

CENSORSHIP

A WORLD ENCYCLOPEDIA

Volume 3
L-R

Editor

DEREK JONES



FITZROY DEARBORN PUBLISHERS

LONDON • CHICAGO

Nigeria: *Guerrilla Journalism*, 1996
 Arabie Saoudite *Le royaume de la censure*, 1997
 Hong Kong: *la liberté de la presse en sursis?*, 1997
 Jordanie: *une loi contre la presse*, 1997
Les medias en Bosnie, 1997
 Zambie: *une presse combattive soumise au harcèlement*, 1997
 Perou: *les services secrets contre la presse*, 1998
Practical Guide for Journalists, 1998

Sans-papiers: les images que le ministre de l'intérieur ne veut plus voir, 1998
 Serbie: *un état de censure*, 1999
Les Journalistes dans la ligne de mire de l'ETA, 2000
Enemies of the Internet: Obstacles to the Free Flow of Information on the Internet, 2001
Mutilation of the Truth: Inquiry into the Murder of Journalist Georgij Gonzadze, 2001

RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG/NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG

German newspaper, 1842-43, 1848-49

The *Rheinische Zeitung* was launched in Cologne on 1 January 1842 and suppressed by the Prussian Government on 17 March 1843. It was founded by progressive professionals and businessmen as a forum for liberal ideas, including the modernization and democratization of the government, constitutionalism, the advancement of personal liberties including trial by jury, freedom of religion (including civil equality for Jews), and freedom of the press. The conservative Protestant Government granted a licence to *Rheinische Zeitung* mostly because it provided competition to the influential Catholic newspaper, *Kölnische Zeitung*.

A week before the first issue was published, the Prussian cabinet promulgated a new censorship decree, which strengthened and expanded the relatively mild censorship law that had been in effect since 1819. Censors were instructed to suppress anything deemed critical to the "fundamental principles of religion" or "offensive to morality and good will". Censors were authorized to go beyond texts to surmise authors' intentions.

Throughout its short life, *Rheinische Zeitung* was heavily censored by the authorities and involved in fierce religious conflicts with its Catholic rival. Editors were subject to removal by authorities and none survived the pressure for long. The newspaper entered the annals of the history of censorship when in May 1842 it published a series of six articles on the debates over freedom of press in the Rhenish Landtag by a 24-year-old philosophy PhD. Permanently barred from an academic appointment by an intellectual censorship that purged anti-religious forces from German universities, the young Karl Marx turned to journalism. He made his journalistic debut with an essay entitled *Remarks on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction* that was censored by the authorities and was eventually published in Switzerland in an anthology edited by Arnold Ruge (*Anecdota on the Latest German Philosophy and Journalism*, 1843). To get his ideas past the censors, Marx changed the emphasis of the articles he submitted to *Rheinische Zeitung* from opposition to censorship *per se*, to an exploration of how the Berlin decree affected freedom of the press, the meaning of freedom, and the role of newspapers. Ruge described the articles as "without doubt the best work on freedom of the press written until now".

Before his Paris exile, Marx was not especially sympathetic to ideas that could be described as communist. His arguments for press freedom are Spinozian, even Jeffersonian. The sarcastic edge of his pen is pointed at "pseudo-Liberalism", not liberalism. Marx defines free expression as a natural right and claims that to oppose press freedom is to oppose freedom in

general. He cites the American experiment as proof of his position: "You find the natural phenomenon of freedom of the press in North America in its purest and most natural form." Like the American revolutionaries, Marx conceives of the social role of the press as a peoples' watchdog: "And who is to censure the government except the people's press?" Under representative democracy, he maintains, the free press is the people's only protection against the emergence of a secret government within its parliament, court system, or administrative bureaucracy. He claims "the administration and the administered both need a third element, which is political without being bureaucratic . . . The complementary element, composed of a political head and civic heart, is a free press." Marx considers the free press to be at the cutting edge for enlightened ideas and argues that "the first freedom of the press consists in not being a trade". Although the journalist needs to make a living, the ethical practice of journalism must put the interests of freedom before the interests of shareholders.

Marx was appointed editor of *Rheinische Zeitung* when his college friend, Adolf Rutenberg, was forced out by pressure from the authorities. As editor, Marx made the paper a fiercely contentious critic of government as well as the relentless scourge of the cautious pieties of other newspapers. *Rheinische Zeitung* attracted considerable notice beyond Cologne, and the alarmed authorities in Berlin ordered the Cologne governor to instruct the publisher to submit the editor's name for approval. Marx responded that there was no provision in the law for such action and re-affirmed the paper's commitment to fearless criticism.

The paper was censored daily. In a letter to Ruge, Marx complained "We are burdened from morning to night with the most frightful censorship harassments, ministerial scribbles, gubernatorial complaints, Landtag accusations, shareholders' screamings, etc., etc." An article on tsarist military despotism produced what Marx describes as a "death sentence" for *Rheinische Zeitung*. Tsar Nicholas I wrote Frederick William IV a letter of protest. The King called his ministerial council into session and a royal order was issued suppressing the newspaper. The paper had nine weeks to cease publication, a delay intended to allow shareholders to try to recover their investments. In the interim the paper was subjected to double, then triple censorship. Marx resigned two weeks before the final issue appeared on 31 March 1843.

Marx left the country and joined the German exile community in Paris, where he studied economics. Expelled from Paris in 1845, he moved to Brussels. In collaboration with Friedrich

Engels, Marx completed the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* in January 1848. When revolutionary activity began in Germany later that year, Marx and Engels returned to Cologne to publish *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Unlike its namesake, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was a revolutionary paper committed to proletarian democracy. Troubles with the authorities began immediately. Engels was forced to leave Germany under threat of arrest, but continued his contributions to the paper from abroad. When revolution broke out in Cologne, the paper was suspended for two weeks under martial law. Shortly afterwards, Marx received a series of court summons: he was indicted for incitement to rebellion. The trial of Marx and his publisher took on a theatrical quality and drew capacity crowds. The jury found them not guilty. Three months later, however, Marx was expelled from Cologne by police order, and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ceased publication. The last issue was printed in red ink on 11 May 1849 with an article by Marx that proclaimed

We are ruthless, we demand no consideration from you. When our time comes, we will not gloss over our terrorism. But the royal terrorists, the terrorists by the

Grace-of-God-and-of-Right, are brutal, contemptible, and vulgar in practice, cowardly, covert, and deceitful in theory, and dishonourable in both.

SUE CURRY JANSEN

Further Reading

- Avineri, Shlomo, "Aspects of Freedom of Writing and Expression in Hegel and Marx", *Social Theory and Practice*, 4/3 (1977): 273-86
- Berlin, Isaiah, *Karl Marx: His Life and Environment*, 2nd edition London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1948
- Haye, Yves de la (editor), *Marx and Engels on the Means of Communication*, New York: International General, 1980
- Jansen, Sue Curry, *Censorship: The Knot That Binds Power and Knowledge*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988
- McLellan, David, *Marx before Marxism*, New York: Harper and Row, and London: Macmillan, 1970
- Marx, Karl, *On Freedom of the Press and Censorship*, translated and with an introduction by Saul K. Padover, New York: McGraw Hill, 1974 (Karl Marx Library, vol. 4)
- Namier, Lewis, 1848: *Revolution of the Intellectuals*, London: Oxford University Press, 1944
- Padover, Saul K., *Karl Marx: An Intimate Biography*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1978

SAMUEL RICHARDSON

English novelist, 1689-1761

PAMELA

Novel, 1740

Through a fictional series of letters and journals, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* relates how the maidservant Pamela Andrews withstood the persistent advances of Squire B, the son of her late mistress, including virtual kidnap and several attempted rapes. Although in love with Mr B, Pamela remained chaste throughout her many ordeals and her virtue was rewarded by marriage when, despite her social inferiority, Mr B took her for his wife. The second part, published in 1742, described Mr B's continued reformation, Pamela's ideal marriage, despite Mr B's infidelity with Sally Godfrey, and offered Pamela's moral insights on a variety of subjects.

Pamela was an immediate and fashionable success, running to six editions by 1741, translated into the main European languages and inspiring many imitations and continuations. The novel's didactic morality won Richardson many admirers: it was recommended from a London pulpit and the villagers of Slough rang church bells when they read that Pamela had succeeded in reforming and marrying her would-be seducer. William Webster, whose praises Richardson included in the preface to the second edition, believed he had found in *Pamela* "all the *Soul* of Religion, Good-breeding, Discretion, Good-nature, Wit, Fancy, Fine Thought, and Morality".

And yet, four years after it was published, *Pamela* was placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* by pope Benedict XIV. Florian Schleck has pointed out that there was no mention of the English-language version of *Pamela* in an edition of the *Index* published in Rome in 1758. However, he noted that *Antipamela ou Memoires de M.D.* written by Claude Villaret

in 1742 and an early French translation of *Pamela* were included in the Vatican's collection of "Editti" for the year 1745. These editions were still being cited in 1948. It was only when the *Index* was revised by Pope Leo XIII in 1900 that the English titles of *Pamela* and *Anti-Pamela* appeared. Although the Vatican process for banning books involved the submission of reports to consultative committees and committees of cardinals, the reasons for including *Pamela* are unknown. In conformity to the formulaic structure of the *Index*, *Pamela* was simply listed within a single alphabetical sequence.

In general terms, any book listed in the *Index* was believed to present a danger to faith or morals and it is likely that, as Bernard Kreissman has suggested, in the case of *Pamela*, "the surface lewdness of the novel" was the main reason for its inclusion rather than its subversion of social order by having a servant marry above her station. Charles Lamb, the 19th-century essayist and critic, imagined young men putting down the book "hastily with a deep blush" and Charles Povey in *Pamela Censured* (1741) referred to *Pamela's* "warm scenes". Such critics responded to the highly charged eroticism of the rape scenes and were aware of Richardson's hypocrisy in writing prurient descriptions of attempted seduction while at the same time condemning such behaviour. For example, readers, in company with Mr B, become voyeurs as they watch Mrs Jervis and Pamela undress for bed or look at Pamela through the keyhole, outstretched on the floor, her gown ripped from the violence of her struggle to escape Mr B who had "by force kissed my neck and lips . . . [and] then put his hand in