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Freedom

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

"In history, the so-called great men are tickets giving names to events and like tickets they have but the smallest connection with the event itself."
TOLSTOY

THE ONE-SIDED FREEZE-UP WAGES

INCREASES FOR THE OVER-PAID, NO MORE FOR THE WORKERS

WHEN, in the early months of 1948, the Government introduced its White Paper on incomes, advocating the freezing of all wages except those of the most obviously under-paid workers, it was plain to most of us that nothing but hardship would follow for the working class. True, it was promised at the same time that a check would be kept on profits, but since the Government's export policy demands the highest possible production with the lowest possible costs ("to effectively compete in foreign markets") it was equally plain that the manufacturers' incentive would not be seriously tampered with.

The employers, after all, are in business for the one and only purpose of making money; if that purpose is not fulfilled the whole basis of capitalism becomes uncertain and the solution (in our market economy) is to nationalise the industry and make the taxpayer shoulder the losses until production costs and selling prices can be rationalised—as is possible in any monopolised basic industry.

The workers, however, have nothing to invest, and nothing to sell but their labour power. They, therefore, are not in industry to make a profit; they are in it to make a living. They work or starve, and while the employer receives back more than the value of the goods produced in his factory, the worker receives back less than the value of the goods he produces at his bench. This is because not only do all the overheads of the plant have to be met by the productivity of the worker, but also the employers and shareholders have to get their profits—out of that same productivity.

Only Wages Frozen

It has been no surprise to us, therefore, to see that the only freezing that has resulted from the White Paper has been that of wages, while profits—and prices—have in the main continued to rise. A sop was given the Trades Unions—who would have been just as servile without it anyway—in the form of capital levy on the rich, and we heard harrowing stories of Lady Mountbatten and others having to sell some of their investments to meet the levy—the £60,000 she had to fork out, for instance, was equal to her income for a whole year. Obviously, it was a matter of great hardship for her—she would have to scrape along on a mere £30,000 p.a. for the next two years.

But as far as the workers are concerned, the White Paper has proved a godsend for the employers—whether they are private or the State. In fact, particularly if they are the State, for nationalised boards are in the very strong position of being the sole employers in an industry and so can force their workers to accept their terms. And since these State Boards are manned by ex-bosses of private enterprise, they know all the tricks of "handling the men". Also, of course, the same State runs the army which provides blacklegs when necessary, runs the arbitration tribunals (theoretically

neutral!) to which disputes are referred, and runs the police courts in which strikers are prosecuted for damages. It will be noticed that in outlining this position the existence of the Trades Unions, as defenders of

the workers' rights and conditions, has been ignored. This is intentional, since, as such defenders, the Trades Unions no longer exist, and we are not interested in maintaining the myth so beloved of Socialists, Communists and Conservatives alike, that the T.U.'s are essential for the welfare of the workers. They are essential for the welfare of the State, for which they are disciplinary organisations, but it is time the workers realised their essentially reactionary function and turned towards the creation of militant rank-and-file organisations.

The Growing Gap

Since the recent Budget, the Trades Unions have betrayed a certain uneasiness—and well they might. In the nationalised industries particularly, more and more concern is being shown by the workers at the growing gap between incomes and the cost of living, and the blatant manner in which Cripps added to living costs while at the same time reaffirming the wage-freeze, has not

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LANCS MINERS STRIKE

ARISING from the ban on overtime and Saturday work by Lancashire miners, strikes have broken out in the Burnley, Accrington and Manchester areas of the Lancashire coalfields. At the time of writing, 18 pits are wholly or partially stopped and about 5,000 miners are out, in a dispute which threatens to involve the entire coalfield, which employs 50,000 miners, with a possible extension to the Cumberland coalfield.

The basic cause of the dispute is the blunt refusal of the North-West Regional Coal Board to grant to the Lancashire and Cumberland miners some form of cheap or concessionary coal. This "bag coal" concession as we miners call it, is an arrangement whereby the miners agree to hew, fill and send out of the pit a certain amount of coal per face-worker to cover all pit-workers, without payment, and in return the management deducts a nominal sum from the miners pay-pocket to cover overhead costs of raising the coal. Such a privilege which often was only granted after a

bitter fight with the old owners, has been for many years past granted to all other coalfields with the exception of the Lancs. and Cumberland districts.

The case for the Coal Board's refusal is simply that it will increase production costs if the miners are given the 7 tons per year to every miner with household responsibilities, that is demanded. This argument, even from the viewpoint of production, is obviously absurd, for men with a serious grievance are not to be expected to maintain a high level of production, apart from the cost of the loss of coal directly due to a major stoppage which the present strike has every appearance of becoming. The underlying reason for the Coal Board's stubborn niggardliness is to be found in its implied and declared policy of refusing all further concessions to the mine-workers, however reasonable and just they may be. Following hard on the heels of the succession of rejections by the N.C.B. of miners' claims for a basic increase owing to the rise in the cost of living, for two weeks annual holiday, etc., and the Board's decision to cut down the wage scales in areas such as Kent, this latest piece of provocation by the coal bosses gives a lie to the union leaders' bleatings that "things are different now and a new spirit prevails in the industry".

Never before has the saying "the more things change the more they remain the same, only more so," been borne out with greater truth than in the case of the nationalisation of the mines. Blind unquestioning obedience by the miners is received by the powers that be with lashings of "soft soap" to an extent hitherto unknown, but independent action to improve the status of the miner individually or collectively is met with a stern rebuff. Should the miners be forced to strike they are met with power and resources unknown to the undeniably bad, old coal bosses. First split and divided as a district from their fellow mine-workers, as in the case of the Lancashire miners, they are betrayed and vilified by their national "leaders", threatened with loss of employment in their own area and enforced employment in another area by the National Coal Board with the assistance of the Ministry of Labour. These are the forces that the striking miner finds arrayed against him and his mates, forces which will go to any length to break the resistance of the strikers, for the miners are in the unusual position of being the only class of worker who can break their own strike. It is the miner who blacklegs on the striking miner, not the police, the conscript, or the undergraduate.

With the extension of solidarity, of support, of sympathetic action by miners in all districts, the Lancashire miners can win their just demands; without it they can only hope for a partial victory, if not defeat, and they will have been beaten by the indifference of their more fortunate fellow miners.

ANARCHISTS IN JAPAN

THANKS to the CRIA (Committee for International Anarchist Relations) we are able to publish the translation of an interesting report on the Japanese movement by our comrade T. Yamaga, which supplements for our readers material which has already appeared in *Freedom*. This is an abridged version of the report appearing in *CRIA: Bulletin Anarchiste International* (Paris).

History.

1906. Comrade Denjire Kotoku (who wrote under the pen-name of Chusui Kotoku) returned from the U.S.A. where he had been in contact with many anarchists, and created a daily paper, the *Heimin Shimbun* (which title has been preserved till to-day), aided by Sakae Osugi, Sanchire Ichikata, and some others. He translated many works of Kropotkin: *Conquest of Bread*, *Law and Authority*, *The State*, etc.

1911. D. Kotoku and eleven of his comrades, men and women, were hanged by the Japanese authorities, accused of a plot against the Emperor.

1915. Sakae Osugi, who had been imprisoned in 1908 after the Kotoku affair, re-created the *Heimin Shimbun* but after a few numbers the journal was again prohibited by the Government.

1921. Sakae Osugi founded a weekly journal *Workers' Movement* and greatly influenced the revolutionary syndicalist movement.

1922. In December, comrade Osugi was invited to the Berlin Anarchist Conference.

Thanks to the help of the Chinese Anarchists he was able to go to Europe.

1923. On the 1st May, Osugi spoke in French at St. Denis (Paris) to the workers. He was repatriated by the request of the Japanese Ambassador in July of the same year. A little after, on the 1st September, on the occasion of the great earthquake in Tokyo, martial law was declared and the Japanese Government took advantage of this situation to exterminate revolutionaries and Korean rebels. On 16th September, Osugi, his wife Noe Ito and their nephew Tachibana (aged 7) were arrested by the military police and secretly murdered. The works and translations of Osugi and Noe Ito had had great influence in Japan.

1924. On the 16th September (anniversary of Osugi's murder) comrades K. Uada, G. Muraki, D. Furuta and others attempted to take their revenge against the soldiers and police responsible, but were arrested and executed.

1926. The Free Federation of Syndicates developed rapidly and published a journal, *The Free Federation*. Its greatest influence was amongst the book-binders. There also existed the "Black Youth Federation" whose organ *Black Youth* propagated anarchism by action. International contacts were established at this time.

1938. The Japanese militarists invaded China, and all revolutionary and syndical organisations were dissolved in Japan in the name of the Emperor Tenno.

1945. 14th August, Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration (unconditional surrender).

1946. The 12th May, the Japanese anarchists reorganised and founded the Japanese Anarchist Federation at their first conference in Tokyo. The 15th July, they recommenced their publication of the weekly *Heimin Shimbun*, named in memory of Kotoku and Osugi. This has reached a circulation of 20,000.

1948. The third Conference took place in May, attended by 200 delegates from all parts of Japan, also Koreans. The International Section, formed of comrades knowing English, French, German, Esperanto and Chinese, began correspondence with abroad. In the "H.S." was inserted a translation in Esperanto of the contents of the journal, in all copies sent abroad.

Present Situation.

Almost all comrades belong to the Japanese Anarchist Federation. A Congress is organised each year in May, in Tokyo, preceded by a preparatory committee meeting in November.

In February, 1948, a monthly bulletin (*Anarchist Conference*) was founded, to discuss the interior problems of the social revolution. This bulletin is intended for discussion of anarchist ideology.

It is necessary to devote time and study to youth problems. Owing to the ten years "pause" during the years of the war, the old comrades remaining active have aged, while new comrades have come in in great number. It is necessary to study often the different experience and traditions of these two tendencies.

Almost all the books on anarchism have been lost during the war, and this has given rise to many difficulties.

Local groups, with their own journals, exist in Kyoto, Fukuoka and Saga (Isle of Kiushu), Hiroshima, Himoji, Osaka, Niigata. Elsewhere there are small groups of comrades, weak numerically but courageously struggling, as in the coal mines of Kiushu, amongst the dockers at Yokohama, the peasant co-operatives of Nagano, the fishers' unions of Chizuoka, etc.

International Solidarity.

From 1906 till the present time, the Japanese anarchists have worked with their Chinese comrades. In Korea, our comrades work for our ideas, and at present they are endeavouring to organise an Anarchist Conference of Asia or the Far East as soon as possible, as a result of the latest political crisis arising out of the Communist offensive for power in China and North Korea.

Two Korean journals are published in Tokyo by the anarchist movement (*Free Korea* and *Free Journal*).

In 1929, some comrades came from Formosa to seek aid in the struggle against Japanese Imperialism, which has continued since.

Since the end of the war, international relations have been re-opened, especially by the Esperanto section, and Anarchist publications are again being received from abroad. These include *Freedom*, *Le Libertaire*, etc.

Jokes in Bad Taste

FEW papers have commented on the disgusting lack of good taste displayed by the speakers at the Royal Academy banquet a fortnight ago. Whether their bad taste was caused by their having had just previously seen a pre-view of this year's Academy selections, we do not know. But we feel that there should have been considerable protests in the press at the remarks made by the Lord Chief Justice, which the *New Statesmen* and *Nation* (one of the few papers to deal at any length with the bad taste of the speakers) dismissed as the "Lord Chief Justice's 'hanging' pun," assuming their readers had heard the broadcast. These "puns" should be put on record. The first one referred to the music which is played when the Assizes Judges enter the Court building. In the case referred to by Judge Goddard, three men had been sentenced to hang, and the band thought the occasion an appropriate one for playing the Eton boating song, "We'll All Swing To-

gether." The second "pun" was when he pointed out that the Law and the Academy had many things in common, amongst them that they both went in for "hanging".

There are always M.P.'s to be found who will jump to the occasion to ask a question about a Minister's embarrassing speech in the country. Why has no-one suggested that the Lord Chief Justice, by his Academy speech, has shown he is not a fit person for his office?

Hanging is a filthy practice, and the Lord Chancellor's recent statement that a man was recently reprieved because he had an artificial leg which might prevent the hanging being carried out in a humane way, only confirms our view. But that one of the harshest judges of our time should be allowed to make jokes on hanging and get away with it, reflects on the public's apathy and insensibility in these matters. However, it's still not too late to do something.

R.

ANARCHISTS oppose conscription because they believe that men should be free to decide for themselves whether or not they shall engage in warfare; pacifists oppose it because they believe that war is contrary to the teaching of Christ, or morally wrong, or inexpedient; often several of these considerations combine in a single objection. Any such objection is likely to be interested by this history of the struggle for and against conscription in Britain between 1901 and 1939,* and for the speaker or writer it is the most useful reference book yet written. Comprehensive and well-planned, it is enlivened by a sharp humour, and the partisan nature of this essay should not be taken to represent the book itself, which is distinguished particularly by its fairness to all the parties concerned.

Almost from the first, conscription was alluded to by means of various cautious euphemisms. G. F. Sher, who in 1901 called for conscription for home defence—it was not until 1914 that conscription for overseas fighting was effectively demanded—was unwise enough to use the word itself in his book, and an apologist had to make clear subsequently that it had been placed there by "the publisher's autocratic action." Happily, this autocrat was outflanked, and an abridged version of the book put out by gentler hands, using the words: "Universal Military Training." At least one even better suggestion was put forward. "But is war and the training for it 'un-Christian'? There is the point and we must meet it," said Canon J. H. Skrine anxiously, and after mulling away for some little time about this penetrating point, the reverend gentleman came triumphantly to this conclusion: "War is not murder, but sacrifice; which

*Conscription Conflict by Denis Hayes. (Sheppard Press, 12/6d.)

CONSCRIPTION AND THE MILITARY MIND

is the soul of Christianity." So the matter was settled, and we can come to the word 'nation'.

Conscription Depends on Nationalism

For compulsory sacrifice has been associated all along with nationalism, and from the beginning, it appears, it was the nation which was going to benefit by conscription and which was going to gain the freedom lost by its citizens. That grand old champion of the working-class, Robert Blatchford of the *Clarion*, gave the following lyrical definition of the word in *My Life in the Army*:

"No man who has never drilled with a regiment, or marched with a column, or taken part in the evolutions of a brigade can imagine the spirit of collectivism of which I write. To him the idea of a corporate mind and soul is unthinkable. Let him do the bayonet exercise in close order front and rear rank back to back; let him run in from the firing line and from rallying squares and he will begin to understand what the words 'regiment', 'nation', and 'community' mean."

It is worth running that statement over on the tongue; in close order front and rear rank back to back abracadabra the cat and the clock—but the lipping of the nursery seems strange on the lips of an adult. The infatuation of the plans put forward by the early conscriptionists is revealed by several examples. Though one

often suspects that sacrifice was thought to be a good thing in itself, the defence of this nation (from the French nation, in those early years) was the main plank in the programme. Conscription was also a democratic idea: men should surrender an equal sacrifice in exchange for their equal rights. That other democratic idea, concerning the liberty of the individual, seems to have been left out of this singularly mercantile transaction.

It was not until the first World War that the present idea of the State came to be accepted by the population at large. Until that time government had represented, psychologically, only a very small group within the general culture, and when considering the activities of the National Service League, composed in 1902 of a tiny number of decorated gentlemen of military notoriety, one is struck by the peculiarity of their views and moral standards. It is as if they belonged to a different culture altogether: from that standpoint they were public-spirited, honest and far-sighted men. Unfortunately, this minority possessed a certain amount of influence, so that when, owing in some slight degree to the successive war-scars, invasion-alarm and other bits of political engineering with which the group was associated, the international situation favoured their proposals, they were able to extend their standards over a wider area. Now it is we who are the minority, and are thus very peculiar ourselves when supposing that this military culture represents something shabby, brutal, blinkered and debased. It was not vaguely the State which was first responsible for the idea of conscription; it was these particular gentlemen. The National Service League also had the support of literature, in the membership of Rudyard Kipling; and in 1904 commerce was represented by Messrs. Lever Bros. The late G. G. Coulton also lent his scholarship to the purposes of the League.

The Development of Military Politics

The organisation attracted no general favour until 1912, when Lord Roberts of Kandahar made his celebrated speech at Manchester in which he declared that Germany threatened invasion of this country. Roberts approved of the policy of British statesmen; this relentless policy was, he said: "an excellent policy. It is or should be the policy of every nation prepared to play a great part in history." Owing partly to public anxiety roused by the Balkan war and the Agadir crisis, this speech made a tremendous effect, and since Roberts had for some time been the prominent member of the N.S.L. (though by 1909 it included no less than seventy Admirals), its proposals at least received popular attention.

As Hayes shrewdly points out, Roberts offered for a political disease not a political remedy but a military one. The League as a whole was partly responsible for the politics of the present day, by the politics of the past, long ago, by anarchist thinkers. For though Roberts was the most effective of these decorated gentlemen, he was not the first to suggest that in order to defeat totalitarianism you must become totalitarian yourself, and that freedom is best defended by its extinction. The Bishop of Exeter, for example, when supporting a Bill for compulsory sacrifice before the Lords in 1905 "called for young people to be taught the principle of obedience as in Germany where young people carried into all the callings of life the instinct of obedience and discipline," and so forth. It is worth noting that this Bill laid down, as one of the punishments for lads of eighteen on failing to appear after induction, the *forfeit of their old age pension*. But this piece of shabby far-sightedness is nothing compared to one or two proposals we shall touch upon presently. In 1905, a Major Sandham Griffith stated that military training "should be voluntary, if a proper patriotic feeling were innate in the people of this country. Unfortunately, this is not the case, and the people need educating up to their high responsibilities before we shall ever see a lofty patriotism such as that of the Japanese." (Hayes' italics.) Anarchists have often been concerned to point out that it is only when the military system falls that conscription is applied; in other words, it is precisely when the people have demonstrated their unwillingness to join the armed forces that their wishes are abrogated by a government usually elected for quite different purposes. *Conscription Conflict* confirms the truth of this generalisation; though since conscription is in fact applied to men who do not possess votes, the latter part of the observation is only of academic interest.

Hayes tells us: "In all, at least 655 men were court-martialled, 521 three times, 50 as many as five times, and three six times. Later, this treatment was recognised for the national scandal it was. . . . Many objectors were spared this treatment but there were other indignities in guard-room, detention barracks and prison. Seventy-one died either in prison or afterwards as a result of their experiences. A group of men were taken to France with intent that they should be shot for refusing service in face of the enemy. It was admitted that thirty-four death sentences had been read out to men standing on parade in front of their regiment—only after a long pause was it announced that the sentences were to be commuted to ten years' penal servitude. . . . Some objectors were 'crucified' by being tied to a wheel or gun-carriage and left there for long periods. Others, paraded almost naked through the streets of Britain while held in custody, were exposed to the violence of the mob. . . ."

And Hayes points out that it was the courage of these men that eventually produced some sympathy from the general public. The post-war Coalition government, breaking its election pledges, continued conscription until 1921. The uneasy peace followed by the re-imposition of compulsory sacrifice in 1939, and it now appears to be firmly settled on the shoulders of the population.

effective protest until our own day. When in January, 1916, the recommendations of the National Service League were implemented in law, the volunteers were virtually finished. Henceforth, the opposition was to come from those who opposed compulsory military service as such. In November, 1914, Fenner and Lilla Brockway founded the No Conscription Fellowship, which for five years provided the vocal opposition in this country with a spearhead. The eighteen thousand conscientious objectors of the First World War were the ones who really kept alive the idea of liberty and the ideals for which the war was ostensibly fought.

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Militarists Run True to Form

What one carries away from *Conscription Conflict* is not primarily an impression of narrow prejudice or political dishonesty. One is not really surprised to find Mr. Churchill (who opposed conscription in 1902) referring to the Oxford Union Resolution against war of 1933—a motion moved, by the way, by another apostate, C. E. M. Joad—in these terms: "It is a very disgusting and disgusting symptom. My mind turns against the sea. I think of Germany with its splendid, clear-eyed youth demanding to be conscripted into an army burning to suffer and die for their fatherland. I think of Italy, with her ardent Fascists, her renowned chief, and stern sense of national duty. I think of France, anxious, peace-loving, pacifist to the core, but armed to the teeth and determined to survive."

For one expects to find, behind the gaudy rhetoric of this water-colourist, something small, dirty or ridiculous. No, what is really impressive is the essential meanness of the military mind, a fundamental lack of generosity. Take Spenser Wilkinson, for example, an early exponent of total war, a man whose essays led to the formation of the League and the Navy League and to an intensification of the pre-war arms race. Here he is with one of his broad, generous plans for the nation:

"If compulsory service were introduced into Great Britain pay would become unnecessary for the private soldier; but he ought to be and would be given a daily allowance of pocket-money, which probably ought not to exceed fourpence."

This Professor of Military History was most ably opposed, one is glad to see, by a Miss C. E. Playne, whose arguments have an astonishingly post-Freudian and present-day ring. Or, going over to the voluntarist side for a moment, there was a Colonel F. N. Maude, C.B. Could anything be meaner than these observations:

"Ultimately, hunger is the greatest stimulus to human action that can be conceived. Keep men hungry, just hungry enough, and they will swarm to the Colours to end their misery; keep them well-supplied, and they will prefer to attend to their own affairs, and will clamour for others to do the fighting for them. But in no case must the hunger be allowed to become excessive, nor must the people be allowed to perceive that they are being played with. . . ."

Here one notes also the Wolf Cub mentality, the schoolboy dream of being Napoleon. This gentleman referred also to "the selfish and corroding influence of prolonged Peace." Then, again, there was the "sponsor" proposal made by a Major H. R. S. Maitland, to the effect that every person who induced someone else to volunteer should receive a "sponsor's separation allowance" of a shilling a day throughout that man's period of service.

Anarchists, as exemplified by Godwin and Kropotkin, have always put forward the idea of magnanimity as an ethical concept; the idea that beyond mere contract there should be some extra generosity between man and man. Here

they base their ethics on observation of ordinary human behaviour. In our own day, Herbert Read has emphasised this principle with his 'sense of glory'. The word 'glory' is likely to evoke a snigger to-day, and the reason for this is that militarists have borrowed the term for the concealment of their shady proceedings. Language indeed, a distinctively human characteristic, has been debased in our age very largely because of the rise of the nation-State with its militarisation of life.

The Baboon Does Better

We know the standards of these professional killers: we know their language, their barrack-square poetry: emitted in a series of barks and grunts, limited to a narrow, dog-like range, eked out by the blare of the grosser orchestral instruments. The baboon does better, and this intelligent creature is also frisky and independent by nature; it must be difficult to train a baboon to "do the bayonet exercise in close order front and rear rank back to back," etc.—but then, the baboon, has no knowledge, alas, of what the word 'nation' means. The necessities of war, indeed, produce not merely a debasement of language, but a degradation of the mind. I, the strangest depth of absurdity, I suppose it is, after hearing *The Mikado* on the wireless that some tired civil servant jokingly invented the term 'Very Important Person'.

But in fact there seems to be no lowliness into which the military mind cannot be found stooping, snooping and sniffing. An adult can, after all, make up his own mind about military service and choose prison or its equivalents instead. Children do not possess this degree of freedom. The most diabolical aspect of militarist activity is undoubtedly its extension to the school, and here we must turn to a Very Important Person named C. W. W. de V. Beauclerk, who was apparently one of the first to propose that military sacrifice be required of schoolboys. Denis Hayes has little to say about this aspect of his subject, and seems to have missed a valuable little book called *The Military Training of Youth* (Hogarth, 1937), in which the author, L. B. Pekin, went into the matter with some thoroughness. Beauclerk wrote in 1907, and it was in this year that the War Committee recommended that the two hundred or so semi-military school corps should be recognised by the War Office; in 1908 this was done, and the Senior and Junior branches of the O.T.C. were organised on their subsequent lines. The avowed purpose of the O.T.C. is not educational, but military; the syllabus of O.T.C. training is fixed by the War Office, assistance is given by members of the permanent Army Staff of Instructors, and every unit is subjected to annual inspection by War Office representatives. There are also financial considerations. The Senior Division of the O.T.C. operates in the universities, the Junior Division in schools; their combined strength in 1932 was over 32,000. In 1936, when the tax-payers contributed £141,800 to the League of Nations, they contributed £127,900 to the military training of boys aged from thirteen up.

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JANKEL ADLER

IT is with great sorrow that we record the death of Jankel Adler, the painter. His international reputation has secured for him a permanent place in the annals of art, but we remember him as much for his warm humanity and quiet dignity.

Adler was born in Poland but worked for many years in Germany with the *avant-garde* of modern art and was happy to count the anarchist Erich Mühsam among his friends. This gave the Nazis three counts against him: he was a Jew, he was the friend of anarchists and he was a "decadent" artist.

Leaving Germany, his wandering took him through all the countries of Europe, where his art, mature and rich, became far more appreciated than in Britain, where he came in 1940. During the war he lived in Glasgow and in London, where we came to know him.

Jankel Adler was proud to call himself an anarchist. We were proud to regard him as a comrade and a friend.

M.L.B.

OUR comrade Marie-Louise Berneri, who died on the 13th April, during an attack of pneumonia, was cremated at Kensal Green on the 21st April. Only her companion and her sister were present.

On the following Saturday morning, some twenty-five of her closest friends and comrades (including members of the I.L.P., and Spanish and Italian anarchists in London) gathered with her family in Kensal Wood, Hampstead, where in a small secluded glade her ashes were scattered and woodland flowers were planted in the spring sunshine. There were no speeches, no ceremony, yet none who were present will ever forget the essential rightness of that quiet gathering in a lovely woodland place to pay tribute to a beautiful woman, an admired comrade and a very dear friend.

THE NEXT ISSUE OF "FREEDOM" will be a special 8-page number. The inside four pages will form a special tribute to the lives and work of Marie-Louise Berneri and Jankel Adler.

EAST END STORY

THE sense of the past, of history—how it enriches life! I don't mean, of course, dates, kings and queens, battles and prime ministers; but our forefathers, the land they tilled, the things they made, lovingly or with toil and suffering. To ignore the struggles and aspirations of our dead is, as was recently suggested in "Freedom", as irresponsible as murder. . . . It expresses a contempt for human beings. The streets of a big city are redolent with our people's past. Dig up the pavements and you find their pots and pans, but you do not need to excavate, for the buildings and the place-names tell us part of their story, our libraries, as far as words can, tell us more and our ideas spring from their experience as well as our own.

There lies the value of this fascinating exhibition of "the history and life of East London from Roman times to 1920". Through commonplace and curious objects, prints, handbills, models and photographs, a picture is built up of the colourful past of Bethnal Green, Shoreditch, Hackney, Stepney and Poplar. The Romans built the road which is now Whitechapel High Street, Mile End Road and Bow Road; the Saxons started the port of Stebenhithe, now Stepney; the Normans built the Tower; but the East End owes most of its vitality to the later immigrants from abroad who originally settled there as they were not permitted to trade in the City itself. The Flemish silk weavers, the Protestant Huguenots fleeing from Catholic oppression, brought their skill with them and over 13,000 settled in the area in the 17th century; the Irish escaping from famine, built the docks in the 19th century. During Cromwell's Commonwealth, the Jews were re-admitted to this country; first the 'Sephardi', persecuted by the inquisition, and later the 'Ashkenazi', seeking to escape the pogroms and oppression of Eastern Europe, brought their characteristic trades and occupations and developed their rich and closely-knit social life and their multitude of mutual-aid institutions.

The exhibition shows us many aspects of East End life—humble pleasures and grinding poverty, catastrophes and celebrations, prize-fights and murders, strikes and sweatshops, street markets and soup kitchens, evangelical religion and Jewish ceremony.

Among the items of particular interest to readers of "Freedom" are those, lent by Mr. A. R. Rollin, dealing with labour struggles at the end of the last century. There is the first issue (July 1885) of the "Worker's Friend" the famous Yiddish paper which was later edited by Rudolf Rocker. One of its founders was William Wess who was also one of the earliest contributors to "Freedom" which began in the following year. Wess was secretary of the strike committee for the great strike of 1889 against the "sweating" system, and the exhibition includes mementoes and posters of the strike and of the Federation of East London Labour Unions of which Wess was also the secretary. Amongst the other names on the bills are those of the anarchist Charles Mowbray and of John Turner, editor of "Freedom" for many years. Another interesting exhibit is a poster for a meeting in 1890, called to protest against the pogroms in Russia. Among the speakers, besides William Morris, John Burns, Cunninghamham, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Michael Davitt, were Peter Kropotkin, Stepanik, Felix Volkovskiy and S. Yanovsky.

It is not, however, for the sake of these few links with the past of our own movement that I recommend you to go to Whitechapel Art Gallery, but for the exhibition taken as a whole. The organisers found that they had far more material than they were able to use. If this exhibition is successful, they intend to arrange further, more specialised ones. I hope they do.

C.W.

The "East End Story" Exhibition will continue at the Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, E.1, until June 18th.

... from our stock ...

Morris L. Ernst and David Loth: *Sexual Behaviour and the Kinsey Report* 6/-

Just arrived: *POLITICS*, Winter, 1949, 68 pages, 1/- 4/6
contains: The Waldorf Conference—Soviet v. American Intellectuals; E.R.P., A Critique of Production Economics; A Conjecture in American History by Paul Goodman; The Life and Thought of Simone Weil; The Existence of Jews and Existentialism; The Case for the Pacifist; The Hutterites in Paraguay; and other interesting articles.
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★ Peter Kropotkin's Memoirs of a Revolutionist (2nd edition) 15/-

Orders can now be taken for: *The Naked and the Dead* by Norman Mailer 15/- which will be published on June 10th.

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

27 RED LION STREET LONDON - W.C.1.

ON STRIKE FOR 18 MONTHS!

OUR contemporary *l'Adunata dei Refrattari* (New York, April 30th) publishes a comprehensive account of one of the most tenacious and important strikes which started on Oct. 1st, 1947, and involving 1,100 farm labourers. Unfortunately, there has been a conspiracy of silence in the Press and among the working-class organisations, which has made the task of winning public support for the strikers' cause an almost impossible one. Yet they refuse to give in.

The history of the case, very briefly, is as follows. The Di Giorgio Farms form a large agricultural concern which owns 25,000 acres in California alone. Like all large agricultural concerns, they employ casual labour, that is workers who follow the harvest from one region to the next. This is a very convenient system for the bosses, both economically as well as politically, for the workers remain in a district for only a short time and find it difficult to discuss their problems, or to organise, or to defend themselves from their greedy exploiters. Furthermore, they

are obliged to lodge in huts provided by the Company and so-called "agitators" soon find themselves not only out of work but without lodgings.

But, in spite of all these difficulties, the workers on the Di Giorgio Farms persevered in their efforts at organisation for better conditions and by 1947 they thought that there were enough of them in the National Farm Labour Union (A.F.L.) to put their demands to Di Giorgio who, however, just ignored them. The strike in October, 1947, was the outcome of this refusal to discuss and of 1,345 Di Giorgio labourers, 1,100 joined in the strike.

The battle has been raging ever since. Di Giorgio hired armed guards and imported scab labour from Mexico. On one occasion, when the strikers' committee of seven men and three women were holding a private meeting, they were fired at by gunmen and the organiser, James B. Price, was seriously wounded.

The strikers at one time succeeded in obtaining support from the market

porters in many districts in refusing to unload goods from the Di Giorgio Farms, and Di Giorgio appealed to the National Relations Board on the grounds that the strikers were violating the Taft-Hartley Law which prohibits the sabotage of perishable goods. The impertinence of Di Giorgio's lawyers in invoking this law is realised when one bears in mind that the National Relations Board had previously refused to intervene in the strike on the grounds that farm labourers have not the right to protection under the National Acts because they are not considered skilled labour!

The strikers have many powerful enemies and their few supporters are weak and hesitant. James B. Price, who has now recovered, is at present touring the Eastern States in order to convince the workers organisations of the importance of this strike. The *Adunata's* correspondent points out that a victory of the strikers at Di Giorgio Farms would be the beginning of widespread agitation amongst all agricultural workers and adds: "meanwhile, with or without help, the strike continues and in the tenacity and courage of that handful of strikers, we witness one of the finest and most heroic manifestations of the American workers' movement in recent years."

THE STALINIST FIFTH COLUMN

AS the cold war between East and West hardens, the Stalinists have gone into action with their customary energy to build up fifth columns in the democratic countries. How feeble by comparison the similar efforts of the Fascists and Nazis before the last war seem in retrospect! The technique is to organise congresses mainly for intellectuals round some seemingly unexceptional slogans such as "the desire of the common peoples of the world for peace." Fellow travellers and other weak heads are carefully handpicked, speeches are made denouncing the warmongers—Anglo-American ones only, of course—solidarity is expressed on an international scale from delegates "representing", as the saying goes, "millions of the oppressed and peace-loving peoples, etc., etc." The aim is not to ensure peace, but to build up fifth columns in the midst of the rivals for world power of the Soviet Union. The chief weapon is publicity.

On a tiny scale we saw the technique used during the second winter of the war in this country as "The Peoples' Convention", when obedient intellectuals, not distinguished for genuine anti-militarist activity, luke-warmly urged peace. (Need one add that all that was before the break-up of the Soviet Nazi pact with the German invasion of Russia on June 22nd, 1941?) Since the war, the same methods have been used on an international scale, first in Poland as the Wroclaw Congress of Intellectuals last year, then as the "Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace" in New York at the end of March, and more recently still in the rally of the "Partisans of Peace" at the end of last month in Paris.

Some Dissident Voices

One may derive some slight satisfaction from the fact that despite careful hand-picking and grooming, the British delegates have shown an obstinate tendency to say what they think instead of what they are told. Thus, even the very reliable crypto, Konni Zilliacus, was rather coolly received when he said that reform was better than revolution, and said kind things about the Labour Party. No doubt however he was thinking of his rather shaky position in the ranks of Labour, and had Transport House in mind rather than his immediate audience.

Mr. Harvey Moore, K.C., however, was definitely forgetting the Stalinberry rules when he said that the advocacy of peace meant opposition to war, and especially civil war, e.g., in China. For this piece of heresy he was roundly hissed by an audience which had just gone into a delirium of joy over the news of the capture of Nanking by the Chinese Communists—or ought one to call them "partisans of peace"? These dissident voices scarcely disturbed the Nuremberg-like unanimity of the congress in Paris, and may even be useful as indicating the "independence" and "free nature" of the discussion: the significance and danger of these performances lie elsewhere, and the threat is less to the rival imperialists than to those who seek social justice and the ending of imperialism and war—to the advocates of revolutionary anti-militarism in fact.

Dangers to Internationalist Anti-Militarism

The insincerity of the fellow travellers, their slavish dependence on Moscow, their manifest concern for their personal appearance in the limelight—all these factors make these antics repellent to ordinary people. But by their enormous publicity, their claims to "represent" all lovers of peace, they succeed in identifying all anti-war activity, and all anti-militarist activity with their own tawdry pageantry. Nor do the pacifists help matters by willingly supporting these crypto Stalinist performances. Paul Robeson and Charlie

Chaplin and Picasso play right into the hands—not of peace, but of Red Fascism and Soviet Imperialism. Peace is not to be secured by transferring one's disillusioned patriotism to the other side, nor is the cause of true internationalism served by lip-service to Russian nationalism and expansionism.

It is an urgent necessity for revolutionary anti-militarists to dissociate themselves and their aims as sharply as possible from disguised Soviet militarism. If they do not succeed in doing so, not merely will they find their arguments discredited in advance when the next war comes by their association with the enemy-to-be, but they will find that the home government will suppress them with ease as being thoroughly identified with the Russian Fifth Column. And when that happens they will deserve scant sympathy.

The danger can be combated by unequivocal adherence to internationalism, to revolutionary anti-militarism, to the ideal of social justice instead of jingo nationalism of whatever brand. And also by determined, persistent, and radical exposure of the true nature of this fifth column activity, as the greatest danger to the cause of peace and justice. This can be done in everyday propaganda which forms the major propaganda activity of a movement. It can also be done by courageous and determined action among the intellectuals themselves by raising opposition within these parades. How this was done at the New York Conference will be described in the next issue of *Freedom*.

FOR FREEDOM READERS IN PARIS!

A PUBLIC MEETING AND DISCUSSION IN ENGLISH

The Modern French Poet Ch. Devancon will lecture on

ART & THE STATE on Thursday, May 26th at the Palais de la Mutualité, Rue Saint Victor (Metro: Place Maubert-Mutualité) at 8.45 p.m.

Radio Talk on Anarchism in W. Zone

A CORRESPONDENT sends us a cutting from the *Neue Zeitung* of Munich (which, we understand, is the second newspaper in importance and probably the best in Western Germany) which carries the heading "European Broadcast Event", and the text reads: "The North-West German Broadcasting Station has again reserved most of the night programme to its new type of broadcast, which seeks to present characteristic and outstanding foreign literature on Sociology and historic-philosophic literature by some of the most constructive forces in Europe."

This was achieved with deep and searching studies on the Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce and the French writer Malraux, but especially successful in the case of the English thinker, Herbert Read. Karl Christiansen, his translator, drew a very interesting picture of Read's anarchism and its demand for an essentially practising culture, finding its expression in the paradoxical battle-cry: "To hell with Culture!"

Our correspondent adds that the broadcast has brought many enquiries for anarchist literature from sympathisers.

The French Anarchists Were There!

M. SARTRE'S *Democratic Revolutionary Rally* were responsible for staging a rival Peace Rally in Paris on May Day at which the stars included Sartre and Ignazio Silone. But from a recent issue of *Le Libertaire* we gathered that neither Garry Davis (World Citizen) nor the Anarchists had been invited to speak, but adding: "We shall be there just the same." We have not seen the *Libertaire's* account of the meeting, but the *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent (2/5/49) most definitely confirms that the Anarchists were there, both inside the Velodrome d'Hiver with the 5,000 audience, and outside selling their literature.

"A roar as of a riot filled the streets between the Metro station and the 'Vel d'Hiver' before the meeting opened, but this was due not to any disturbance, but to the competitive selling by Anarchists, Trotskyites, the Revolutionary Syndicalists, 'Left Communists' (who are neither Trotskyites nor Stalinists), World Citizens, Esperantists, and Bulgarian and Spanish exiles, of the weeklies, monthlies, or occasional publications in which they express their views. After the monotony of the Salle Pleyel, where a Communist congress had been held, this was refreshing . . ."

"Dr. Karl Compton's account of the first use of the atomic bomb, was made a pretext for an invasion of the platform by a group of about fifty Anarchists and Trotskyites, who had occupied a block of seats strategically placed on an unguarded flank of the platform. After a brisk fight, during which Mr. Garry Davis, the 'World Citizen', addressed the meeting in the interests of ordered procedure, the

Anarchists and Trotskyites accepted a promise of an opportunity to address the meeting later.

"When their turn came the Anarchist was at least eloquent in his denunciation of the state and advocacy of the refusal of military obedience in wartime, but the Trotskyite was so dull that he emptied the hall before Signor Lopus, speaking on behalf of the Spanish Government in exile, had risen to speak."

LIBERTARIAN.

STRIKERS SEIZE TOWN

FIVE-THOUSAND starving strikers and their families to-day took over the town of Asbestos, 75 miles from Montreal.

The strikers, who form nearly the whole of the population, blockaded roads, attacked and overturned police cars and created conditions of near-seige.

They have barricaded roads leading into the town and will let only residents, doctors and clergymen enter. The strike originally began months ago. They became violent to-day because their food and money had run out.

NOTE.—Asbestos is so named because it produces three-quarters of the world's asbestos.

News Chronicle, 6/5/49.

An admirable militancy, but why let in the clergymen?

THROUGH THE PRESS

IS THE FAMILY IMPORTANT?

We know now that the social behaviour of the adult, for good or bad, springs directly from the infant's relations to its parents in the first two or three years of life. Out of the childish experience of parental love and trust grows the whole delicate process by which the man comes to accept his society and its laws.

It is highly significant that in nearly every case where we have reliable information about the childhood of murderers, an early separation from the parents, or some similar disturbance of normal home conditions, can be found. The history of many of our most notorious murderers might have been different if they had found their way to a child guidance clinic at a sufficiently early age.

—Mark Benney in

Leader Magazine, 23/4/49.

LET HIM GO . . .

The one factor that can preserve his dictatorship is economic support from the United States and to a lesser extent from Britain. And clearly neither the American nor the British people are prepared to help Franco.

Leader Magazine, 7/5/49.

. . . LET HIM TARRY

Spain has begun negotiations for a United States Government loan, it was learned here to-day.

The U.S. State Department has removed political objections against the U.S. Export-Import Bank granting funds, it is stated.

Spain has also been offered British, Belgian, French, Italian and Swiss credits, well-informed sources said—on condition that the money is spent in the offering country.

News Chronicle, 3/5/49.

SHELLEY, MARX AND G.B.S.

It puzzles me that Shaw should attribute so much importance in these sketches to his reading of Marx. It was not Marx who made him a socialist. It was, as he tells us, Shelley who did that, though Shelley, to be accurate, was an anarchist-communist, much nearer to Kropotkin than to Marx. I cannot guess what Shaw learned from Marx; the Fabians rejected not merely his doctrine of value, but his whole conception of history, based on the struggles of classes.

—H. N. Brailsford in

The Listener, 21/4/49.

THE LAST DAYS OF A WAR

Now the city is controlled by a military junta. Some are military mystics, half in love with death itself, who ask nothing more than that the city be sacrificed on a Koumintang pyre. Peace is no longer even mentioned—save on pain of a swift death in the back gardens of Shanghai police villas.

Observer, 1/5/49.

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SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS

(Chosen by Herbert Read) 3/6

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Perhaps one day, when the sense and sympathy of ordinary men and women has played its subversive part at last, the criminal activities of the military mind will find no scope nor outlet except in those harmless forms of play used in psychiatry therapy. What a terrible day that will be, when 'community' will no longer be synonymous with 'regiment', when men and women live in freedom and grace, when the nation is no more, and when for want of other employment sailors will have to catch fish, airmen survey the weather, and soldiers dig graves.

LOUIS ADEANE.

Correspondence-

ON CONSPIRACY

IN an otherwise excellent article on the "Copping Case" in *Freedom*, April 16, 'G' seems to find a too simple solution to a major problem which has confronted reformists and revolutionaries throughout the ages.

As someone who has not yet found a solution, may I ask 'G' what he means by the word "conspiracy"?

To have "the courage of a lie" one must be (a) fully aware of why one is lying and (b) absolutely certain that one will always be able to distinguish a lie from a statement of fact. Only a competently mature person is self-aware. While I am in complete agreement with 'G' that in the face of a hostile and an authoritarian society one must have the courage of a lie, I feel that at the same time one must be aware of the dangers of the conspiratorial attitude. It was said of Dr. Goebbels that lying eventually turned him into a self-deceiver—"the lie on the lips became the lie in the heart". The history of the Fascist and the Communist parties, where young children were trained to be conspirators, makes one question 'G's assumption that one should conspire with children. I imagine that all 'G' means is that children brought up to be free must be advised to keep their mouths shut or to tell lies when danger from the outside threatens their free community. But at what age and how far is a child able to be responsible for either the truth or the lie? A child passes through a fantasy stage anyhow, and it seems to me that another sort of dual standard may be over-burdening the child. Again, surely children of all ages do naturally conspire together in games and fantasies against all adults but not with them. At the same time, especially when young, their emotional security depends on a basic trust of the adult. The whole question is extremely complicated. Psychologists regard a conspiratorial attitude in a child as a pathological manifestation. Whereas a natural defensive attitude—the spontaneous lie, the spontaneous assumption of subtlety is as healthy at all ages as a stick insect's disguise, or other forms of subtlety.

Healthy young children lie in this way quite naturally.

One final thing I feel we must recognise. Courage is essentially a triumph

over fear. Most people who are afraid to deceive or to lie are simply afraid that their lie will be found out. There is as 'G' says, in our society no special virtue in frankness and I would add no courage either. But, if we conspire with our children we are asking them to exercise the sort of courage that not only may lead them into hopeless confusion but which is also of a kind that implies a basic integrity which can only come with maturity.

We are not, as Rousseau believed, "born free and everywhere enslaved", we are born enslaved and must fight without

ceasing for freedom. A child is more helpless and dependent at birth than any other animal. As the hymn says, he cannot "presume to choose where or how to live". He is not free to decide whether he shall be brought up in an authoritarian background or in a freer one. How are we to take freedom and how snatch it for as many children as possible until they can take it for themselves? For they can't do that until they increase in size. M.M.

[*Max Stirner's discussion on "being a slave to truth" and having "the courage of a lie", is to be found on p. 396 onward in Fifield's edition of *The Ego and His Own*.—Eds.]

'G' REPLIES:

By 'conspiracy' I mean the same as the Oxford Dictionary. "Act of conspiring (in a good or bad sense); combination for unlawful purpose; plot."

Whether you consider the object of my conspiracy 'good' or 'bad' depends on your outlook. While I agree with the dozen odd of truisms in M.M.'s letter, I question whether she needs to get into such a pother over it all.

I have nowhere implied that children should be taught to lie; as 'M.M.' recognises, they do it so well by their own natural protective aptitude. If one has the same end as the child—the well-being it seeks—conspiracy is a simple matter. If, however, an over-conscientious adult

boggles at it, has scruples and philosophical misgivings over a conspiracy, the child may become infected by the intellectual muddle of the adult, and suffer mental stress.

Be damned to the hymn which 'M.M.' quotes; the child does choose how to live. That adults may bamboozle, thwart, mislead and pervert its natural choice, is another matter. I did not set out in my article on the Copping case to do more than comment on the dangers attending unconventional treatment of children, and to point out the necessity for unblinking conspiracy—unless one seeks a martyr's crown for oneself, and for them. G.

FROM SWEDEN

WE have been very pleased to receive a letter from an anarchist in Sweden connected with the paper *Storm*. After promising us an article on the movement and general situation in Sweden, he goes on:

"I have translated a part of Berkman's *ABC of Anarchism* for *Storm* and I will translate some articles from *Freedom*."

"We have two daily papers in Sweden, *Arbetaren* in Stockholm and *Norrlands-Jakten* at Kiruna, a place in Lapland in the North. *Arbetaren* is the bigger one and has now a permanent staff of 12 persons. Regularly I am working there, too, as a journalist but just now I am doing a civilian service as a C.O. I will send you some copies of our papers. *Arbetaren* has of course, news from all over the world and also theoretical articles

and cultural articles of different kinds.

"Also in Sweden the Spanish Revolution and the ideas from there have been of great importance to the anarchist movement. We have only too little of the 'big' works translated into Swedish! And that is not good. All the great theorists, Kropotkin, Bakunin, Proudhon, Kocker, and so on, are very little represented in Swedish but we are now working hard with translation work. I think this job is a great mission for us. We have also the intention to translate Read, Woodcock and Berkman."

★

Any readers of *Freedom* who would like to correspond with our Swedish comrades or receive copies of either of their two papers, should write to *Freedom* Press.

For the Body and the Soul

AN amusing example of the narrow-mindedness of a certain type of social worker has been sent us by our old comrade William McCartney, author of the *Freedom* Press pamphlet *The French Cooks' Syndicate*.

Comrade McCartney is practically blind, but does not let his affliction interfere with his militancy. He received a circular letter from the Metropolitan Society for the Blind and the Indigent Blind Visiting Society (registered in accordance with the National Assistance Act 1948) inviting him to a social club for blind people which was opening in his neighbourhood in South London. "All will be welcome", the circular ended.

Our comrade went along, and we let him take up the story from there:

"The Social was, to my surprise, interspersed with hymns and prayers. I wrote and told them that as I was an atheist I objected to hymns and prayers, and that had I known they were included in the Social I should not have gone."

He sends us the text of his letter to the Society, which continues:

"Of course, you must resort to subterfuge in order to use the instrument of suppression, religion. No wonder you

could not be honest so you advertised a social to get a blind audience, then you perpetuate the age-long tyranny of religion, Government's first weapon. Ropes, priests, parsons, archbishops, and their flunkies, all get a fat living, with the support of their various governments, from their various religious dopes. Before man can be free he has to throw all these off his back, including the small fry like you and your society, who dare not be honest and straight-forward."

The Society's Secretary replied saying that as our comrade objected to the hymn and prayer "with which all our meetings open and close", it was certainly best for him not to continue attending. "All the Society's Clubs are conducted on definitely Christian lines," she continued, and concluded by telling him that his name was being removed from the register.

Certainly these do-gooders show a fine sense of fitness. Surely blind people have little enough to thank God for! But Comrade McCartney takes a militant attitude and so is shut out. However, he is not particularly troubled; he can still be seen in Hyde Park several evenings a week fighting the good fight his own way.

Wage Increases — For Some

(Continued from page 1)
been lost on the rank-and-file.

On the railways, workers are gaining strength for their suggestion for a nation-wide strike in support of their claim for a 12/6 a week wage increase, rejected by the National Board. At present, the net basic wage for a family man can work out at little more than £4 per week—pitifully inadequate for these days. In the Post Office discontent is growing after the Postmaster-General's refusal to grant a 12½% increase in wages, and in the mines, as discussed elsewhere in this issue, a large scale strike is the miners' answer to the Coal Board's refusal to grant the right to concessionary coal.

Everywhere we see the productive workers penalised to pay for the capitalist programme of the Labour Government, but how does that Government treat the unproductive "workers" upon which the continuation of capitalism depends? In a far more generous spirit. Let us not forget that one of the first acts of the Labour Government in 1945 was to increase M.P.'s salaries from £600 to £1,000 a year. Let us remember how only last year

(after the appearance of the White Paper) the Treasury raised the salaries of its own officials (while offering the cleaners 4d!) and let us note the news that High Court judges are to receive increases of salaries, finding their £5,000 a year (let's be fair—less tax) "inadequate", to quote the Labour Attorney-General Sir Hartley Shawcross. And—most iniquitous of all—the Oaksey Committee is recommending raising the pay of police officers by no less than a basic guinea a week for constables—more for higher ranks.

More for the Parasites

The income of police-constables, one of the lowest forms of animal life, is today valued, taking wages and allowances into consideration, at no less than £415—£522 per year according to service. A copper therefore receives approximately twice a railwayman's pay, and is going to have it increased, while the railmen are refused an increase. The Government, it is true, may not grant the full increases suggested in the Oaksey Report, but in view of the importance for the

Government—for any Government—of maintaining this standing army of unproductive parasites at full strength, there is not much doubt that increases will be granted—to attract more men into the force, and away from useful work.

This is how Governments operate. Their hired thugs, the operators of their repressive law and prison systems, are well looked after, while the workers who produce the wealth and upon whom society depends for its well-being are exploited mercilessly. We do not advocate the unending continuation of this futile struggle for more wages. However much the workers earned, by the very nature of capitalism, it would be insufficient for a full life, for always would there be parasites batten upon them.

The answer to low standards of living is not to be found in money. The answer is the complete abolition of money, of inequality and of social injustice. It is the establishment of a free society where the needs of the people are the reasons for production and needs are met fully, freely and fairly.

ON UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

MANY students are bewildered and depressed since the future is so uncertain for the youth of the world. In the Universities there is much apathy. The Communists and various Christian bodies take full advantage of this as they alone have the energy to propagate their ideas and some people prefer to have their thinking done for them. Despite some religious feeling, sexual taboos are weak amongst students. The indifference to social problems is in part due to the pressure of work necessary to obtain a degree. A friend studying history at an Oxford College wrote to me:—"I feel that the purpose—probably the sole purpose for me—of the next three years is to be a swot and work hard. Afterwards, I shall have a whole lifetime for conviviality and the Oxford brand is so shockingly expensive."

The main benefit of a University education is derived from the exchange of ideas and from the contact of young mind with young mind. Anything that prevents students from playing a full part in community lays the university open to the danger of becoming sausage-machines for turning out professional people with required qualifications, or else ivory towers of esoteric culture. A friend wrote in another letter from Oxford, "the union here is a very sterile debating society, and nothing at all as I had expected, except in opulence. Strange to think it should be a spawning-ground for politicians."

No wonder Oxford is called the "city of dreaming spires and bleeding liars". The old political machinery with its intrigue and corruption, provides the solution to no problems, educational or national. Only by cultivating inquiring minds and by contact with the workers in field and factory during vacations can the student free himself from state propaganda. All too few students appreciate the fact that they are for 3—5 years non-producers in every sense and are

thoroughly dependent on the workers for food, clothes and housing by way of grant from the government or local education authority, which comes out of the workers' pockets in income tax.

The National Union of Students is pressing for the abolition of fees, adequate maintenance grants and higher education for anyone with the ability to profit by it. N.U.S. is a federation of student Unions, Guilds and Representative Councils. Recently, I attended the N.U.S. Congress at Bangor, where some 600 students met to discuss common problems on the theme of "The Student, His Nation and His Studies". There was evident a strong desire for peace, though there was no vocal opposition to conscription. A Hungarian delegate received great applause when she made a plea that students of different nations should get to know one another and work for peace instead of allowing their governments to drag them into conflict.

At other meetings the standard of lectures and conditions in training colleges were strongly criticised. Ben Bowen Thomas spoke on national culture but failed to mention social and economic effects on culture. A fault which was quickly pounced on by speakers from the floor. Throughout the congress there was a high level of constructive discussion. Students are more serious-minded than before the war and, though bewildered, possess great energy and enthusiasm, which as yet has no satisfactory outlet.

The future lies with both manual and mental workers and the utmost co-operation between them is necessary. Freedom to express opinion by speech and writing is as important for the student as workers' control for his comrade in industry. Thought is a guide to action and must never be divorced from reality. All must play their part to prepare for the social revolution and the establishment of a free society. F.T.

ON 'OLD' & 'NEW' ANARCHISTS

THE argument between the "old" and "new" anarchists as to whether "practice" or "theory" is the most important at the present time seems, to one who is neither an "intellectual" nor a "proletarian", to be just one more example of the modern split between hand and mind.

If I am right in thinking that there is a misconception of the terms of this discussion, we must stop to reconsider them or we will get nowhere. And if I am also right in thinking that this is another example of "disassociated thinking", it is even more important that the fact be recognised as we shall be doing ourselves much harm and be having the opposite effect to that intended.

Everyone knows, of course, that it takes both "hand" and "brain" to carry out any intention; but because "doing" and "thinking" appear to us to be different functions, we have tended more and more to treat them separately.

As a technique this differentiation is obviously necessary as it enables us to plan our action. But when we extend this division from the sequence of our own activities to classes of society we have lost the essential co-ordinating factor—the person—and the abstraction lands us with academic thought and irrational action.

This is no new observation. Anarchists, above all, should be aware of this state of affairs; it was after all, Kropotkin's thesis in *Fields, Factories and Workshops*. Kropotkin, like Geddes, emphasised over and over again, the primary importance of the Whole Man. Neither the "intellectual" nor the "worker" can be truly creative as long as they are separate people or separate classes. The unbalanced organism, whether person or society, is unhealthy (un-whole), its motives are suspect even when it is

apparently creative, and it can never sustain a creative life.

Anarchism as a coherent system has hardly advanced for two generations—in fact, it has become far less coherent obviously for this very reason. But, on the other hand, there have been many new developments in every branch of human activity, such as the Peckham Experiment, Reich's *Biophysics*, and Mumford's *Regionalism*, which are closely parallel and which in fact are the material of contemporary anarchist thought.

But we have not succeeded in bringing this new knowledge and experience together in terms of syndicalist action which would be relevant and effective at the present time.

Why is there so little discussion of this which is surely the most important issue of our time?

Has the split between our will and our minds gone so far that we are incapable of shaping our actions in terms of our new knowledge?

JOHN TURNER.

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Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

OPEN AIR meetings will be held in Hyde Park on alternate Sundays, coinciding with the publication fortnight of *FREEDOM*. From 3 p.m. to 6. Speakers, support for the platform and literature sellers will be equally welcome.

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.
MAY 15th Albert Meltzer
The U.A.G. & the Anarchist International
MAY 22nd Carl Robert
Theoretical Foundations of the Third Camp
MAY 29th Tom Earley
"Some Revolutionary Educationists"
JUNE 5th John Olday
"Tales of German Revolutionaries"
JUNE 12th Tony Weaver
"Leo Tolstoy"

OXFORD

An anarchist discussion group has been formed in Oxford, and is not limited to members of the university. Any comrades living in Oxford are invited to contact:
Tony Pearson-Clarke,
Ruskin College, Oxford.

HAMPSTEAD

From Wednesday, 1st June, the weekly discussion meetings will recommence at:
5, Villas-on-the-Heath,
Vale of Health, Hampstead, N.W.3.
Evenings at 7.30 All welcome

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

On and after April 24th:
Outdoor Meetings
MAXWELL STREET.
every Sunday at 7 p.m.,
Frank Leech, John Gaffney, Eddie Shaw.

SUMMER SCHOOL

will be held this year in Liverpool on
Sat. 30th, Sun. 31st July, and
Mon. 1st August.

Accommodation and meals available.
Will readers who would like to attend, assuming the cost to be reasonable, please write to:

Joan Sculthorpe,
Flat C, 45, Catharine Street, Liverpool, 8.

Students sympathising with the U.A.G. are invited to contact the C.L.E. (Libertarian Students' Circle) in Paris, who publish a well-presented bulletin (in French) and are interested in corresponding in various languages with comrades abroad.

Write to:
Cercle Libertaire des Etudiants,
Maison des Sociétés Savantes,
28 rue Serpente, Paris VIe, France.