8. 0. to a few coppers over £11. Hardly magnificent wages by to-day's standards. True, they are made up to reasonable amounts by piece-work and overtime. Most shipyard workers like to get in at least two Sundays a month at double-time rates. But we have often enough pointed out the unsatisfactory position of a worker who has to rely on plenty of overtime in order to make a reasonable living wage.

Too often the true level of wages

is hidden by counting in piece-work and overtime. But surely the basic wage for the basic week should be the real income level, and workers should not have to clock in sixty or eighty hour weeks before they are able to afford the amenities which they create and which the middle classes take for granted.

### Goes Back Eighteen Months

The story behind the present strike then, goes back about eighteen months—to the original 15 per cent. claim of 1955. But there has not been a stoppage in the shipbuilding yards of this country for 31 years—since the general strike of 1926 in fact. In spite of the remarks of slick journalists, therefore, that the shipyard workers' leaders are relics of a by-gone age, it can hardly be said that they have acted rashly, hastily or irresponsibly. They have been as ponderous, law-abiding and slow to anger as we expect of trade union leaders to-day.

Following the resolutions of last Easter, the CSEU leaders prepared to present anew their wage claim. But on May 31 the engineering employers announced that they would reject outright any further demands for higher pay 'in view of the national inflationary position'.

Although the CSEU officially heard this on June 29, no further action was taken by them until September 14, when they decided to ask for a 'substantial increase'. Even then it was not until October 25 that the engineering employers heard the unions arguments for a 10 per cent. increase and agreed to hold a ballot of their members on the proposal. Five days later the shipbuilding employers followed suit.

On November 29 and December 11, first the engineering employers and then the shipbuilders rejected the claim outright. On January 9

the delegate conference of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, against its executive's advice, recommended a 2-day strike of all shipbuilding and engineering workers if the claim was not granted before the end of February. But on January 10 a special conference of executives of all forty unions in the Confederation decided to take no action on the AEU resolution, but to submit their wage claims a second time.

### The Second Rejection

This they did on February 12 and 13 when the unions met the engineering and shipbuilding bosses. But on March 5 the unions' claims were rejected again—the employers specifically stating that they were not prepared to make an offer, nor were they interested in arbitration.

On March 7 the unions decided to call a national strike in the shipyards on March 17 and it looks as if they may be followed by the engineers on March 24.

In the ten days between announcing the strike and its beginning, the employers changed their tune about arbitration. They now try to look very reasonable beside Ted Hill, the boilermakers leader and chief spokesman for the shipbuilding workers, who has categorically refused to consider arbitration.

In point of fact, however, is it not the unions who have shown the greatest patience and restraint over the last eighteen months? Now the Press, employers and Parliament

talk fast about the national interest, the export market, the stability of sterling, the danger of inflation and all the rest of it—but for eighteen months the moderate trade union leaders (and for all Mr. Hill's war-of-nerves talk now they are moderate) have allowed their members to go on working for unsatisfactory wages after they had demanded a substantial increase.

Twelve months ago the Confederation accepted a wage increase of just over a third of what its members had demanded. It has restrained them from direct action while prices have gone up all around them. Government policy and stupidity has sent the cost of living rocketing by removing subsidies on basic foods, increasing the charges for social services and school meals, while the cost of Suez is only just beginning to be felt but has already meant fare increases and higher fuel costs.

And now, in asking for 10 per cent. wage increase, the real value of that increase, if granted in full, will hardly be more than the six per cent. granted last year. Still, in purchasing power, the engineers and shipbuilding workers—three million of the community—will be worse off than when they felt justified in claiming 15 per cent. more in 1955!

But over that period the employers' profits have risen and they have ploughed back as capital investment great wealth that has been created for them by their workers.

Who has been selfish? And who has been patient and restrained?

## Reflections on the Strike

### COMPETITION OR COOPERATION

IT is a curious phenomenon that whenever a major industrial stoppage seems certain, Fleet Street and the politicians suddenly discover that but for it, prosperity would be waiting for us just round the corner! As the *News Chronicle* put it last Monday:

All the evidence encourages the belief that if we could solve our industrial problems and clear away restrictionism, all the old fears of unemployment and bankruptcy would disappear. The fault is in ourselves, at least in those among us who put prejudice before patriotism and prosperity.

The Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation added his irrelevancies when he told a meeting at Sunderland last week that:

"There has been a lot of talk about the position of our shipbuilding industry. The country should know the facts. In the last three months all over the world, new orders for tankers to the extent of no less than 8,000,000 tons have been placed. Out of this vast total Britain has only secured 700,000 tons of orders. In other words, we have not secured a tenth of recent orders that have been placed.

"That is one of the reasons why I hope that the industry, both sides of it, will take the honourable and sensible course and take advantage of the means of settling this dispute which is open to it."

Apart from the fact that we can see no relation between the 10% of orders for tankers placed during the past three months and a strike that started this week, surely this is not an unfair proportion especially in view of the fact that, so we are told,

British shipyards have £900 millions in contracts and are fully booked up with work until 1961!

But these are just the conscious, superficial scare tactics turned on, on such occasions to drive a wedge between the country and the strikers. What we find more disconcerting and dangerous are the assumptions made by both sides in regard to the relationship between Capital, Labour, the State and the Community, and it is these considerations which we propose to discuss.

TRADES unionism came into being as a weapon for defending and furthering the interests of the "working classes". These interests range from improved working and safety conditions, to shorter working hours and higher pay. They include what are called restrictive practises, closed shops and annual holidays. They do not however in any way question the fundamental relationship between employer and employee. They recognise that though the workers make the industrial cake it belongs by right to the boss. Their only grievance, when they have a grievance, is that their share of the cake is not large enough! We think it important to stress what is an obvious fact, because it is just the obvious which in times of industrial unrest gets lost in a fog of patriotic platitudes, economic clap-trap and journalistic witch-hunting.

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"A politician could no more live without fools than could a shopkeeper without customers."

JOHN ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

## CYPRUS TRUCE?

BRITAIN has been playing for time in Cyprus because she knows that eventually superior military strength, however long it takes, will triumph. That is, unless the entire population exercise disobedience and put themselves behind EOKA. This seems unlikely because there are signs that civilians are tired of violence, although Britain's unpopularity has increased.

EOKA's truce offer to end fighting if Makarios is released is being considered by the Government only if Grivas surrenders and hands in his stock of arms. There is no way of telling whether this will be accepted by EOKA. The offer of surrender may well be designed to give them moral strength should the British turn the offer down flat. There is every chance however, that a compromise will be reached with the British Government fortifying its position in Cyprus.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### LEGALISED ABORTION IN CHINA

HONGKONG, MARCH 7.

China, it is announced in Peking to-day, is to legalise abortion and sterilisation to keep her population of over 600 million people within bounds. The New China News Agency quoted from a speech by the Health Minister, Mme. Lee Teh-shuan, to a people's political consultative conference, in which she made a strong plea for birth control and planned families to improve the welfare and health of the people.

According to the agency, Mme. Lee "announced with the greatest reluctance that health authorities were going to change the strict rules governing induced abortion and sterilisation." From now on these operations would be performed on request without restriction. "She said that this did not in the least imply that the Government favoured either of these things, and she stressed the voluntary nature of all birth control," the agency added.

Pointing out that the population was growing by about fifteen million people yearly, the Minister made a plea that every effort should be made to break down the traditional opposition to birth control which was especially strong in rural areas. She said that without planned childbirth China could not free itself from poverty and become prosperous, rich, and strong.—Reuter.

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### £50 MILLION OIL PROFITS

CHICAGO, MARCH 6.

Standard Oil Company (Indiana) announced to-day a record volume of business in 1956 and said sales this January were the highest for any month in the company's history.

The company's net income for 1956 was \$149,431,710, or \$4.33 each on the average of 34,487,352 shares outstanding. This was about \$8,000,000 less than the record \$157,117,828 or \$4.81 a share reported for 1955, but that figure included a non-recurring profit of \$9,235,000 from the sale of an oil property interest.

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### MORALS BEFORE MASTERS

A few teachers with unsatisfactory moral standards are holding jobs because of slackness on the part of education authorities, says Miss E. F. Palmer, president of Northants branch of the National Union of Teachers.

She wants a register for the whole country in which the background of each teacher is fully outlined.

Miss Palmer said yesterday: "One Yorkshire headmaster has been living with a woman to whom he is not married. But the local director of education will not sack him because, he says, he is the best headmaster in the town.

(News Chronicle).

## WILHELM REICH GAOLED

The following report appeared in the Portland (Maine) Press Herald for March 12th, 1957:

"Two scientists were taken to County Jail yesterday, pending transfer to a federal penitentiary to begin sentences imposed on them last May by Federal Judge George C. Sweeney, Boston.

Dr. Wilhelm Reich, Rangeley, and Dr. Michael Silvert, New York, were ordered sent to prison for violating an injunction against interstate shipment of so-called "orgone energy accumulators."

Judge Sweeney refused to set aside sentences, execution of which had been stayed pending the defendant's appeal to set aside the lower court decision. They also tried to get the U.S. Supreme Court to review the case.

Both actions were unsuccessful.

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Drs. Reich and Silvert were found guilty of contempt of court last May for failing to comply with the injunction. Judge Sweeney imposed a two-year sentence on Dr. Reich, a one-year term on Dr. Silvert.

The Wilhelm Reich Foundation, which was also found guilty of contempt by the jury, was fined \$10,000.

The court gave the defendants 60 days in which to file a motion for a reduction of sentences. It said it

would 'entertain' such motions if the two men wished to file such actions.

Dr. Reich is founder of the foundation. He claims that his 'orgone' device has widespread healing power. But the Maine Federal Court has issued an injunction barring the defendants from introducing into interstate commerce such a device. It was charged the defendants ignored the injunction.

Judge Sweeney said he was going to order psychiatric examinations of Drs. Reich and Silvert. This presumably would be done as soon as they are taken to a penitentiary.

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Dr. Reich, who acted as his own attorney, pleaded against being imprisoned. He said that if the sentence were carried out, it inevitably would 'deprive the United States' of his 'equations on space and negative gravity.'

He said he and Silvert worked hard to promote new knowledge 'not cancer cure.'

He said 'we are not crooks, not criminals, but courageous people.'

After the court ordered execution of sentences, William Moise, clerk of the foundation, offered a cheque of \$7,000 in partial payment of the fine. Moise will take steps to sell the Rangeley property to raise the balance of the fine, court officials said."

## REVIEW

## STIRNER AND TREBLETHINK

**THE SOVEREIGN SELF THROUGH MAX STIRNER,** by H. C. Rutherford. Third Foundation Lecture 1956. Published by New Atlantis Foundation, Norfolk Lodge, Richmond Hill, Surrey.

SOME years ago I knew a lady who made it her business to write up all the pacifist meetings in Bradford for some little magazine or other. Her only failure was with a meeting addressed by a Glaswegian anarchist, which she could not report because, she said, "he said nothing at all". Now in point of fact our comrade had said a great deal relevant to the subject of war resistance ("A bayonet is a weapon with a mug at each end," for example), and I found it impossible to believe the lady really thought he had said nothing at all. Much more likely, I thought unkindly, he had said too much that she disapproved of . . .

Last November I began to understand her real feelings, and sympathize. The lady was something of an expert on pacifism, and composed her reports largely by recognizing, in the particular speech, ideas which she knew of already; when she heard a speech that contained none of the old pacifist platitudes, she must have been honestly convinced, poor old girl, that it had no content whatever.

This New Atlantis lecture was given at Swedenborg Hall, Bloomsbury, on November 1 last year. I went, following an advertisement in the *Observer*, with the firm intention of writing a report on the meeting that weekend. But the content and conclusions of the lecture were so unexpected, so much at variance with my previous notions about the subject (which I flattered myself I knew well enough, at least, to follow a lecture on it) that I was quite nonplussed, not to say flabbergasted. Not for a moment did I think Mr. Rutherford "said nothing at all"; but I was far too confused about what he *did* say to write a report on it. So I slunk away and postponed my report until the lecture was printed.

A perusal of the text confirms the impression I had at the time, that nearly half the lecture was taken up with an introduction, in which the name of Max Stirner was mentioned (in passing) only once. This long introduction embodies what seems to be the doctrine of the New Atlantis Foundation\*, and one might suspect therefore that it is not an introduction at all, but a stock preamble, like the aims and principles which are

recited by members of certain Socialist organisations at the beginning of every speech on any subject.

But here, such suspicions would be misplaced. The astounding part of the lecture, for me anyway, was not what Stirner said (I knew that already), the significance of what he said from the New Atlantis point of view. It seems that this most extreme iconoclast, who said of the believer in gods, spirits or ideals "You have a screw loose, mate," actually contributed to the revelation of the Holy Spirit! Without a general statement of doctrine, one could not begin to understand how it happened.

Briefly, then, and omitting all attempts at justification on philosophical, historical or everyday-experience grounds, the doctrine, as I understand it, is:

. . . that reality is triune, or put more simply that there are always three truths of equal validity, each subsisting by itself as the truth, each opposed to the other two and yet all three equally true at the same time. And the simultaneous truth of all three itself constitutes a fourth truth.

These three truths are not only simultaneous but also in a natural sequence. Thus (and this throws some light on the sense in which the word "truth" is used) in the Atlantian creed the Son was begotten of the Father and the Holy Spirit proceeds from Father and Son, and in Hegel's dialectic Being produces or involves Not-Being and from the two together emerges Becoming.

Dimitrije Mitrović, founder of the New Atlantis, saw that this succession of three truths was reflected in the history of human thought by three distinct attitudes to life and the world, . . . one after the other but simultaneously and equally true and valid. He called them the Three Revelations or the Triune Revelation, according to whether they were regarded successively or simultaneously.

The first of these revelations, that of the Father in the pre-Christian religions, is of God in the World, organic wholeness in the Universe. The second, that of the Son, is of the Universal become Single in the person of Christ Jesus. And

\*The published *Aims* of the Foundation are concerned with the dissemination of knowledge and the promotion of research as such, without formal reference to any doctrine. But other available documents show that the doctrine of Triune Revelation, originated by the founder of New Atlantis, is accepted by the Foundation as truth; and the emblem of the Foundation, three lines intersecting at one point, is a good symbolic representation of this doctrine.

the third, that of the Holy Spirit, is of the Single becoming Universal of Man becoming God, of the community of singles, of transience. . . .

Now, for the first time, we begin to see where Stirner fits in. He proposed as a valid "attitude to life and the world", that to the transient, unique, individual person there is and should be no Higher Being than himself, and he proposed a "community of singles" which he called the union of conscious egoists and we to-day call the free society or anarchy; an attitude which corresponds roughly to the "third revelation". He also saw three distinct attitudes to life and the world in history: ancient time, in which men made causes of things; Christian or modern time, in which men have power over things but make causes of thoughts; and future time, in which men will have power over things and thoughts and make causes of nothing.

But the implied suggestion, that Stirner himself may have thought the three "times" or attitudes simultaneously valid is quite, quite false; his main thesis is that anyone who makes a cause of anything is misguided, infantile or stupid!

Mr. Rutherford may have been anticipating this objection when he said "The idea that all before was false, and that there is a Truth which we may still hit upon, is too naïve to be possible to our mature intelligence." But is the idea, then, that there are three mutually contradictory Truths, less naïve? *Treblethink* demands a certain mental agility, but this is not to be confused with maturity.

"Our mature intelligence" surely tends to agree with Stirner that there is no Truth; an analysis by Russell† finds that truth (in the usual sense of the quality that distinguishes a true statement from a false) is a matter of relationships, and that an absolute Truth cannot therefore exist. Indeed, the chief significance of Stirner as a philosopher is that he anticipated and predicted Semantics and analytical philosophy; that, alone of his generation, he saw the mistake of the Hegelians in assuming that words like "Truth", "Mankind", "State", "God" and "Spirit" denoted substances.

But Mr. Rutherford cares nothing for Semantics and analytical philosophy. "Hegel," he said, "took . . . the last major step that can be taken in philosophy proper."

Space does not permit me to discuss Mr. Rutherford's finding that Nietzsche's making a cause of the superman and Weininger's making a cause of Genius were extensions of Stirner's egoism, or

†In "Outline of Philosophy".

## A 'Journal Intime'

To the Editors of FREEDOM.

I HAVE felt the impulse to put pen to paper, to start a diary, my own "Journal Intime". Why this should be so I partly comprehend. Many famous and infamous men have kept diaries and in some instances their fame or infamy has been the direct result of the publication of those diaries. One can only wonder at their motives in keeping the diaries; for myself the only possible reason is to clarify experience, to record events and reactions and give intelligible and consistent meaning to them so as to emancipate myself from unfeeling vagueness and the demoralisation consequent thereto. A diary must be spontaneous to be beneficial. There is the danger of the "cut and dried" killing its value and it seems that, once the habit of the mental exercise necessary can be established, one should continue to encourage the exercise, whether or not the means are at hand to record the thoughts permanently.

Why should one seek mental exercise to clarify experience? The human mind is largely abused or not used at all so that one can only believe its exercise in this direction to be for the good, to keep it in tune as it were. Some may seek the stimulus in communication with other active minds and some will perchance, like Thoreau, find it through the feeling of deep affinity for things natural, as opposed to the monstrous artificiality which the majority of men regard as "normal" life. Truth may or may not be hard to define but the mind that does not know the truth or does not wish to know it, lives in uneasiness or fear, in fact in an animal state. That we are

his statement (even more curious from the Stirnerite point of view) that it is impossible to be a Stirnerite.

Let me, then, conclude by discounting any implication, in what I have written above, that Stirner was unjustly treated or deliberately misrepresented by Mr. Rutherford. One fifth or more of the lecture consisted of direct quotations from Stirner,‡ forming a continuous and coherent statement of Stirner's general attitude (though not, regrettably, his social teaching). Members of the audience could, if they wished, reject the message of the lecture itself, and accept the message of Stirner. This is very fair treatment indeed, and our gratitude is due to Mr. Rutherford and the New Atlantis Foundation for so fairly presenting an anarchist theoretician.

D.R.

‡In a translation based on that of Byington but with many modifications, all for the sake of greater accuracy or clarity.

not as animals has been shown by those who have suffered steadfastly for what they had conceived to be the truth. Therein lies our motive. Fear is a poor stimulus to living and thus we constantly seek some truths in relation to values and standards. Each mind must ultimately convince itself of the truth else there will be no self respect. By this truth can be equated with that of which the individual has convinced himself, but the tendency will be for this "truth" to merge with and coincide with absolute truth, for any celebration tainted by falsehood will tire the mind and free it of that falsehood, which has only been retained by some element of subconscious effort. A once active but tired

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## Some Factors Affecting Emotional Development in Children—6

(Continued from previous issue)

The boy who is aware from earliest years of the physical differences between the sexes and who has not been given guilt feelings about masturbation will be less likely to suffer from *castration complex*, and the girl so brought up will be less likely to exhibit *penis envy* than less fortunate children.

It should be pointed out, however, whilst on the subject of domestic nudity, that children at some stage of their growth (generally during the latency period) quite frequently go through a phase of pronounced modesty—even children reared in a non-restrictive family—and if a child suddenly shows resentment at his or her parents' intrusion into the bedroom or whilst he or she is bathing this is quite natural and the parents should respect the child's desire for privacy.

Sometimes this modesty phase may take apparently irrational forms—a child may refuse to undress with others in the room but, having divested himself or herself of clothes, walk unconcernedly naked to the bathroom.

The individual who is not subject to restrictive training will normally pass out of this phase but by that time has generally reached the age when he or she has regard for the social conventions.

The child who has grown up in a sex-affirmative atmosphere, with the healthy acceptance of the human body, is less likely to show such behaviour characteristics as *exhibitionism* or *voyeurism* than one brought up in a sex-restrictive home.

A further and valuable aid in the task of educating the child to accept the human body is to include in the decor of home and school reproductions of some of the great artistic studies of the nude<sup>23</sup>. The potentialities of art galleries and museums should not be neglected. (The present unhealthy attitude, held by many people in this country, towards the human body is exemplified by the necessity in magazines containing photographs of the nude for such pictures, if of adults, to be mutilated. This seems to be more a convention, to keep on the right side of the present unsatisfactory laws of obscenity, than a strict legal requirement. Photographic books and journals—possibly because they cater for a smaller and perhaps rather more sophisticated type of readership than the nudist publications—occasionally publish untouched photographs of the nude. The frankness of the photographs in Continental nudist publications which are not hampered

by such restrictions is refreshing after those in British journals where people are depicted as being completely sexless.)

Children whose parents are practising naturists can benefit greatly from the visits to sun camps where social nudity is accepted.

Mutual sex play may often be observed in children. This again is quite natural and should be no more suppressed than solitary masturbation. Most of the difficulties which are likely to arise from this activity result from one of the children having sexually ignorant parents with their conventional condemnation of all childhood sexual behaviour and their inability to appreciate the natural desire for the child to explore his or her surroundings.

Parents may sometimes encounter children inspecting each other's genitals. This usually indicates that at least one of the children concerned has had a sex-restrictive training and is satisfying his or her curiosity about that which has been surrounded by the parents with an aura of secrecy and which has, in consequence, become as tantalizing as any other forbidden fruit. Children brought up by more enlightened parents, accustomed to seeing members of the opposite sex in the nude, are unlikely to indulge in this activity. The child who does so should never, of course, be punished. Such a youngster is no more likely (whatever his or her parents may think) to become a sexual delinquent in later life than any other child—except, of course, that the child who has been reared in the conditions which have aroused his or her curiosity but left it unsatisfied has had the foundations laid for future emotional disorders.

In spite of the difficulties arising from the traditionally anti-sexual cultural background to our society the patient parent can guide his children through the early years of life, during which the foundations of character are laid, without contributing towards later neuroses—as does the conventional restrictive training—yet at the same time help them towards satisfactory adjustment in the society in which they will have to live.

The children of emotionally stable, loving, sympathetic and enlightened parents will themselves tend to be, in turn, good parents. They will also be better citizens.

The important point to remember, and one which cannot be too strongly emphasized, is that each child has his or her own personality and that the aim of all parents and teachers

should be to develop that personality—not to mould the child's character according to some preconceived idea.

Following the period of childhood sexual activity and before the onset of puberty there is, in children of our society, a *latency* period. The duration of this period varies with individual children. It is characterized by a diminution in sexual activity, unless circumstances are such as to keep it alive. In our society at present such conditions normally only occur in unsatisfactory homes. The enlightened parent is aware of the process of self regulation and adapts his training of the child accordingly.

It is possible that this latency period tends to be emphasized by the customary restrictive attitude of our society. In permissive societies children do not seem to pass through this stage so noticeably but continue with uninterrupted sex play and interest.

The latency period should not result in any neglect of the sex education of the child which must be a continuous process—indeed it is very important that the child be prepared for the onset of puberty since the first manifestations—frequent erections and nocturnal emissions in the case of the boy and menstruation in the case of the girl—can bring about severe emotional upset and deep guilt feelings if they occur without previous warning. This is a point overlooked by those who advocate that sex education should be deferred until the final year at school.

Although boys are capable of and have erections from their earliest years (even pre-natal erections have been observed) as any observant parent knows, it appears that early childhood experiences are relegated to the subconscious, except where circumstances have resulted in sex activity continuing unabated throughout the latency period, and the re-emergence of sex at puberty is a completely fresh experience. Most boys seem only to become aware of erections at this time. This possibly results from the fact that childhood sexual activity has an entirely different significance to the individual from adult sexuality, a fact which, as was said above, most adults seem unaware of, possibly accounting for much of the reluctance with which some adults will accept the idea of sexuality in children.

A.C.F.C.

<sup>23</sup> For an account of some of the taboos which may have to be broken down by the enlightened teacher see: Berger-Hamerschlag: "Journey Into a Fog" (Gollancz).

## Competition or Cooperation

Continued from p. 1

Because their objectives are what they are, the official Trades Unions are militant in times of "prosperity" and impotent in periods of "trade slumps". It is equally significant that it was during the wars of 1914-18, 1939-45 that they found greatest official favour. It was during "slump" periods that not only membership fell-off and T.U. power was curbed, but that the growth of militant, unofficial rank-and-file movements took place. (It was in the years immediately preceding the first world war that we see the emergence of social theories such as Syndicalism and Guild Socialism which were not interested so much in a fair share of the cake but in actually controlling how it was to be made and distributed. The war of 1914 saved the Trades Union leaders' skin as well as that of the employers!)

Apart from the exceptions that prove the rule, the growth of Trades Unionism in this country has been motivated less by workers' solidarity than by sectional economic interests within the working class itself. In spite of the eventual organisation of unskilled labour in the late '80's, the Trades Union movement to this day remains segregationist—not only racially and nationally, as we have discovered in these post-war years, but also so far as skills are concerned. By creating, or encouraging, "classes" within a class the Trades Union leaders have weakened the movement not only in its rôle as a collective bargaining instrument in the economic field but by preventing its ideological development. Trades Unions have moved to the Right, towards reaction, with the passing of the years. This reaction, even after taking into account any positive trends represented by the Shop Stewards movement, and attempts at creating breakaway organisations, deeply influenced the attitude of the workers themselves both towards their Unions as well as on a personal level. That membership of the Trades Unions dropped sharply during trade slumps in the inter-war period was a reflection of the impotence of the Unions is to our minds only part of the explanation. It is after all when the struggle is hardest that one would expect workers to make common cause with their fellow sufferers, yet it would appear instead that their attitude has been one of each man for himself.

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HOWEVER much, as anarchists, we deplore this attitude, it does not surprise us. The national press and the political leaders on the other hand do not deplore this attitude in principle but are surprised and shocked when it manifests itself in reality! The *News Chronicle* which has been of late plugging the ideas of free enterprise, competition and differentials, declares that:

It is difficult to make any calm comment on the strike news to-day. Any sensible person must feel sickened by the silliness of the struggle. Both the unions and the employers had strong arguments to back their original claims, but their attitude has made the dispute a squalid exhibition of stupidity and sectional prejudice.

The *Manchester Guardian* whilst recognising the rights of bosses and workers to bring industry to a standstill declares:

... Responsible men will go to extreme lengths only when some great issue of principle is at stake. What is

"So, too, with our command of energy; a new period of sun-power and electric power is at hand that will utilise current income, instead of dissipating our capital reserves of wood, coal, petroleum, or uranium."

—LEWIS MUMFORD:  
"The Conduct of Life."

"Think of the immense amount of energy reaching the earth by solar radiation, and the small use we make of it. The energy reaching the earth's surface is some 50,000 times as great as our consumption."

SIR HAROLD HARTLEY: Presidential Address to British Association.

SOURCES of power are of two kinds.

There is an obvious difference between mineral fuels, which once taken from the earth cannot be renewed, and renewable resources, like hydro-electric power, which are continually replenished,

the issue here? It is simply a dispute over money...

"Simply a dispute over money", that mere bagatelle which divides society into the "haves" and the "have-nots"; which prevents one half of mankind from obtaining the food they need to live; which makes it possible, to quote the *Manchester Guardian* again, for a "handful of angry and injudicious men who control the working lives of some three and a half million wage-earners" to bring a large part of manufacturing industry to a standstill within a week if "they have their way".

It would be interesting to know what "great issue of principle" would, in the opinion of the M.G., justify workers—and employers presumably?—going to "extreme lengths". We are also curious to know why the *News Chronicle* refers to the "silliness of the struggle". The bosses who have the cake are resisting attempts by the workers to have a bigger piece of it. From our point of view they may be silly for allowing the bosses to have the cake at all, but why should liberals complain at such undignified squabbles? The Trades Disputes Act of 1906 makes a strike or a lock-out a legal act. The upholders of free enterprise are obviously in a difficult position, for as believers in the sanctity of the Law they cannot but recognise the rights of workers to withhold their labour and employers to close their factories if they so wish. And, believers in free enterprise, they encourage competition between workers as well as between employers. But at the same time they demand that both employers and employees should act in a responsible way to the community as a whole! They raise their hands in horror when the secretary of the Boilermakers declares that the interests of the country come second to those of his members, or when a spokesman for the Engineering employers makes it clear that:

"This time, we don't want Government interference. This is quite positive. We want to fight it out ourselves. We have to stand firm and prove to these fellows that things are not done so easily."

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"RESPONSIBILITY to the community" implies a oneness with one's fellow beings which can only be achieved through co-operation and mutual aid. Competition, classes and differentials are the antithesis of co-operation. But these are the values which regulate human relations and behaviour to-day. Let us not be afraid to admit that they are the values, not only of the employing class but for a large section of the workers too.

We cannot hope, or expect, that the section of the community which thinks itself superior to the rest of society and accordingly deserving of material and social advantages, will abdicate its positions of power and privilege for the sake of the well-being of the community which it despises and exploits. But can the "under-privileged" majority do no better than to try to ape them?

## PEOPLE AND IDEAS HARNESSING THE SUN

and it is equally obvious why it is desirable to shift our continually-increasing demands for energy from the mining, quarrying and pumping of exhaustible raw materials to the harnessing of natural forces.

The sun is the source of all life. All food derives from it through photosynthesis, the process by which plants use solar radiation to turn oxygen, hydrogen and carbon dioxide into the nutrients which both form plant tissues and feed them. And the sun is the source of all energy. The non-renewable mineral sources represent stored solar heat formed in remote geological periods under conditions which do not recur, and the renewable sources of power derive ultimately from the sun in various ways; wood and alcohol from photo-synthesis, water power from gravity where falling water is used in hydro-electric turbines or water power in estuary barrages from tidal energy arising from the pull of the sun and moon on the earth, windmills and wind turbines utilising the earth's atmospheric envelope which is a "rotating, regenerative thermal engine, stoked by radiant energy from the sun", volcanic power from the inexhaustible central heat of the earth. (At Larderello in northern Italy, according to a paper read to the Royal Society by Mr. C. W. Marshall 1,000 million kilowatts are produced a year by tapping underground volcanic steam).

There is never any lack of enthusiasts for the renewable sources of energy, the difficulty is in their economic exploitation on a large scale. The most advanced of them is of course, hydro-electric power which so far however, only accounts for 14 per cent. of the world's utilisation of energy. Volcanic energy is very localised, wind turbines have undoubtedly a future, and so have tidal barrages, despite their enormous capital cost. (The scientific division of the Ministry of Fuel and Power told the World Power Conference in 1950 that there were several hundred possible sites in Great Britain where windmill generation of electricity was possible, and that it had listed 69 sites where tidal electricity plants might be feasible).

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BUT what about directly harnessing solar radiation? The development of nuclear engineering in the last fifteen years shows what extraordinary advances can be made when enough brains and capital are applied to the solution of any particular 'insoluble' problem in scientific technology. But of course the harnessing of nuclear fission as a source of motive power is a mere by-product of its exploitation as a means of mass-destruction. The atomic industry, like the aircraft industry owes its development to its importance in the governmental bomb trade. And it is certain that those parts of the world which most urgently need new sources of motive power will be the last to benefit from atomic energy. This has focussed attention on the possible use of solar heat as "the poor man's nuclear energy". For it is the 'under-developed' countries, where the demand for power is rapidly growing—South-East Asia, India and the African Continent, which get the most sunlight.

At Phoenix, Arizona fifteen months ago a World Symposium on Applied Solar Energy was attended by 700 scientists, engineers and architects from thirty-five countries, and resulted in the foundation of a 'Laboratory of the Sun' to lay the foundations of a more con-

centrated attack on the problem. Little hope was given at this conference for the development in the next few decades of a solar power station which could compete economically with a coal-fired, or even a nuclear one, but a number of small-scale devices were exhibited or described. The difficulty is that though solar energy is enormous it reaches the earth in a very diffused form. One kilowatt falls on a square yard of the Sahara desert at midday. But the daily average is less, and with the inevitable losses in collection and conversion into electricity, it would require by any method so far devised, a million square yards of collecting surface to give the equivalent of the output of a modern coal-fired power station. And since the sun's heat as received on the surface of the earth is low-grade heat, it is best used as such, instead of being converted into electricity. Even then however it is difficult to prevent the dispersal of much of the heat in the surrounding ground and air. There are, all the same, very interesting possibilities in the devices that have been made,

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MOST of us as children have set light to bits of paper by focussing the sun's rays on them through a magnifying glass. Prof. Trombe has built, high up on the French side of the Pyrennees, furnaces on this principle, using huge curved mirrors (the biggest is thirty-five feet wide) to focus the sun onto objects to be heated. He has generated temperatures higher than 3,000° centigrade—enough to melt any metal and to vapourise some. Similar methods have been used on a small scale in Egypt for raising steam by focussing the sun onto thin-walled boilers. In America the Bell Telephone Company has developed a new type of photo-electric cell, ten times as efficient as existing types, but too costly to produce power economically. An inch disc costs twenty-five dollars. These cells are used at present to charge batteries driving a rural telephone system in Georgia. An Arizona farmer has similarly devised a silicon battery to power his telephone, but its output is only 0.12 kilowatts per square metre of surface.

Various photo-chemical means of using solar energy have been found. Chemists seeking a way of vapourising cadmium sulphide found that they had stumbled on one way of producing electric current from light and made a generator to drive a clock. Dr. L. J. Heidt found a method of decomposing water into its elements by the action of sunlight on cerium salts. Some people see a future in the growth of algae, like chlorella, in tanks in desert areas where vegetation would not otherwise grow, and using it as food or fuel (via alcoholic fermentation). A more practical proposition is the use of solar heat for distilling drinkable water from the sea or other unusable sources. It is an alternative to the transportation of water over long distances or the use of oil-fired stills in the Middle East and Northern Australia, and solar stills are being built in French North Africa. In Israel, Dr. Henry Tabor has designed a solar energy collector for air-conditioning buildings, which work like those refrigerators using heat, with the advantage that the hotter the sun, the more effective the cooling. He has developed a method of surface treatment which gives good absorption of sunlight, but does not lose heat through radiation. This is an important step in making the use of solar energy practicable for domestic heating,

cooling or hot water supply. Several systems have been developed in the United States for using solar appliances for keeping houses at a uniform temperature throughout the year with no running costs except for a small electric fan costing 2d. a day to run for blowing the heated or cooled air through the house. These systems incorporate devices for storing heat for several days, to compensate for the effect of bad weather. If in houses in sunny climates, sunlight-absorbers were incorporated in the structure when built, these systems would certainly be economic.

In Florida, since the war, at least 50,000 houses have had solar hot water systems installed. They cost about £40, and cost nothing to run. They consist of a blackened copper or aluminium plate behind a sheet of glass set a right angle to the rays of the sun. The water passes through pipes attached to the back of the blackened metal sheets.

★

IT is a far cry from schemes for solar power houses to domestic ingenuities of this sort, but the very variety of approaches to the task of harnessing sunlight shows that we are only at the beginning of the sun-power era. Several years ago Prof. C. A. Coulson, F.R.S. said:

"I would like to see a great concerted attack on this problem—how to concentrate, and save and make use of, solar energy. During the war, when it was recognised that the atomic bomb was a theoretical possibility, quite incredible effort was thrown into making the bomb a practicable proposition. When the site at Los Alamos was chosen for establishing an atomic-bomb laboratory in Nov. 1942, . . . there was no laboratory, no shop, no adequate power plant. The sole means of approach was a winding mountain road. Yet before long, the labours of thousands of people had constructed what is probably the best-equipped physics research laboratory in the whole world. We know the end of that story—the grim, stark tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I would like to see a similar scale of attack on some of these other problems . . . I do not know what the end of that story would be: but it would be different."

The 'Laboratory of the Sun' in Arizona will, by these standards be a very modest beginning in co-ordinating the work undertaken in many countries with small resources and little equipment. But it will at least be a beginning, and will link the solution of the physical and chemical problems of trapping solar energy, with that of the engineering problems that will make it practical and the production problems that will make it an economical proposition. The world's non-renewable natural resources are in fact being used at a rate which makes one wonder for how much longer it will not be an economic proposition to utilise the inexhaustible resources of tide and wind and sun. C.W.

### Witch-hunt Not Over

The absurdities and evil consequences of Congress investigations into un-American activities did not begin with the rise of Senator McCarthy. In the pre-war Roosevelt presidency the apparatus was fumbling along examining the records of such dangerous suspects as Shirley Temple and getting a bad name with the intellectuals for serving a subpoena on Christopher Marlowe. Nor with the eclipse of McCarthy has Congress given up the chase.

This week both Mr. Arthur Miller, the playwright, and Dr. Otto Nathan, of New York University, have been indicted before a Federal grand jury for contempt of Congress. Both had refused to answer certain questions put to them by a Congress investigating committee last year in proceedings concerning passports. Mr. Miller, otherwise a co-operative witness, would not disclose the names of his associates in a left wing literary group in 1947 on the ground that he could not "take responsibility for another human being." Dr. Nathan, one of Einstein's executors, declined to answer questions about his political or private associations, taking the course which Einstein had urged on his fellow academics.

—Times Educational Supplement, 22/2/57.

### What it Wasn't Spent On

£50,000,000, which is the military cost of the Suez war, is the amount required to build 31,000 three-bedroomed council houses, provide 180,000 secondary school places, or to electrify 200 miles of main line railway. It is twice the amount paid every year in the National Health Service charges, and it exceeds the annual outlay of the National Coal Board in reconstructing the coal industry. Fifty million pounds is over three times the Government's contribution to colonial development and welfare last year.

—Peace News, 22/2/57.

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## Butler's Prison Reforms

MR. BUTLER has never struck us in the past as being very concerned with social reforms, but it would be unfair to suggest without examining his record in more detail, that his recent statement on prison conditions and their cure, was motivated by anything other than a humane approach to the rehabilitation of prisoners. The fact that we mention motives at all is because we have become so accustomed to the expedient behaviour of politicians that our critical faculties are always alerted to what might appear to the naive observer to be a purely unselfish act.

Mr. Butler, we are told, "just missed" the premiership, which may or may not account for his activist approach to his job as the new Home Secretary. In this way he stands a chance of remaining in the political limelight, and at the same time he will be able to harass some of the party members who were against his becoming Prime Minister, many of whom will no doubt be appalled at his suggestions for spending money on prison reforms. Be that as it may, his motive can be examined as an issue apart; we are more interested at the moment in the actual suggestions.

Anarchists advocate the abolition of the prison system because we hold that locking people up behind bars does not combat anti-social behaviour. Our observations lead us to the conclusion that the causes are rooted in our defective society rather than the innate "evil" of man. It follows then that a change in the social order would greatly minimise the kind of behaviour which finds people against the existing laws. However, we can only move as fast as the enlightenment (or lack of it) of our fellow men will allow. Be-

cause of the slow pace at which they are moving it would be foolish in our view not to encourage improvements in present prison conditions, if only as a means to discourage the widespread idea that all that is necessary for "curing" a man who has violated the law and safeguarding the rest of society, is merely to imprison him.

To this extent then we welcome suggestions for removing overcrowded conditions and the inhuman approach to prisoners generally. Little money is spent on prison services which must account for the bad conditions, although we are told that in 1952 the number of prisoners sleeping three in a cell was about 6,000 which has now been reduced to a little over 2,000. The suggestion that more and better prisons should be built is not as valuable as the proposal for fewer and shorter sentences based on "treatment appropriate to each individual on the basis of expert diagnosis of his history and personality".

### Adjustment to 'Normality'?

This is at least a recognition that hard and fast laws are not necessarily adequate to deal with individual personalities who come before the courts, and an acknowledgement that "criminals" have personalities as well as ordinary folk. The first step towards change, Butler suggests, should be a remand centre for young people for which provision was made in the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. This would provide a centre unconnected with prisons where a specialised staff could make a complete examination, not only to provide information to the courts but as a centre of research into the whole question of juvenile delin-

Dealing with prison work (surely one of the most important aspects of prison life), Butler said that efforts were being made to get more varied and interesting work to supplement diminishing orders for mail bags. A report is also awaited from the United Nations and from other international bodies who are studying the idea that prisoners should be paid at a rate comparable with a normal industrial wage.

The main thesis of the report is the adjustment of a prisoner to 'normal' society through an enlightened prison system. Many people, including ourselves, will question the wisdom of adjusting individuals to a deformed society. But they are more likely to recognise the defects in the world outside if they are treated with reasonable care and intelligence within the confines of prison.

If the alternative to bad prisons and long sentences, is better conditions and shorter sentences and a more reasonable approach to people who have broken the law, then these reforms have to be encouraged. This is not an alternative to social revolution, nor an acceptance of the principle of 'inevitable' social progress, but as a means of making life less miserable for people shut away from the rest of society. In addition we feel sure that the claim will be proved that the more humanely people are treated the more decently they will react.

This forms part of an educational process for those outside prison who accept things as they exist without question. We must encourage such a process while recognising the limitations of all reforms within a governmental capitalist society.

M.

## 'Progress through Objectivity'

DEAR COMRADES,

May I congratulate the writer of the article on "Progress through Objectivity"? It is the most thought-provoking statement in FREEDOM for a long time. Maybe also it sums up to a great extent my own views on the problems in society. I have seen Idealists of all kinds engaged in the pastime of airing their egos on their pet themes. Objectivity is only too obviously almost entirely lacking. They seem activated by some sort of compulsion mania which makes them fit facts (as best they can) to theories rather than change their theories (if they are not too impossible) to fit the facts.

Must not the idealists in general be objects of ridicule to the practical men, without scruples or too many illusions, who run the Government? They can permit any amount of liberty of the subject as long as the various types of idealists are so remote from an objective understanding of the roots of their power.

These lie principally in the ignorance of the masses and of the cranks, reformers and idealists who seek to wean them away from the orthodox channels of thought. Even within minority groupings who seek to alter Society, how concentrated are the 'élites' who actually run them! The principle of leadership in practice runs through all human groups, no matter how much it is denied in theory, partly because of the manifest inequality in ability, etc. (apart from natural talent which is often not allowed to develop) which springs from the unjust society in which we live.

Society as at present constituted is a jungle, in which ruthless competition for power and privilege is incessantly taking place at all levels and in most places. The person who genuinely desires no power over his fellows is rarely found among the more intellectual levels of society where the tendency to mental and moral prostitution is most pronounced.

Papers like FREEDOM perform a valuable educative function for the idealist by coupling the desire for a better, freer society with an attempt to find out what factors in that society are hampering his efforts, apart from the traditional class-enemy bogey. The greatest enemy of the idealist is the idealist. The greatest enemy of the workers is his fellow worker. Separatist, egotistic tendencies are encouraged in our banal, decadent

civilisation. May we be grateful that within the ruling classes in this country there are some elements who in their own way are striving for a freer society also. In the U.S.A. and elsewhere the enemies of culture and the manipulators of the masses seem to almost completely dominate the life of their country despite in some cases the higher material standards of living enjoyed by considerable sections of the working people.

London, W.C.

R. C. COUSENS.

## MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

#### LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at  
THE MALATESTA CLUB,  
32 Percy Street,  
Tottenham Court Road, W.1.  
MARCH 24—To be announced  
Questions, Discussion and Admission  
all free.

#### OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting  
HYDE PARK  
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.  
MANETTE STREET  
(Charing X Road)  
Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

### NEW YORK GROUP (Libertarian League)

announce a new series of Classes on  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
LIBERTARIAN THEORY  
These classes will be held at 813  
Broadway, New York on Monday nights,  
starting promptly at 7 p.m., and ending  
no later than 10 p.m.

Mar. 25.—The Libertarian League.

### LIBERTARIAN FORUM— FRIDAY NIGHTS AT 8.30— 813 BROADWAY.

Mar. 29—The World Government Movement.

### ★ Malatesta Club ★

SWARAJ HOUSE,  
32 PERCY STREET,  
TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.1.  
(Tel.: MUSEUM 7277).

#### ACTIVITIES

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.  
London Anarchist Group Meetings  
(see Announcements Column)

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m.  
BONAR THOMPSON Speaks.

Every Friday and Saturday:  
SOCIAL EVENINGS

### AFRICAN FORUM MEETINGS

HENRY USBORNE, M.P.,

on

### AFRICA & WORLD GOVERNMENT

March 26, at 7 p.m. prompt.

DR. CHEDDI JAGAN

on

IMPRESSIONS ON GHANA  
Friday, March 29, at 7 p.m.

Followed by Socials.

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## TRIAL OF THE OUTSPOKEN

DEAR SIR,

On March 18th, 1957, in San Francisco three people are to face trial on charges of sedition. They are the editors of the *China Monthly Review*, John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman. Why should this concern us? It does not, directly. Wherever the freedom of the press, the freedom of frank opinion is endangered, whether it be in Africa or Cyprus or the U.S., the consequences of that action can do only harm to the peoples concerned.

Over the last few years we have observed only too frequently the basic freedoms of American citizens beleaguered and invaded. The unholy Inquisition (the Senate Committee and sub-committees for Internal Security) is fast becoming a regular political instrument for the elimination of critics of the Government policy. In a country as powerful as the U.S. this is more than a pity; it is dangerous. Therefore it is in our interests, since we are whether we relish it or not, dependent on the States, to see that the Americans keep to the principles of their Constitution. In that we may be powerless, but let us at least know what is happening.

What kind of a magazine is the *China Review*? Since 1917 when it was founded by J. P. Powell, the present editor's father, until 1953 with the sole exception of the Pacific war years, the review has given a documentary account of Chinese life. It has understood the aspirations of the Chinese and Asian peoples for national independence, and spared no feelings in its criticism of colonialism and racial discrimination. In recent years the Review has covered the national recovery from the economic doldrums and the ramshackle administration of Chiang Kai-shek, it has opposed the American intervention on behalf of that discredited administration. It advocated furthermore an end to the trade embargo against China and championed her entry into the U.N. During the Korean War the Review published evidence of American prosecution of germ-warfare and use of napalm-bombs. No less straightforward and regardless of reprisals were the editorials on these matters.

On April 25th, 1956, the editors were indicted at San Francisco by a federal grand jury on 13 counts. 12 of these are

against John Powell individually and refer chiefly to the activity of the Review during the Korean War. Powell is charged with having published false reports concerning casualty figures, the history of truce negotiations and bacteriological warfare. Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman are charged with conspiring with him in all twelve counts.

So much for the charges. They were levelled under the sedition law which was passed in 1917 to silence pacifist and other opposition to Ward War I. It has always been opposed by the American Civil Liberties Union, which incidentally has affirmed its support of the Powells in this present case. The law is in effect only when the U.S. is at war, hence some doubt is shed on its applicability during a U.N. police action. Furthermore it seems more than a little odd that this law should now be invoked so long after the Korean Armistice.

The defence will maintain that the editors published their reports in good faith and in full confidence of their constitutional right to do so. It will deny

### This Property-Owning Democracy of Ours

Mr. J. Wyndham, of Petworth House, Sussex, a nephew of the late Lord Leconfield, is to sell some 27,000 acres of his Sussex and Cumberland estates. The reason for the sale is given as "the fact of death duties and consequential reorganisation." The value of the property being offered is understood to be in the region of £500,000.

About 20,000 acres in Cumberland are being offered for sale—about four-fifths of Mr. Wyndham's property there . . .

About seven thousand acres are being offered for sale in Sussex, mainly farmland in the neighbourhood of Pulborough, Sutton, and Rogate, but some twenty thousand acres in the immediate neighbourhood of Petworth House are being retained.

(Manchester Guardian, Feb. 11).

"Crippling" Death Duties are accounting for 27,000 acres but we note that 5,000 acres are left in Cumberland and another 20,000 in Sussex. So that 25,000 acres—assuming Mr. Wyndham owns no other land in other counties—remains.

that they ever published deliberately false information. However, it will run into difficulties here, since the evidence is now mostly inaccessible, being kept in Chinese military archives. The cost of transporting witnesses from North China and Korea is also prohibitive and in any case the Government has refused visas to those wishing to travel to collect evidence in China. As far as the truth of the reports go it will be a case of unbacked claims against Government assurances to the contrary. But overriding a question which is practically insoluble now, the principle of freedom of frank speech and criticism is at stake. If the Powells are convicted (and John Powell alone faces a possible 260 years imprisonment and a fine of \$130,000), then every journalist who offers news from non-governmental sources, who is obliged in all honesty to criticise the Government, is working under the menace of reprisals and this in a democracy is disastrous.

With President Eisenhower we re-affirm our belief that "without exhaustive debate, even heated debate, of ideas and programmes, free government would weaken and wither. But if we allow ourselves to be persuaded that every individual or party that takes issue with our own convictions is necessarily wicked or treacherous, then, indeed, we are approaching the end of freedom's road."

Yours sincerely,

Leigh, March 5.

D.G.

### PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

#### WEEK 11

Deficit on Freedom	£220
Contributions received	£217
DEFICIT	£3

#### March 8 to March 14

San Francisco: per D.L. l'Incaricato	£17/10/0;	San Francisco: L.D'l	£1/15/0;	
Donaghadee: J.T. 1/-;	London: H.M.*	2/-;		
Twickenham: P.R. 5/-;	Wirral: S.G.G.	5/6;		
London: Anon. 2/6;	London: J.S.*	3/-;		
London: Hyde Park Sympathiser	1/9;	Los Angeles: per J.D. No. 1 Group	£10/17/0;	
London: W.H.Y. 2/6;	London: J.A.L.P.	6/-;		
London: J.H. 1/-;	Colchester: L.L.	1/-;		
Total	...	31	13	3
Previously acknowledged	...	186	3	11

1957 TOTAL TO DATE	...	£217	17	2
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## A 'Journal Intime'

Continued from p. 2

mind cannot be dead for long; it will seek to renew activity and if it is not to travel the same vicious circle as before it must, from the start, self-discipline itself in integrity. Thus the revivification will not be in vain. It is to this end that I propose the use of a diary and yet I feel that as soon as I have willed myself to this so I have rendered the diary unnecessary.

Should I therefore write to posture before posterity? All great writing is an approach towards or a demonstration of truth. One reads and is convinced—that is the test. But that conviction must already be within oneself and all that has happened is that the writer has expressed it sincerely and intelligibly and the reader recognises himself, he identifies himself with the writer. A writer's purpose must be to teach; he knows himself and wishes his readers to know themselves. Herein lies the justification for a minority weekly whose expansion is doubtful and whose economics are perilous. If a grain of truth should be communicated then something has been achieved which places the recipient in a position of indebtedness and responsibility towards the giver. Too much should not be asked of those who give, rather should they be supported and relieved of the strain of being voices in the wilderness. Loving is giving, doing as you would be done by, and it would be as well if those generous enough to give in all humility, were accorded the generosity of those who feel that what is offered is acceptable. So far as FREEDOM is concerned this could be done by contributions by those whose thoughts have been stimulated by what has been said in its columns, by introducing new readers and last of all by rendering all editorial worries about finances unnecessary. I offer these thoughts without pretension in gratitude to those who give and yet knowing well that literary defects may preclude their publication.

Yours sincerely,

Bath, March

H.J.C.