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Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Force has no affinity with justice."

—H. N. BRAILSFORD

Vol. 21, No. 50

December 10th, 1960

Threepence

POLICE AND PUBLIC

WE always said that the police have a vested interest in crime and this opinion was confirmed last week when the pay increases recommended by the Royal Commission on the Police were agreed to by the Police Council for Great Britain without a murmur! We are told that the function of the police is to prevent crime, and we are also being told daily that criminal activities are on the increase. But instead of the local authorities voting to reduce the policeman's pay on the grounds of his inefficiency, they have actually agreed to pay him more, and to back-date the rise to September 1st! Surely this does not make capitalist sense. Imagine such a yardstick being applied to the factory and workshop, and where would the country be?

★

WE must assume then that the police pay increases has nothing to do with payment by results (after all the government paid its armed services less when they were actually at war, killing and being killed, than it does now that the army is featherbedded and only polishing its guns and missiles). The alacrity with which the Commission's recommendations were accep-

ted was so unusual that the assumption is that the Government hopes it will result in a stepping up of recruitment to the apparently depleted ranks of the police. Coupled with the present "recession" and an increase in unemployment and short-time working in industry, the Home Secretary is probably feeling optimistic about his chances. On the other hand Alderman Hoy, chairman of the local authorities' side of the Police Council, when asked whether he thought the new scale would affect the strength of the police force, replied: "We shall have to wait and see whether it affects recruiting. I am not so sure myself".

We found the Alderman's pessimistic reply most encouraging! The idea that young people who were thinking of becoming teachers would be tempted to become policemen instead because the latter is, as a result of the new pay scale, a more remunerative job, would have shattered our few remaining illusions about mankind in this acquisitive, affluent society of ours.

We realise of course that the majority of the public believe the police-force is as essential to society as public transport and the fire

brigade. Indeed the National Council of Civil Liberties in its *Submission to the Royal Commission on Police* (a valuable document, just issued, and on which we hope to comment at length soon), points out in its introductory remarks that whatever criticisms it has to make of the Force "this does not imply, however, that the N.C.C.L. is in any way 'anti' the police. We believe that the Police Force has an extremely difficult and delicate task to perform" (p. 2). And a few sentences later we read "In submitting this Memorandum, we believe that we are contributing to the improvement of the British Police Force and to the furtherance of the safeguards of

the traditional civil liberties of the British subject" (p. 3). Again, in its Conclusions we read:

Finally, the police are essential to the maintenance of civil liberties. The public should be entitled to look on them as allies whenever they wish to exercise their democratic rights of political or industrial expression. (p. 49).

Since the N.C.C.L. enjoys the support of opinion Left-of-Centre we are surely justified in our assertion that the public as a whole would not dream of being without its police force. But equally, and here is the paradox, the double-think, neither would the majority of this public dream of ever taking on the job of being a policeman. There

is a whole category of jobs which they would not do by choice, such as road sweeping, or being a night watchman, a porter or a lavatory attendant, but the considerations here would be, lack of status and bad pay. The reasons why they wouldn't be policemen are quite different. Even assuming that you look upon them as paragons of incorruptibility you don't trust them as friends. Just as the newspaper reporter and the hack novelist so often use their friends for "copy", so is there the general feeling that the policeman may betray your confidence if and when the occasion presents itself. It is not surprising; the policeman, after all, is a professional snoop, and if his job is to prevent "crime" then it stands to reason that the more successfully

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Report on Cuba

ON January First 1959, with the flight of the tyrant Batista, there was a re-birth of the freedoms which had been suppressed during the years of his rule. Many factors had combined to bring about Fulgencio Batista's fall.

Actually, one can say without exaggeration, that the only support he had left was the National Police and the higher brass of the Armed Forces, since none of the rank and file of the army could no longer be relied upon.

Fidel Castro took power and formed a government based on his own group (The 26 of July movement), elbowing aside all of the other forces and organizations that had participated in the active struggle against tyranny. By his seizure of full power, Castro violated the pacts that he had made with his allies. Even so, these forces all continued to support the Castro régime, as did the almost totality of the Cuban people, so anxious were they all to eradicate, to the last root, all remnants of the opprobrious Batista tyranny.

Castro declared his support of every freedom, while proceeding to smother each and every one of them under one pretext or another. Hence, at present, slightly more than a year and a half after taking power, all of the press, radio, television, movie-news programmes of the country are under the absolute control of the State, which dictates in all these mass communication media.

Within the labour movement, on the pretext of eliminating from the leadership the Batista elements therein, a governmental decree was issued (Law No. 22 of Jan. 20, 1959) imposing a new top committee for the Cuban Confederation of Labour (CTC). This new committee, basing itself on the same law, then designated leading committees for each of the Federations of Industry. These federations in turn called elections in the unions during April and May under their auspices and with their rules. The communists had been able to seize control of the committees of these Federations of Industry in almost every case. With the support of the Government and its forces, they had used every form of coercion on the workers in favour of

their own candidates, having already eliminated from the unions whatever element they thought might dispute the leadership with them. In all of the unions, slates were presented in the name of the 26th of July Movement, said slates being composed of members of the 26th of July and communists. Many of the members of the 26th of July were at the same time communist militants. These rigged elections were carried out, and following them other, similar elections in the Federations of Industry and in the Confederation itself through special National Congresses.

In spite of everything that was done by the Government, and in spite of the physical presence of Fidel Castro at the Congress of the Cuban Confederation of Labour recommending a joint slate with the communists, this Congress elected a CTC executive committee consisting entirely of members of the 26th, although some of these latter were also communists. In the Congresses of the 33 Federations of Industry, 28 declared against the communists and only 3 in their favour.

Following the holding of the National Congress of the Confederation the Governmental-Communist was stepped up, to the point where today almost all of the leaders elected in these National Congresses have been substituted in one way or another by members of the Communist Party. Many of those who were removed have had to leave the country as exiles while others have been imprisoned or otherwise persecuted. As examples we can cite in particular the Federations of Industry of Construction, Public Spectacles, Medicine, the Tobacco Industry and the Lumber Industry, as well as the case of David Salvador, General Secretary of the CTC.

So much for the labour organizations. Now as to the workers themselves. On the pretext of co-operation with the Revolution (which for the rulers means the State, which is in turn identified with "the People"), the workers have been and are subjected to conditions of work that had been out-lived in Cuba long since, through hard labour struggles

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The Church Summit

WHILE the world Communist movement ended its conference in Moscow, two other groups of 'universal' authoritarians met for a pow-wow in Rome—the first time that an Archbishop from Canterbury has visited the Holy See since the Reformation.

There was much rejoicing in some quarters over this meeting of Christian brethren in an atmosphere of "happiness and friendship", but it is difficult to see what can be gained from it unless the Anglican Church is prepared to concede some of its spiritual power to Rome—the only custodian (it claims) of God's Church here on earth.

The Commission for the Promotion of Christian Unity set up by Pope John and through which the meeting was arranged was not created for the purpose of ironing out the different interpretations of Christian dogma, but to act as a "liaison office" with non-Roman Catholic Churches; it is only on this level of "friendly exchanges" that co-operation between the Anglican and Roman Churches is possible.

Within Italy there is virtually no contact between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant minority. Dr. Roberto Comba, head of the biggest Protestant Church in Rome—the Waldensian Church—has said that their relationship would not be greatly affected by Dr. Fisher's visit, in fact he "foresaw dangers ahead for both sides":

"If the next 200 years are to be marked by conversations between Roman Catholics and Protestants, at the end of that time two things may happen. Totalitarians like to get into a clinch and

then exploit the situation. It may mean that Protestantism may find itself sharply divided, half favouring reunion with Rome, half dissenting strongly. On the other hand, the Protestants can expect an advantage if they discuss Christian truth, liberty, origins, and history, for if the children of the Roman Church discuss liberty of the individual within the Church then no one can know what the result may be."

It appears that the Vatican, outwardly at any rate, is no more enthusiastic over the Archbishop's visit than the Roman Protestants; there were no representatives at the airport to meet Dr. Fisher, no Italian Press conference and no photographs of the meeting with the Pope.

The Protestant Community as the "breakaway" union stands rather in the same position to the Roman Church as the Yugoslav communists to Moscow, but in neither case is the break maintained because of any great love for individual freedom, it is basically a power conflict.

The Protestant belief that morality is a matter between individuals and God does not prevent the Church setting up laws to which it expects Christians to adhere; these are not always spiritual laws but social codes which are sometimes in conflict with individual conscience.

The Catholic view that: "God created a single Church, especially endowed it and gave its keys to the successors of Peter."

is less hypocritical (if one accepts the premise) in that it does not concede the individual's right to propagate "error", that is any views which

are contrary to the teachings of the Church, even if dictated by conscience.

Many individual Protestants may sincerely resent the "spiritual tyranny" of Rome, but the history of the Protestant hierarchy is no less tyrannical, although today its power over the flock is much less than that imposed by the Catholic Church. Even so it is unlikely that the Archbishop of Canterbury is planning "re-union" with Rome.

Without either side conceding points of dogma they are doubtless in favour of creating some kind of Christian front in an attempt to strengthen waning Christian influence as a means of combating the march of world Communism, particularly among the "uncommitted" nations.

This seems to us to be a futile hope. The Church as a unifying social influence is negligible; it cannot hope to be a great influence in the affairs of the new nations, partly due to its own function in the past and nationalism, as long as it remains dynamic, satisfies a "spiritual" need which replaces religion. The advance of science and the extension of education is bringing the dogmatic claims of the Church into question, an important factor in its declining influence; Catholic and Protestant Churches alike have compromised with all shades of government, when they have not actually been a part of the State.

All things considered it is not surprising that the influence of the Church is no longer of any great importance.

REPLY! REPLY!

ONE of the innovations of the Obscene Publications Act of 1959 is that expert evidence may now be given for or against the literary merit of a book before the court. The appearance of this pamphlet* can presumably be considered as an attempt to give such evidence in the public controversy about obscenity in general, since its two sections are written by well-known experts—Robert Pitman and Kenneth Allsop, the literary editors respectively of those august organs the *Sunday Express* and the *Daily Mail*, acknowledged leaders of British literary taste (I don't think).

It is sadly typical of our age that a reputable highbrow publisher should present such intellectual non-entities as these to the public in the guise of writers who have something to say on the subject of obscenity that is worth reading. Pitman isn't even a very good journalist, and while Allsop is sometimes, he isn't much else (he wrote an absurd book called *The Angry Decade* not long ago). If the idea was to get two journalists to argue for and against the censorship of obscene books, it would have helped if they had got some really good ones—John Gordon and Bernard Levin, for example—or to have made the ones they did get write their contributions decently.

It would also have helped a bit if the contributors had bothered to deal with the subject suggested by the title—the “question of obscenity”—taking account of material

*A Question of Obscenity (Scorpion Press, 6s.)

written by people like, say, D. H. Lawrence and Henry Miller. It isn't so much that they ask a question and then decline to stay for an answer; the trouble is that they don't ask the question at all. There is no attempt in this pamphlet to define the slippery word “obscenity”, or to consider its function in literature and life. In all its two sections, which are packed from end to end with allusions to various books and writers, I can find no reference at all to *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and only one to its author, and similarly Henry Miller is mentioned only twice, both times in passing. This is rather like discussing the question of homosexuality without considering Oscar Wilde and André Gide.

What is the thing about, then, you may wonder. You may wonder indeed. It is really a polemic on censorship written from the “conservative” and “liberal” points of view.

Robert Pitman's essay takes the familiar *Sunday Express* line. It is a ferocious attack on what he calls the “Lilac Establishment” including Victor Gollancz, Herbert Read, Alan Pryce-Jones, Roy Jenkins, Bernard Levin, Graham Greene, Rebecca West, Angus Wilson, Stephen Spender, Nigel Nicolson, and of course Kenneth Allsop—which is in fact the liberal intelligentsia. He sees its toleration of literary obscenity and even pornography as a dangerous step towards the Sleazy Society and, ultimately, national decadence. No doubt he feels the same about capital punishment, homosexuality, prostitution, flogging and the rest. At least he is honest enough to admit that he reads “controversial books” if they happen to “be around”, and he certainly seems to have made a pretty

thorough study of *Lolita* in support of his insistence that it is a filthy book. What he objects to is the “social harm”.

I'm afraid I don't understand what he means by that. Pornography and prostitution were flourishing trades throughout the Victorian age, and in fact it is not the relaxation of censorship that ushers in the Sleazy Society but the coming of the Sleazy Society that makes the relaxation of censorship easier to bring about. He has confused cause and effect. Similarly he is miles off the mark in denying any connection between confessed pornography and true literature. Many books now generally acknowledged to be masterpieces have at one time or another been condemned as pornography, and some have actually been published by professional pornographic publishers—Pitman should have looked at the motley lists of books issued by Jack Kahane and his son Maurice Girodias during the last thirty years. He tries to substantiate this claim by showing how prudish were such periods as those of Chaucer and Shakespeare, both of whom he imagines to have laboured under far greater restraints than exist today; if he had taken the trouble to move a century on from each of these names he would have come to Rabelais and Restoration drama, neither of which was excessively restrained by prudery.

But I don't think Pitman's arguments deserve very much attention. Nor, as it happens, do Allsop's—since everything he says is already accepted without reservation by anyone who reads FREEDOM. Unlike Pitman, he doesn't attack anyone; he simply tells the idiotic story of sexual censorship in this country

and asks the central question: “Who shall be the censors?” (Pitman never touches this problem—perhaps he is too shy to put his own name forward.) On the other hand, he doesn't face up to the problem of deliberate pornography (and the connected ones of prostitution, strip-tease, etc.). It would be interesting—and perhaps revealing—to know his mind on the subject; until I do, I prefer to describe him as a liberal, not a libertarian (though Pitman accuses him with a sneer of holding “libertarian views”). When he investigated the Soho strip clubs for the *Spectator* he talked vaguely about “official” action, and I suspect that he would, like Roy Jenkins (and, alas, like D. H. Lawrence), be quite prepared to give the police greater powers to suppress pornography in order to let more pretentious obscene literature go free. He is just a bit too complacent and self-righteous, not even recognising the existence of the Sleazy Society—at least Pitman is concerned about it, even if his comments on it are pathological.

No, although this is an interesting pamphlet, it isn't really worth buying—certainly not for its present price, which works out at 2d. per

page. Both its contributions are too lightweight to merit any serious consideration, and neither of them comes to grips with the problem, or even with each other. There are also some surprising gaps in knowledge and memory which cast doubt on the reliability of the contributors—Allsop seems to be unaware that there is an English expurgated edition of *The Ginger Man* as well as the French “obscene” edition, and Pitman gets so carried away in his loathing of the *Spectator* that he accuses its editorial staff of cutting a letter he actually sent to the *New Statesman* (in January 1959). But perhaps the pamphlet is worth buying, simply for the sake of the mentality unconsciously revealed by Robert Pitman, which is all too common in this country. Don't imagine, however, that the “question of obscenity” is properly discussed here. What is needed now is a full-scale examination of obscenity in art and literature in the light of the present tendency towards much greater freedom here and in America. The pamphlet under consideration will appear in such an examination only as a brief and scornful footnote.

N.W.

BOOK REVIEW

Central Africa

WITH the various political power-grabbers from Central Africa in this country attending the Review Conference on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it is just as well to know what all the fuss is about. This concise and informative pamphlet* supplies this very need, it can be thoroughly recommended to anyone who wishes to follow the various antics with some exact knowledge of the issues involved.

The vital issues before the Review Conference are the future of the Federation as a structure for Central African society, and the matter of secession of any of the territories from such a Federation. As Faith Raven concludes in his pamphlet: “The Federation attempts to combine two different conceptions of colonial rule within one political system. The Colonial Office policy has been the paramountcy of African interests. Southern Rhodesia's aspiration has been the separate development of both races under European control. The theory of partnership has not proved strong enough to bridge the gap between these two concepts.”

*CENTRAL AFRICA: Background to Argument. By Faith Raven. Price 2s. 6d. (African Publications Trust, 65 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., London, S.W.1.)

main part of the show, charity demands that there shall be no comment for these are less than doodles, for Hartung has merely given a casual up and down scribble on a number of sheets of paper and someone has framed the results and without wishing any irreverence, one can only add that they look like the back view of uncut hair.

The Portal Gallery in 16a Grafton Street, W.1., is a gallery that has shyly blossomed into becoming one of those places worth seeking out and any artist with off-beat work who feels that the established galleries are not interested in his style or subject-matter should chance his arm for a first or final refusal at the Portal, for the two eager beaver young men that run this gallery are catholic in their choice and the work that they show embraces any and every contemporary style for the impression that they give is that they are showing part of their own private collection unlike so many of the big-time spiv galleries that leave one with the feeling that their showrooms are the porter's lodge to Huckster's Hall. The dealers are the natural enemies of the artist but they are a necessary evil and the artist should try to hook them while they are still starry-eyed and the paint above their lintel is still wet. When they start handing round the free sherry then that is the time for the uncommitted artist to start worrying.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

The Monckton Commission states that Federation cannot be maintained in its present form, whilst a minority report consisting of the views of two moderate Africans, was unable to accept the continuation of Federation not based on consent. The Monckton majority report recommends that H.M.G. should declare its intention to permit the secession of any territory either after a stated trial period, if requested to do so, or on the achievement of “responsible government”. The minority report recommends that Federation should be dissolved forthwith. Dr. Hastings Banda and Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the nationalist leaders from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia respectively, state that they want secession now and majority African rule in their two territories. Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, has said that he believes the Federal Review Conference has no power to make decisions about secession.

Sooner or later the pattern of the future is fairly certain for the two northern territories of the Federation: they will obtain majority African rule and secede from the Federation should it still be in being. Southern Rhodesia's future does not look likely to be peaceful, but eventually the future is quite clear. Even if the Europeans join with South Africa and make a last stand, which I doubt, they will soon be removed from power by violence or by other means. I do not view seriously, the possibility of the Settlers fighting for their privileges, I am convinced they will vanish just as the Belgians fled from the Congo. There are few more terrified cowards on this earth than European settlers in Africa and the bluff and bluster of “we shall never leave our homes” is so much punk.

When I left Rhodesia just over a year ago I hardly realised at the time that I had witnessed in the two years I was in the country, the death of the era of British imperialism. What I saw of that era does not lead me to shed any tears at its demise. Various factors can be suggested as the prime reasons for this death. The turning point for colonial freedom came when Africans stopped looking to Whitehall or the British Labour Party for help and decided to free themselves, the issue was finally decided by the report of the Devlin Commission of Inquiry. This was followed by the Macmillan “wind of change” speech in South Africa, and has been thoroughly underlined by another conservative body of men, the Monckton Commission.

From an anarchist point of view, the position is a depressing one. Dr. Banda strikes me as having an air of superiority akin to that of the white administrator in Africa. His manner is soaked in vanity and I am certain that he is a man

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Around the Galleries

AFTER participating in the group exhibition at the Waddington Gallery at 2 Cork Street, W.1., less than a month ago Patrick Heron has slipped back onto the stage for a solo act and fallen flat on his face. It is indeed unfortunate that this should have happened for Heron has always had a wealth of well-wishers to urge him on yet never has he managed to live up to the prophecies of his admiring circle of friends, for Heron is indeed a man with a brilliant past and he can list a truly imposing list of exhibitions, U type plugs and sales to provincial galleries to prove it but each showing of Heron's work increases the disappointment for those who wish him well.

Like so many of his dim contemporaries he only offers us a sad and pale reflection of the work of alien artists when even their work has passed its top popularity peak. Some two months or so ago we had the “Situations” exhibition when a number of unfortunates were herded together to attempt, on massive canvases, to give us their interpretation of the American abstract scene.

Patrick Heron with a courage akin to foolhardiness, appears to be giving us his version of the R.B.A. fiasco by organizing a one-man Salon des Refusés. There is little one can say about these things for their very triviality denies a judgment, for on a background of Congo-like brush work Heron has painted his crude squares or circles and the title of number 24, “Squares on Dull Green”, sums up the whole. Yet there are seven small oil on paper abstractions that Heron did in August of this year that have a charm and sweetness that truly reflect the personality of the painter but unfortunately Heron wants to play with the big boys and use big brushes on big canvases and while his large canvases will win him applause from the sycophants they will ruin him

as an artist.

The Molton Gallery at 44 South Molton Street, W.1. are showing the work of a seventy-year-old German woman, Margaret Brauer. Her semi-abstractions possess a masculine strength of conception and execution and she has used her impressions of Israel for her subject-matter but it is only her age and her sex that mark these paintings from the usual run of the mill stuff that fill half the galleries of London. Again, she is showing a small group of water colours and her “Moses” is an extremely fine little piece in the manner of Paul Jenkins. A merging mass of controlled colours weave themselves into a gay pattern that delights the eye and makes one wish that these people would accept their limitations and try to create in a medium that suits their particular talent.

On the upper deck of the Beaux Arts Gallery in 1 Bruton Place, W.1., they have hung the paintings of the young Scots painter Craigie Aitchison. These things are so out of character with the stuff usually shown at this gallery dedicated to the muscle-flexing devotee of the kitchen sink and soul and soil that one must imagine that there was a considerable amount of heart-burning when the decision to show Aitchison's work was decided on for these paintings are pale blues and paler greens.

Against a background of deserted moorland that stretches like a green lake out to a flat egg-shell blue sky he has transported figures from medieval Italian painting but the whole is pretty insipid, for his Christ hangs like an uncooked sausage on a cross of twigs, for this marriage of English story book illustration and Italian peasant art has failed to gell but it is a brave failure and Aitchison deserves to be supported with another one-man show in the near future for he is at least trying to expound a personal vision and not give us a rehash of some transatlantic ballast.

Hans Hartung has an uninspiring show at Gimpel Fils of 50 South Molton Street, W.1., and the two or three oils that he is showing are fairly interesting for they are in his usual well-known style and the weaving sword blades of brush slashes that mark a Hartung painting still usurp the eye even in the most clustered gallery but for the pastel and charcoal drawings that make up the

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Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Vol. 21, No. 50, December 10, 1960

Police & Public

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he snoops the better is he carrying out his job.

(For the policeman "crime" includes not only the safe-breakers, tors, the pickets, the C.P., the Mos-the con-men, the ravishers and the ponces, but the political demonstraleytes, the Empire Loyalists and the "Reds" left of the liberals, Irishmen and Blacks).

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THE N.C.C.L. reveals the healthy distrust of the *metier* of policemen by the individual citizen when it points out that

One of our speakers has been asking audiences throughout London at trade union meetings, church groups, etc., whether anyone present knew a policeman socially. In only one case was the answer in the affirmative. Most people have no social or personal contact with the police at all, certainly in the Metropolitan area. This naturally leads to prejudice among the public.

Why prejudice? Assuming that the N.C.C.L.'s plea for the "integration" of the police "in the community" were possible, in what way would that change the *nature* of their jobs.

In any case, once the police are "integrated" either they will give up being policemen or they will perform their jobs less efficiently because the kinds of things they are expected to do in the course of their jobs will appear to them distasteful. In no country, as far as we know, has this "integration" been achieved; we doubt whether any governments would wish it to be so.

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NOW, even at the risk of being charged by our colleague and comrade C.W. with being superficial and utopian, we feel that even if FREEDOM were an Annual instead of a Weekly, and we had a year to think about the relationship of anarchism to the police in the 60's of the 20th Century before committing our thoughts to paper, we would still come to the conclusion that the only thing to do with the police force (as with the armed forces), is to abolish it! We are fully aware that this is not a very "practical" suggestion, but what suggestions in fact are practical to the inmates of a lunatic asylum?

Take, for instance, this passage from the N.C.C.L. memorandum (and bear in mind that these reflections come from an enlightened organisation)

The prestige of the Force is low and equally the morale of the members. The judiciary are highly paid so that they are placed beyond temptations and also to ensure the highest standards. Yet the police suffer from low salaries and resultant frustrations, temptations and the inevitable resignations.

But what about the "criminals" and their temptations? Are they not as understandable? Why indeed should a speculator in land, of human effort, of "fashion", be a respectable citizen, showered with honours and publicity, while the man who breaks into his safe is condemned in the same breath as a dangerous criminal onto whose tracks a mighty police force (maintained by a public who every day are robbed—legally of course of a part of the product of their labour, but who are without redress!) is let loose, "a law to themselves" as the N.C.C.L. report puts it?

What we are trying to say is that it is unreasonable to expect social behaviour in a society which is anti-social; that it is not surprising that some individuals show a contempt

Report on Cuba

Continued from p. 1

Previously between 3 and 5% of the workers' wages had been withheld for pension purposes, the percentage varying in different industries, with an additional 0.025% for Maternity assistance. Today everyone is discounted at flat 5% for pensions, plus 4% for "industrialization", plus 3% for income taxes (which had formerly applied only to incomes in excess of \$200,00) plus 1% for obligatory union dues (which are called voluntary but are checked-off automatically by law). In addition there are special collections, and frequent special levies of a day's wages by decision of the membership, for every imaginable sort of thing such as armament and airplanes, Agrarian Reform, Industrialization, etc., etc.

In addition to all the above, since most industries have passed into the hands of the Government on the pretext that they belong to the workers themselves, the workers are often obliged to work extra hours without pay, wages are reduced, and frequently such benefits as a weekly day of rest with pay and paid annual vacations have been dropped.

The Workers' Militias have been organized under the control of the Ministry of the Armed Forces. In the early days participation in the Militias was voluntary, but at present every worker between certain ages and in proper physical condition either joins the Militia or is fired from his job. Thus the workers are further controlled, since once they are in the Militias they are under military discipline, and as such can be kept in line at all times. The principal chiefs or Commanders of Militias are known communist party militants.

There is general and growing discontent among the workers of the country. Formerly the régime had the backing and sympathy of almost everyone, but today only the communist minority and its followers give unconditional support to the dictates of the Government and its agencies.

In general, the present policies of the Cuban Government are frankly totalitarian and communist. On the international field it has allied itself with all of the communist bloc countries through cultural pacts, mutual assistance pacts, commercial pacts, etc. At home, the methods used in the labour movement were also used in the professional organizations: the Medical College, Lawyers' and Engineers' Associations and all of the rest. Recently a large number of professors were expelled from the University of Havana, among them Miro Cardona, who had been Prime Minister of the present Government and Ambas-

sador to Spain and the United States, and Andres Valdespino who had been Assistant Secretary of Finance. Both of these had opposed both Batista and the communists. Previous to the expulsion of the University professors, a large number of students had been expelled for opposing communist innovations in the University. Among these were the student leaders in several schools. They were all veterans of the fight against Batista, having been persecuted or forced into exile during his régime.

At present Communist Party people hold the positions in the Government with the technical help of native and foreign communist experts. Through the "cultural" departments created in each governmental Ministry, in the armed forces, etc., they organize courses of so-called "revolutionary doctrine". These are actually Marxist indoctrination courses, since those running the show as well as the instructors and lectures are all Marxists. As examples of this we cite: The "cultural" chief in the military camp of La Cabana (one of the most important in Cuba) is Ramon Nicolau who was for years financial secretary of the Communist Party. Among the lecturers with him on this project are Juan Marinello, president of the party; Cahlos Rafael Rodriguez, editor of the newspaper *Hoy*, organ of the party (the well-equipped printshop for which was a gift to the party from the government after being confiscated from the former Batista newspaper *Alerta*); Anibal Escalante and other well-known communist militants. The Cinematic Institute is the statist organism directing and controlling the movie industry. It is presided over by Dr. Alfredo Guevara, another communist militant. Through the Film Review Board, he decides what films are acceptable for exhibition in the country. The Peoples' Consultation Library of the National Capitol is another of the innumerable set-ups whose purpose is to spread Marxist ideas. All of these organisms are financed by the Government.

A special organization called Youth Patrols has been established as an adjunct of the National Police. It recruits children from the age of seven years. They receive military training and Marxist theory under the guise of "revolutionary indoctrination".

The outstanding show-piece of the so-called revolutionary government is the Agrarian Reform. All of the large estates have been expropriated or confiscated and have become the property of the National Institute of Agrarian

for the "sanctity of life" or for individual property when we live in a society in which a handful of individuals have the power to legislate away the life and liberty of a community or to rob them of a part of their labour. We are surprised that the contempt is not more marked.

★

IT is one thing to say as did Herbert Read in the columns of FREEDOM many years ago "I had no power, therefore had patience" and, in connection with the Royal Commission on Police, put forward proposals which seek to curb the powers of the police, at least to prevent them from exceeding their legal rights with impunity. But if in the process of seeking to safeguard the citizen's rights (in the eyes of the law) we lose sight of the cause of the disease and of its cure then the "patience" has become *resignation* and we might as well give up talking about freedom, justice and equality.

When we support campaigns against literary censorship, conscription, the death penalty, nuclear weapons, racialism, apartheid, victimisation in trade disputes, colonialism or police excesses, we do so because we believe all these to be evil, anti-social, anti-libertarian sores on the social body, and that to protest against them is essential and positive.

We have no illusions, however, that our protests will have any positive or lasting effects on those who operate the machinery of power, un-

less our protests are matched by a resistance, a determination which sooner or later will provoke a clash between the power of Authority and the power of the people. (This, presumably, is what Read meant by "I had no power, therefore had had patience").

For the people to build up *their* power to resist governments, presupposes that they distinguish between what we have described as the "sores" on the social body, and the social body itself. We anarchists differ from the rest in that while we agree that curing the "sores" is worthwhile, still it is no cure, for so long as one refuses to examine the cause of the "sores" one will not prevent their recurrence. There are those people on the Left committed to spending a lifetime curing the "sores" and we could, and can, in specific circumstances, support, and applaud, their efforts. But when, what should be merely *means* become *ends*, when the disease is overlooked and only its outward manifestations treated, then surely it is time to declare that those who only treat the "sores" are as guilty as those who have spread the disease. Indeed, in 1960 the latter also treat the "sores" and the former have become allies of the spreaders of the disease!

Are these slogans or a modest statement of the facts as they are? If they are slogans please ignore them. If you realise that they are realities, facts, then it's not more thinking that is required, but *informed action!*

Reform (INRA). This is a State body with no participation by either the people as a whole or the directly-concerned agricultural workers. The old estates are now called "co-operatives" and to run them a horde of administrators and other bureaucrats have been designated, most of these being Army men.

The conditions of labour on these old feudal estates are the same as before—that is to say, the workers continue to be wage earners, with the wages remaining the same, or in many cases, less than before. The workers receive their pay in script which can only be spent in the so-called Peoples' Stores connected with the "co-operatives" and also like them the property of INRA. Goods not available in these stores are not obtainable as the workers receive no cash.

Former tenant farmers have been given deeds to the land that they work. This gives them the right of permanent occupancy by an annual payment to INRA the amount of which is based on the assessed evaluation of the property, but without the right to sell or mortgage the property. Instead of paying rent to the private landlord, they now pay rent to the State landlord. The INRA enjoys a monopoly for buying and selling all crops and the fixing of prices. Many millions of dollars have been spent on the agrarian reform, and the costs of production have risen to such a degree that in some cases they have become double the selling price of the crop. This has happened for example with the peanut crop in the Pinar del Rio region.

General Observations

The present Cuban Government is a dictatorship that does not permit the least criticism or disagreement with its policies by anyone, under penalty of being denounced as a counter-revolutionist and imprisoned. The jails are overflowing and private buildings have had to be remodelled to make room for the prisoners. The prison guards make no secret of the fact that the prisons are mined so that in case of a jail-break they can be blown up with their inmates.

Although there is no official censorship of mail, letters are often censored. Military tribunals continue to deny

Central Africa

Continued from p. 2

greedy for power. My brief contact with Joshua Nkoma, the nationalist leader from Southern Rhodesia, is no more heartening. The way he turned up his nose at FREEDOM was typical of an inflated contempt for ordinary people. Kenneth Kaunda, I believe, is a different type of man. Deeply sincere and honestly devoted to non-violence. He has yet to taste the fruits of Governmental Office.

How sad it is to reflect that multi-racialism has failed so lamentably in Central Africa. The fault is almost entirely that of the Europeans, who have only ever viewed partnership as between men of unequal value. The wonderful example of men like Guy Clutton-Brock only shows more clearly the opportunity that has been missed. This whole business of differing races living together and tolerating each other is of the greatest social problem of our civilisation. A "race" war could well be the last one, and with African leaders showing such obvious liking for the Chinese Communists, the dangers are now upon us. Racism is not a disease confined to Africa or the Deep South, it is everywhere, and we fail lamentably in trying to overcome it. In the Rhodesias the failure is due to feelings of superiority and of difference. These unnatural feelings only hold firm because of a desire to maintain an unequal social status, as well as the honest dislike of the ways of Africans. White Rhodesians are discouraged from overcoming racial antagonisms because to keep such feelings in their own supposed interests. Thus everywhere racial tensions are kept alive by a competitive society; the disease will never be cured by moralistic mumbo-jumbo, it will only be cured with so many other social ills by a social revolution towards a truly co-operative society of federalistic anarchism. This, in turn, can only be accomplished if a personal revolution takes place in the lives of a sufficient number of people.

R. J. WESTALL.

juridical guarantees for political prisoners and there is no right of *habeas corpus*. As a result, thousands of citizens are kept in prison arbitrarily for long periods of time.

For the past several months a number of soldiers and officers of Castro's old revolutionary army, as well as civilians who oppose his governmental policies have been in open rebellion in the Sierra del Escambray in the central region of the island and in the Organos Range at its western end. There are daily desertions from the Army and from governmental posts by soldiers and civilians who refuse to co-operate further with the communists. Many of these have gone into exile. As examples, we mention only Army Commander Raul Chibas and Minister of Communications Oltusky, rather than giving an interminable list.

To date, the Police and the Army are not using physical torture and political assassination as a system, although mental and moral torture are already in vogue. There have been a number of mysterious disappearances and deaths. Among the disappearances we cite those of David Salvador, general secretary of the Cuban Confederation of Labour (CTC) in the early days of the present régime and Lauro Blanco a prominent anti-communist leader of the "Autentico" Party.

Active opposition to the Castro-Communist dictatorship is increasing. Both inside of Cuba and in exile, a number of organizations have been formed by people who fought against the Batista tyranny and who are now fighting that of Castro. The most influential of these organizations are the Frente Revolucionario Democrático which is a bloc of five different groups, and the Movimiento de Accion Sindical which operates primarily in labour circles and which maintains fraternal relations with the Frente Revolucionario Democrático.

CUBAN LIBERTARIAN GROUP

OF NEW YORK.

Secretary.

HANNAH ARENDT NAMED "SPANISH REFUGEE AID" CHAIRMAN

Miss Hannah Arendt, author-lecturer, has been named Chairman of Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc., (New York), a non-profit organization which helps surviving Republican refugees who fled Spain in 1939 after the Civil War.

Miss Arendt, author of the recently published book, *The Human Condition*, is Visiting Professor in Public Law and Government at Columbia University and was formerly Visiting Professor at Princeton. Among her previous works is *Origins of Totalitarianism*, and she is preparing a volume on revolution.

Born and educated in Germany, Miss Arendt received her doctorate from Heidelberg University. She left Germany in 1933 for France where she was a social worker with adolescent refugees until 1941 when she came to the United States.

Spanish Refugee Aid was formed in 1953 to give aid to surviving Spanish exiles who gave up their hopes, health, jobs, and country rather than live under a dictatorship. Nearly 120,000 of these refugees live in France, often in misery and poverty. In seven years, Spanish Refugee Aid has raised more than \$300,000 for food, housing, clothing, self-help items such as work tools and sewing machines, eye glasses, artificial limbs, beds and stoves. Four field representatives administer the group's aid.

Cellist Pablo Casals, Spain's most distinguished exile, and General Lazaro Cardenas, former President of Mexico, are honorary chairmen of Spanish Refugee Aid.

[Donations for Spanish Refugee Aid should be addressed to Mme. Suzanne Chatelet, 64 rue de Richelieu, Paris 2].

**FREEDOM
NEEDS
MANY MORE
NEW READERS**

What Kind of Paper do we Really Need?

LAST year, thinking that the character of an anarchist paper and the nature of its propaganda were matters of interest for the readers and writers of one, I flew a kite under the title "FREEDOM in the Sixties", asking how we could best increase the circulation and influence of the paper in the new decade, and reaching conclusions similar to those of Tristram Shandy's effusion last week. Now that a year has gone by, during which—except for one hopeful weekend last Easter—we have sunk that much further into the doldrums of the last ten years, PH's remarks lead me back to the same topic.

When he says that it is no use making any propaganda at all unless we feel confident that it will have a good effect, we can think of exceptions, like the man with the sandwich board saying The Day of the Lord is at Hand, unheeded among the Christmas crowds in Regent Street, whose propaganda is an act of faith, or like those for whom it is a means of self-expression or catharsis. But if our propaganda is based on the belief that it will help to push society in the direction we want, or on the conviction that we have something useful to say which we want to share with others, we are certainly concerned with its effectiveness. After all, like everyone else, we have to choose among the things we want to do with our lives, and propaganda takes its place among other priorities—survival, raising a family, having some kind of fulfilment in our work, learning, loving and loafing—and the place it has depends upon our assessment of its fruitfulness. And if our chosen medium is the written word we have to follow the rules imposed by the medium: to communicate and to communicate effectively.

The first rule of journalism is to find the answer to the question "How, from the material available to me do I create a paper having the tang and characteristics of a distinctive personality?" and this is complicated by the fact that the character of a paper which will strike a responsive chord in a reader, and retain his interest and concern, is not something static. It changes with the years and with the mood of different generations and different decades. Geoffrey Ostergaard discussed this in relation to

the problems of the anarchist press in an interesting letter several years ago (FREEDOM 28/6/58) which was especially valuable since it treated the subject in terms of the sociology of autonomous groups rather than as a matter of the virtues or shortcomings of individuals.

There is one magazine in the United States, published in Latin, on the subject of fungi. I imagine that its circulation remains constant, that it has a very small optimum circulation and that its actual circulation must be fairly near that optimum. Changes in its character, its approach to its subject and in its format and typography must affect its appeal very little. If it was as dreary as a railway timetable, it would still have the same circulation. Now anarchism too is a minority interest, although its ideas impinge (or ought to) on so many aspects of life, that they affect a very sizeable minority, but we know from our Readership Survey (because of the high chance factor in people's introduction to the paper) that we are only scratching the surface of the potential readership of an anarchist periodical, and are nowhere near the optimum circulation.

Lessons from the Press

What can we learn about this from the periodical press in general? We know that there has been a high mortality rate. Ninety-seven British newspapers and periodicals have disappeared in the last ten years. Among the daily and Sunday papers the only ones which are growing in circulation are the "quality" papers. According to your point of view you can say that this represents a generally higher standard of literacy, or the fact that the semi-literate are getting their news and entertainment elsewhere. Among weekly papers the big-circulation illustrated papers like *Picture Post*, *Illustrated*, *Everybody's* and *John Bull* have all died, and so have the general news weeklies—*Cavalade*, *News Review*, *Leader*, *Public Opinion* (what an effort it takes even to remember their names) and in fact the only weeklies to have gained have been special cases like the women's weeklies. Some of the "serious" and political weeklies have died and all (except *The*

Economist which as a business man's paper at a time when the business man has never had it so good, is another special case) have lost circulation.

Now look at the monthlies. Well, when I look into them I get two surprises. The first is that all the monthlies that I see regularly were started in the nineteen-fifties and the second is that they all appear to be gaining circulation. The *Twentieth Century* (which was formerly the *Nineteenth Century and After*) changed its ownership, its name and its character in 1951. It has doubled its circulation in the last four years. *Encounter*, founded in 1953 has doubled its circulation in the last five years. *Socialist Commentary*, founded in 1951, has a growing circulation, so has the *New Left Review*, a bi-monthly, founded as a quarterly in 1957, so has the American quarterly *Dissent* founded in 1953 and the monthly *Liberation*, founded in 1956.

A number of interesting things emerge from this. One is that the new monthlies are doing better than the old ones, another is that, despite the "decline of the left", all the growing periodicals I have listed above have a general character which is "left of centre" (even *Encounter*), and several of them belong to the radical left. Another is that among the weeklies, even one which has had a change of ownership, policy and contributors, like *The Spectator* has still a falling circulation, though its fall has been proportionately less than that of the *New Statesman*, which has only had what Ostergaard called a half-hearted face-lift.

Would a Monthly be Better?

What I would conclude from this is that in the conditions of the nineteen-sixties a monthly has better prospects than a weekly, and that a new paper, or one which has been radically changed has a better chance of success than an old one whose attitudes and general

AMBIVALENCE

In his excellent reply to his critics, Arthur Uloth quotes Erich Fromm as saying that "Freud's concept of ambivalence, which says that one can experience love and hate for the same person at the same time . . . does not make sense from the standpoint of Aristotelian logic."

This is quite incorrect. The concept of ambivalence is certainly *paradoxical*, since at first sight it may not seem to make sense, but it is not *contradictory*, since a little rational thought will reveal that "love" and "hate" are not really true opposites at all, and their co-existence does in fact make perfectly good sense, by Aristotelian or any other logic.

What is refuted by this concept of ambivalence is not traditional logic but traditional semantics and psychology. Words and emotions that are often loosely imagined to be contradictory can easily be shown by strictly logical demonstration (using classical syllogisms if you want) to be nothing of the kind—"pleasure" and "pain", "happiness" and "unhappiness", "attraction" and "repulsion", "desire" and "satisfaction", etc. This has been known by intelligent people—such as poets—for centuries, and there is no need to invoke "paradoxical logic" when a more scrupulous use of words will do just as well. To abandon reason because it is often clumsily used is to throw out the baby because the bath-water is dirty.

London, Nov. 26. N.W.

£114

3 weeks left!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

WEEK 49

Deficit on Freedom £980

Contributions received £926

DEFICIT £54

November 25 to December 1

Ramsgate: A.S. 4/6; Chicago: J.K. £6/0/10; Birmingham: N.J.B. 1/6; Stockwell: Anon.* 2/6; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.* 5/6; Hartford: M.G.A. 4/9; Hailsham: A.A. 1/-; — Anon. £1/19/6; Oldham: M.J.G. 3/-; Peterborough: A.W. 17/-; Denver: R.B. £2/9/0; Sutton: Anon.* £1/0/0.

Total ... 13 19 1
Previously acknowledged ... 912 14 1

1960 TOTAL TO DATE ... £926 13 2

*Indicates regular contributor.

atmosphere were formed in the thirties or forties. This conclusion is heightened for me by the view that I have reached with some misgiving—since I don't know who else thinks so—that the ideas we need to propagate at this stage in our history would be better served by a monthly than by a weekly publication.

Let me outline some of the other things which lead me to this conclusion. So much of the efforts of the people who actually produce the paper are absorbed by the sheer mechanical task of doing this each week that there is no time to be selective about its contents, no time to make them up into an attractive whole, no time to write to and talk to potential contributors, no time to follow up particular topics dealt with in the paper with people outside our movement who are interested in them, no time to advertise particular issues in the right places, no time for assembling first-rate anarchist reportage, no time for all the vital activities which would make the most of the good material that the paper contains, no time to prune it of stale old clichés and prefabricated phrases, no time to discuss seriously the problems of anarchism.

The typical pattern for FREEDOM articles is in three parts: firstly a topical introduction, secondly a survey of the facts, finally a conclusion outlining anarchist attitudes or solutions. And it is just when we get to this finale (in the small hours of the morning) that a mist descends and the conclusions are vague generalisations or routine denunciations, just at the point where they should be clear, detailed and above all, useful to the reader. Less frequent publication would enable us to make more comprehensive and clearer statements of anarchist attitudes to the social facts of the contemporary world, it would also give them greater permanence and greater propaganda effect. The reason why the *New Left* people, after an unpromising start, have produced a magazine worth reading, is that they have—in such essays as "The Insiders" and "The Controllers", taken the trouble to analyse the structure of contemporary capitalism more thoroughly and more authoritatively than anyone else anywhere. Their frequency of publication has been such as to allow them to put in some hard thinking and research with the result that they have produced something worth discussion over a period of time by their readers.

What are the disadvantages of monthly publication? Firstly the alleged loss of topicality. But would this be such a loss? If you look at the news and news commentary contained in FREEDOM you will see that its character is already much more that of monthly journalism, and this applies just as much to the other features of the paper. The second objection is the idea that "intellectuals" read monthlies and "men in the street" read weeklies. I think that distinction is meaningless. One of the things that the Readership Survey told us about the kind of people who read FREEDOM is that the respondents, whether they are physicians or postmen, are not what we mean by men in the street, they are (as the snob-appeal ads. say) very special people, or at least they are very untypical members of the general population. For one thing the most frequently named other periodicals which they read are all among the "minority" or "quality" press. For another, according to Tony Gibson's interim comments on his investigation of the anarchist personality, anarchists tend to be people of high intelligence. Our paper is read by people who are highly literate and who think. Which is just as well, when you think of the uphill task which we have ahead of us.

Time to Think

For we are in a period which calls for us to do a lot of thinking, to undertake in fact the task which we put off year after year because of our commitment to weekly journalism—the systematic re-statement of anarchist principles in contemporary terms, the absorption of current trends in the social sciences into anarchist theory, the assessment in anarchist terms of the "oppressionist" programmes on the Communist countries, and a hundred other tasks which call for more than slogans.

Kropotkin declared in *Modern Science and Anarchism* that man will be compelled to find new forms of organisation for the social functions which the State now fulfils through the bureaucracy, and that "as long as this is not done nothing will be done". A lot of other thinkers are saying the same thing at last. Among the economists and statisticians that we have called "the new social investigators", and among the writers who are finding their way out of the Marxist

strait-jacket, Richard Titmuss for instance writes of the need for

"an immense amount of social inventiveness; for new institutional devices, new forms of co-operation, social control, ownership and administration, and new ways of relating the citizen and consumer to services that intimately concern him. Social ideas may well be as important in Britain in the next half-century as technological innovation." And E. P. Thompson (who has come a long way in the last five years) writes that

"today we can only find out how to break through our present political conventions, and help people to think of socialism as something done by people and not for people or to people, by pressing in new ways on the ground. One socialist youth club of a quite new kind, in East London, or Liverpool or Leeds; one determined municipal council, probing the possibility of new kinds of municipal ownership in the face of Government opposition; one tenant's association with a new dynamic, pioneering on its own account new patterns of social welfare—play-centres, nursery facilities, community services for and by the women—involving people in the discussion and solution of problems of town planning, racial intercourse, leisure facilities; one pit, factory, or sector of nationalised industry where new forms of workers' control can actually be forced on management . . ."

These people are groping for the solutions which we, from an anarchist background, ought to be propounding, and it is time we changed our priorities to allow us to do so. But a revitalised FREEDOM should have other characteristics besides this, if we are ever to effect the transition from a sect to a social force, and these I should like to discuss next week. C.W.

Meetings and Announcements

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

IMPORTANT

MEETINGS WILL BE HELD in basement, 5, Caledonian Road, N.1. (near King's Cross Station)

Sundays at 7.30 p.m.
All Welcome.

DEC. 11 George Plume on MY VISIT TO RUSSIA

DEC. 18.—Philip Sansom
Subject to be announced.

DEC. 25.—No meeting.

1961

JAN. 1—Jeremy Westall on A UNIVERSITY LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT?

London Anarchist Group AN EXPERIMENT IN OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m.

At Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middx.

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m.

At Dorothy Barasi's, 45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green, N.2.

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m.

At Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

Study Group on Non-Violent Defence

(Organised by CND)

Every Thursday at 8 p.m. at 18 Campden Grove, W.8.
Admission 1/-.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Rank & File Conference

ERRONEOUS reports have appeared in the Press and been circulated elsewhere concerning the projected London Rank and File Industrial Conference to be held on 29th January, 1961. The Liaison Committee organising the Conference has been variously alleged to be connected with the Communists, the Trotskyists, and the Catholic Church.

All these allegations are incorrect. It may be worth mentioning that the *Daily Worker* has refused an advertisement for the Conference, not without significance with regard to its own position on ITV advertising; and the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League has refused to take part in the Conference. The *Catholic Herald* has attacked the Conference in advance and until corrected connected it with the Communist Party.

Furthermore the Liaison Committee would draw attention to the recent statement by Frank Foulkes, Communist President of the Electrical Trades Union, on the occasion of a meeting of executive representatives of the five unions in the electrical supply industry, when he said he hoped the unofficial national shop stewards' committee for power workers would be disbanded.

There can be no doubt that this "Peace in Industry" line by the Communist Party and the alignment of Communist Party with Right Wing Trade Union brass is the result of the emergence in high office of the Communist industrial leadership, both on the Confederation Council and now on the General Council of the Trades Union Congress; or that the rank and file workers will find the Communists as much opposed to their interests as the Right Wing leadership.

INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

London, Nov. 28. LIAISON COMMITTEE.

CATHOLIC ANARCHISTS

Catholic Anarchism is not a full paradox but rather a semi-paradox: although it's possible to be a Catholic and an

Anarchist, it's preposterous to try to be an Anarchist and a Catholic. Anarchism precludes adherence to any institution as absolutist as the Church, as bureaucratically centralised as the Church, but most important, as governmental as the Church which has the full equipage of any secular nation-state: rulers, territory, subjects, ambassadors, flag, statesmen, treaties, etc. On the other hand, the Church has always been against the secular state, preferring its own theocracy instead. Thus so long as the Catholic Worker confines its Anarchism to secular considerations there will be no Vatican complaint. In the CW publication, *Two Agitators*, page 46, appears the following statement: "However, there have never been any indications from the hierarchy that the doctrines of the Catholic Worker are incompatible with those of the Catholic Church." Indeed, when one reflects on the Church-State conflict all through history, the wonder is that they're not fully Church supported. Actually, the Catholic Worker philosophy is really much too reactionary for the modern hierarchy. Their Anarchism itself is equally primitive, preferring to ignore the whole industrial revolution. Furthermore, most of the Catholic Worker group themselves are not Anarchists, and most of their readers are not even liberals: for example, when Chessman was about to be executed—and the Catholic Worker is violently opposed to capital punishment—75% of the letters received favoured the execution! It is interesting to note, too, that although Dorothy Day, by her own admission, would desist all radical agitation at a word from the hierarchy, Ammon Hennacy states flatly that should the case arise, he would continue his activities. Apart from their puerile religious views, however, Ammon and Dorothy deserve all the credit that it's possible to lavish on two human beings—some of their detractors should do in a lifetime one tenth of one per cent of what these two do in a month.

New York, Nov.

R.S.C.