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Freedom

A N A R C H I S T F O R T N I G H T L Y

"Liberty is not a means to a higher political end, it is itself the highest political end."

LORD ACTON.

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Threepence

The Duty of Individuals to Defy the Authority of the State

THE trial at Nuremburg of 23 former heads of I. G. Farben of crimes against the peace ended a week ago (after lasting for eleven months) with the acquittal of all 23. The judgment read by the president of the Court is a document of particular interest.

"Their participation was that of followers and not leaders. If we lower the standard of participation to include them it is difficult to find a logical place to draw the line between the guilty and the innocent among the great mass of German people. If the majority of Germans were condemned this would amount to a determination of collective guilt to which the corollary of mass punishment is the logical result.

"We would not require the citizen, at the risk of becoming a criminal under the rules of international justice, to decide that his country has become an aggressor and that he must lay aside his patriotism, the loyalty to his homeland, and the defence of his own fireside—at the risk of becoming a traitor to his own country if he takes an erroneous decision based on facts of which he has a vague knowledge."

If we consider the judgment from the point of view of the Court and the States which it represents there is little one can find to criticise. It is only when one approaches it from the angle of a responsible human being that the hypocrisy of the Nuremburg Trials, with their high-sounding ideals of justice and humanity, become patently clear. Why do the allied Governments talk of "crimes against humanity" when they do not believe in "humanity" and of "crimes against peace" when they do not believe in "peace"?

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TO have found the Farben chiefs guilty would have implied that there are times when the individual has the duty of acting according to his conscience against the decisions of the rulers. This in its turn means that the individual is not obliged to defend his country, right or wrong. This could never be accepted. Indeed, the individual is a criminal under international justice if he lays aside his patriotism because he considers his country an aggressor!

And yet for years the Allies by means of leaflets and by using Germans (who had turned against their country) to broadcast from the numerous allied transmitters, called on the German people to refuse to follow their leaders and to sabotage the war effort! But many dangerous thoughts are encouraged in war time since the means justify the ends, but once the war is ended then not even Germans can be condemned for not having refused to obey their Nazi leaders, for otherwise it might put ideas into their heads about refusing to obey their new democratic rulers! And to quote the British Lord Chief Justice in the case of an 18-year-old schoolboy: "If boys of 18 set themselves up against the will of Parliament, that would be a fine state of affairs." Indeed it would! Yet the Nuremburg judgment teaches us, if nothing else, that there will only be a real belief in "humanity" and a chance of "peace" when more, and not fewer "boys of 18"—and their elders—realise that they have a duty to decide for themselves what is right or wrong and good or bad even though it means defying the authority of the State and its representatives.

BEWARE OF WAR TALK

THE talk of war gathers in intensity and every day brings news calculated to instil into us a sense of imminent national peril and of resignation to military preparations and civilian sacrifices. Reports of the economic crisis, the production drive and export programme have given place to those of the international crisis, fostered for their different purposes by the rival powers.

To the rulers of the Soviet Union the conflict over Berlin, magnified into the threat of war, is a means of bringing together under her wing her brood of satellites, and of repairing the damage to prestige caused by the ugly duckling Tito. The crisis has its uses for the Western powers also. It will put M. Marie's precarious government more firmly in the saddle in France, it will focus national support for the policy of the American administration while the "firm hand" policy may strengthen Mr. Truman's chance of re-election and will give new impetus to the latest "red scare" witch-hunt.

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In this country the war rumours are taking second place to the Olympic games. The Prime Minister, sweating at Wembley while the athletes marched past, pulled out his watch. At that moment Mr. Bevin was putting over his latest "try-on" in the House of Commons, telling them that a decision would have to be taken within a few days on whether the release of men from the Army, now run-

ning at the rate of 20,000 a month, would have to be slowed down. With threats and warnings of this sort the idea of the inevitability of war is to be drummed into us until we accept it as easily as do the fair-weather pacifists on the Government benches. Consternation, resignation, preparation—these are the ingredients of a war scare, and passing hopelessly from crisis to crisis, we are to be persuaded to accept all sorts of continual inconveniences, restrictions, sacrifices with that awful temporising that poisons the enjoyment of life. From war to economic crisis, from economic crisis to war scare, from war scare to war economy—this is the melancholy switchback upon which we are travelling.

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The editorial of the last issue of Freedom showed why we may suppose the present scare to be largely an exploitation of the threat of war rather than of its immediate likelihood. On the other hand, the war preparations are real enough. The United Nations have shelved their plan for general disarmament after two years of futile debate; the price of crude rubber has risen steeply as America and Russia compete for the world's supplies; the sixty super-fortress bombers sent to this country by the U.S.A. have been followed by military staff officers. Some demobbed R.A.F. officers have been recalled for active service and it is announced that twenty-thousand more workers may be recruited in the Government's Royal Ordnance factories under a plan to

increase production of munitions and stores for the services.

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A headline in the *News Chronicle* for 27.7.48 reads: "Slump in U.S. would mean War, says President". This remark, confirming as it does, our last editorial, is most interesting. Mr. Truman did not say "Soviet control of Germany would mean war", nor did he say "Bolshevik Barbarism" or "Stalinist Imperialism" will mean war. He made it clear that a

slump, the result of capitalist over-production would be the cause of war. It is against this background that the present row amongst the "Big Three" should be measured. The "crisis" is regarded by all its protagonists as a softening-up operation for their various populations to prepare them for, to gain their sanction for, the Third World War, which the rulers of Britain, Russia and America believe to be inevitable, as indeed it is unless the peoples decide otherwise.

COLIN WARD.

U.N.O. Disarmament Talks Breakdown

THE disillusionment of many young men, who really believed the allied propaganda and joined the armed forces as they would a crusade, is going to manifest itself in many outbursts of protest at the fact that having defeated the German people the world is now talking about a bigger and better next world war. One such example occurred recently in America where according to a report in the *N.Y. Herald Tribune* (24/7/48)

"Stephen J. Supina, former B17 Fortress gunner in the Army Air Forces who feared the United States was heading for another war, flew his tiny Aeronca plane over Lake Success yesterday and dropped a bomb which exploded 400 feet from United Nations headquarters.

Police announced to-night that Supina surrendered in New Haven, Conn.

United Nations officials said Supina flew his plane 115 miles from Willimantic, Conn., to Long Island...

Supina's brother, Thomas, said in Willimantic that Stephen had been very depressed in recent weeks about the Berlin crisis, the 'lethargy' of the UN and the need for something to jolt them into action. He said: 'He has been through the war and seen many of his buddies die. He shot down two planes over Europe, and once he and his captain flew a bomber back from Germany after the rest of the crew bailed out. He did not want to go through another war, and kept saying somebody ought to blast the United Nations into action.'

Meanwhile a Reuter report from Lake Success (26/7/48) states that:

The working committee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission decided by a vote of nine to two (Russia and Ukraine opposing) that there was no point in continuing its work which began over sixteen months ago. The committee will report its failure to the Commission, which, in turn, will have to inform the General Assembly in Paris in September that disarmament, like the control of atomic energy, has ended in complete deadlock.

The resolution which was adopted has been submitted by Britain and amended by Canada and the United States. It said:

"A system of regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces can be put into effect only in an atmosphere of international confidence. Measures for the regulations and reduction of armaments which would follow the establishment of the necessary degree of confidence might in turn be expected to increase confidence and so justify further measures of regulation and reduction."

It also laid down three other conditions before disarmament could take place: (1) International control of atomic energy, (2) peace treaties with Germany and Japan, and (3) an adequate system of supervision and safeguards against violations.

The Soviet view was that the regulation and reduction of armaments must come before an "atmosphere of confidence" can be created. The Russians laid down as the necessary conditions for disarmament the prohibition of production and use of atomic and other weapons of

mass destruction, and the destruction of existing stocks of atomic bombs.

THE CHINESE SITUATION

(From Our Correspondent)

Chengtu, 29th June.

In my last message, I told you that the new Government, led by Dr. Weng-Wen-Hao, is powerless to improve the critical situation occasioned by military defeat and financial bankruptcy. The facts give proof. Kai-Feng, capital of Honan Province, has been occupied by the Bolshevik Army, and hundreds of thousands of the people have died by governmental bombardment. In Santung, the birthplaces of Confucius and Mencius are already lost. In the Provinces north and south of the Yellow River and even south of the Yang-Tze river, Bolshevik armies and bandits are everywhere to be found, and threaten to march in to the province of Szechwan in August.

At the last half of June, the cost of living doubled and trebled. A well-known economist asserted that by the end of June the total quantity of National Currency is at least \$18,500,000 million.

We will soon be at starvation point. In Szechwan the Government has decided to tax rice grain double that of last year (i.e. 24,800,000 hectolitres that year, 2/5 that of the total amount of all provinces).

The Kuo-Ming Tang (Kuomintang) now struggles for its reactionary dictatorship risking final defeat and ruin, longing for military and financial aid from American militarism.

L.C.B.

NEW ATTITUDE TO GERMANY

THE Western Powers' change of attitude towards the Germans is not going to hoodwink many people as to its true nature. In a letter published by the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. Victor Gollancz sums up the British attitude in no uncertain manner and we can do no better than to reproduce his letter in full:

"Many who have been trying not merely since victory but since the outbreak of the war, to induce a decent attitude towards the German people are feeling sick at heart in the very hour when, to the superficial observer, their hopes are being fulfilled. The change had indeed been startling.

We pleaded for a decent attitude to the German people because it is right to be decent to human beings as such. Is it because it is right to be decent to human beings as such that a wave of sentimental pro-Germanism—and for once in a way the word 'sentimental' is used precisely—is now swelling? No: it is because in the changed circumstances the Russians are more dangerous to us than the Germans, and therefore it is the Germans we must woo as potential allies in a dreaded conflict.

Two statements by Sir Brian Robertson reveal, as with a flash of lightning, the squalor of our moral landscape. 'Although Britain considered that the Germans should be adequately fed,' he stated in 1945—at the beginning of three years, not of adequate feeding, but of semi-starvation,—'it was not because she was sorry for them but because it was a matter of policy.' On June 4 this year Sir Brian issued new instructions to British officials in Germany, the objective being that Germans are to be accepted as 'a Christian and civilised people and are to be treated accordingly.' He added that 'their interests converge with ours, and there is no longer ill will between us.' In three short years the pariah nation, held criminally responsible, as a whole, for Auschwitz and Buchenwald, has become, as a whole, 'Christian and civilised'—with Auschwitz and Buchenwald forgotten. In 1945 they were to be fed 'as a matter of policy': in 1948 they are to be 'treated' as Christian and civilised because 'our interests converge.' Ill will then, good will now, but expediency then, now, and always. And the Germans, now as then, thought of as means to other people's ends, and not as ends in themselves. All of them—the just and the unjust—were

our neighbours a few years ago in the Christian sense, and are our neighbours now; and it is as such, and for no other reason, that we should have loved them then and should love them now.

To avoid misunderstanding, let me add that I am quite orthodox in my view of Soviet policy: for many years I have believed it to be the gravest possible menace to Western civilisation."

The Arnot Robertson Case

THE case of Miss Arnot Robertson, the film critic who brought a libel action against Metro Goldwyn Mayer for their interference with her freedom of speech as a B.B.C. film critic shows once again the futility of attempting to use the law in a capitalist country to obtain protection from capitalist interests.

The fact of the case is that MGM wrote a letter to the B.B.C. protesting that Miss Robertson's criticisms—which were unusually intelligent and uncompromising in character—were "harmful to the film industry"—in other words, harmful to its vested material interests.

In the original case the judge sent the case to the jury on the grounds that there was evidence of malice, and damages were awarded to Miss Robertson. Now the Court of Appeal have ruled against the original judge, Miss Robertson loses the case, and she—not the judge whose mistake is held to be responsible—is made to pay the £5,000 costs of the appeal on both sides.

From an anarchist point of view, we can say that this is all that can be expected from litigation. But it must also be pointed out that the decision in fact represents a benediction by the courts on the methods of interference in the independence of a critic which a large film corporation has used in this instance, and which similar corporations are likely to use again. It makes the independence of writing in any but a few minority papers more precarious than ever, and the only encouraging side of the whole matter is the way in which her fellow critics are supporting Miss Robertson and even raising funds to help her out of her difficulties.

A Libertarian Radio Station

THE Intercontinental Commission of the Spanish Libertarian Movement in exile announce in their most recent circular letter (20/7/48) that they have now succeeded in putting into effect the decision of their last Intercontinental Conference to establish a powerful radio transmitter in France which could be easily picked up in Spain.

In spite of the already heavy responsibilities and commitments of the movement, the necessary initial funds were soon subscribed and the running expenses of the transmitter guaranteed.

The station is to be found on the 44 metre wave-band and the call signal is ECN1 (Al Servicio de la Liberación de España). Daily transmissions are from 1 p.m. to 1.30 p.m., 7.30 p.m. to 8 p.m. and from 9.30 p.m. to 10.30 p.m. On Sundays and public holidays from 8.30 a.m. to 9.30 a.m., 1 p.m. to 1.30 p.m., 7.30 p.m. to 8 p.m. and 9.30 p.m. to 10.30 p.m.

The Circular Letter draws the attention of listeners to the fact that there is another Spanish station on that wave band which should not be confused with Station ECN1. The Commission would be glad to receive reports on reception from radio listeners everywhere.

THE FUTURE OF FREEDOM

WE hope that you, the readers, are concerned about the missing four pages as we, the publishers, are. We are concerned about it because we see how necessary it is for us to have 8 pages, especially at the present time, and yet, on our own, we can do nothing about restoring the cut. You, comrades and sympathetic readers, should be concerned because only you can make it possible for *Freedom* to appear again in its old size and with all its features. A tremendous responsibility then rests with you, and we hope that after

reading these lines and during the coming weeks you will spare no effort in shouldering this responsibility.

Let us state the position as it appears to us. During the war *Freedom* (then *War Commentary*), was published at a loss, but, firstly, it was a small loss, and secondly, it was one which we were able to cover by the profit made on the sales of our booklets and pamphlets. The result was that the Press Fund could be used for building up our stock of literature which in 1941 had been reduced to nil thanks to destruction by fire during an air raid. We were also able to get together a small but comprehensive stock of books when we

opened Freedom Bookshop early in 1945. To-day the Freedom Press publications list includes some forty titles and we have a stock of over 50,000 books and pamphlets.

At the end of the war and particularly after the 1945 elections, there was a marked slump in all the minority papers, particularly those of the Left, due to the political apathy which has continued ever since. Furthermore, for many war-resisters our paper and our movement, however small, had acted as a rallying ground in their isolation and a haven from the storm of nationalist intolerance. When the war ended and the Labour Party came to power we lost many who while sheltering from the storm had also assisted us in the work of distributing

our literature far and wide.

Now in what way have these two factors contributed to the present position? Firstly apathy. The direct effects of this are numerous. It is to be found in the smaller demand for political literature in the bookshops, which has now developed into a widespread slump in the book trade as a whole. The effect of this on Freedom Press is clearly shown by figures, for whereas in a tour of the country in 1944 we obtained orders for our literature from nearly 300 bookshops and bookstalls amounting to over 15,000 books and pamphlets, exceeding £500 in value, a corresponding tour this year (although admittedly much shorter), was a complete flop. Booksellers complained of being overstocked and of not having the same demand for political literature as during the war. Consequently whereas in wartime an edition of 5,000 copies of an FP publication would sell out in a few months, to-day it is a considerable achievement to sell a 3,000 edition in a year. This means that not only do we not see the profits from the sale of literature with which to meet the deficit on *Freedom*, but we actually have to tie up a considerable sum of money for an indefinite period whenever we publish a new book or pamphlet. (This consideration accounts for the decreasing number of FP publications that have appeared during the past two years).

OUR CIRCULATION

The second important consideration is the circulation of *Freedom*. Since the end of the war there has been a small but definite falling off in the number of copies sold of each issue. On the other hand the number of free copies distributed (in Germany, etc.),

has considerably increased since postal facilities with former "enemy" countries were restored.

But where has our circulation decreased? The answer is not difficult to find since (a) we have more postal subscribers to-day than ever before and (b) we sell more copies with newsagents than during the war when most of them were too scared to touch our paper! We think it is an important and encouraging fact that our subscribers and shop sales are increasing rather than decreasing for it shows that our paper stands the test in maintaining its regular readership.

The slump has occurred in our outdoor selling which, during the war, was one of our best means of distribution and contacting people.

There was a time when our Sunday sales at Hyde Park averaged 400 copies of each issue, whilst in 1945 at the time of the Anarchist trial, our records show that as many as 600 copies were sold on one Sunday afternoon at the Marble Arch pitch! But these results were achieved not only because of the greater interest shown then than now, but also because the selling was undertaken by a large number of comrades and sympathisers who would ensure that the "pitch" was covered from about 2 in the afternoon until 9 o'clock at night. To-day it seems that our comrades and sympathisers have more important occupations for their Sunday afternoons for there are Sundays when no *Freedom* sellers at all are to be seen at the Marble Arch! The other centre for big outdoor sales was, of course, Glasgow where our indefatigable comrades

The Organic Society

THE study of society has long been dominated by political concepts, devoted to the means of government rather than the art of living in harmonious and organically balanced communities. Politics, the craft of ruling men, dates from the ancient Greeks, but its classic modern expression emanated from Machiavelli, and while it is hardly for the theorists of modern political strategy to deride this father of their ideas, those who have made any objective study of social relationships will realise the harm that has been done by the tendencies of thought and social action he initiated.

Politics, since Machiavelli's day, has become an abstract and mathematical affair, concerned with numbers and generalisations. Its main purpose has been the maintenance of power, without any consideration of how that exercise of power would affect the lives of individual men. It has ignored the organic character of natural social relations, with their basis in mutual aid, has turned the individual into a number on an identity card, and has reduced the complex relationships of persons into a mass of dehumanised statistics and regulations. Out of political thought arose the abstractions of Nation and Race, which have served to gull men into supporting that characteristic and perverted social unit, the modern power state.

Almost all the general tragedies from which man suffers to-day can be traced to wrong conceptions of social organisation and personal fulfilment. Contemporary schools of politics and political economy, with their superficial generalisations on social questions, their ignorance of the needs of a balanced environment and the potentialities of modern techniques and social psychology, perpetuate needlessly an era of cumulative destruction, when a scientific attitude towards the problems of our society could begin immediately the change from the universal chaos of western civilisation to the creative equilibrium of an organically harmonised society, where human fulfilment rather than power or privilege would become the goal of social effort.

ORGANIC SOCIOLOGY

Fortunately, during the past eighty years there have been a few students who have turned their attention to the basic economic factors and human relationships which make the real social fabric and without which no society could exist. In the last century this tendency was represented by anarchist philosophers like Kropotkin and the Reclus brothers. These men realised that authority is external to real social life, and that it is meaningless unless the organism over which it is wielded lives from within, in which case it is unnecessary. Authority cannot infuse life into a dead society any more than a physician can make a dead man live. The real social life comes from the voluntary co-operation of its members in all those functions where the state plays no part. But, like the physician, authority can kill where it cannot give life, as we have seen too bitterly in the ravaged countries of Europe and Asia in recent years.

Another important sociologist, active at the turn of the century, was Patrick Geddes, a Scot of very wide accomplishments who devoted himself to studying the collective life of man and who left some very valuable ideas on the restoration of the organic balance of society.

In our own day this rôle has been assumed by his disciple, Lewis Mumford, an American sociologist who has devoted many years to studying the life of man in

society, and to a careful sifting of sociological facts and ideas, in order to develop a theory based on real social tendencies and human needs, instead of the abstractions of politicians and the cold statistics of government functionaries.

MUMFORD'S WORK

Mumford's work has been collated in a series of three monumental books, already sociological classics. They are *Technics and Civilisation*, dealing with the development of the machines and processes by which man adapts to his use the products of nature; *The Culture of Cities*, dealing with the organised groupings of civilised men; and *The Condition of Man*, which describes the development of man's personality, expressed in his thoughts, his beliefs and his arts. These three volumes are parts of a major work, to be completed eventually by a fourth, but Mumford has made no very close division, and in each book can be detected aspects of his general social philosophy. It is thus possible to gain a working, though by no means a comprehensive idea, of his social theories merely by a study of any one book. Nevertheless, the three volumes together afford such a revelation of the past development, present nature and future possibilities of human society that they deserve the time needed for their complete perusal.

In all his writing Mumford emphasises carefully the need to realise the true historical background of the social customs and appliances that shape our lives. Thus we shall see that some, which appear permanent and indispensable, are merely the excrescences introduced during a comparatively recent period. Nationalism is an example of such a social novelty, which is in no way natural to human society or even historically ancient, having reached maturity only since the French Revolution. A knowledge of the true social history of such institutions, Mumford contends rightly, will assist men to cease regarding them with reverence and enable them to appreciate objectively their merits and faults in relation to a satisfactory human life. In this way many evil and accepted doctrines can be weakened and eventually dispersed.

Other social phenomena, which are attended by obvious change and expansion, may appear to be new, when in fact they are merely the continuation of processes which began relatively early in the development of society, and which represent tendencies that are organic and healthy, although they may have been turned to bad use through ignorance of real social needs.

THE ROLE OF THE MACHINE

In *Technics and Civilisation* Mumford tells the story of the machine, in recent years the most powerful of social influences. The machine has often been condemned indiscriminately by social reformers, as an unnatural phenomenon which is responsible for a large proportion of human ills. This attitude is greatly fostered by the current superstition that the beginning of the mechanical age was as recent as the industrial revolution. In fact, as Mumford shows, the mechanical age began many centuries ago, and arose out of a mutation in the social attitude of men, "a reorientation of wishes, habits, ideas, goals," which made the development of the machine necessary and inevitable. What distinguishes the civilisation of the modern world from those which preceded it is not the mere possession of machines. Many of the "critical instruments of modern technology" already existed in other cultures, but they did not dominate or radically change the social lives of the people who invented them. Not until the industrial development in Western Europe was the whole pattern of life adapted to the pace and capacities of the machine.

The first (or eotechnic) phase of the machine era began as early as the tenth century, and reached its height in the mediaeval culture of the walled cities and the monasteries. In this early period were developed the key machines, and

particularly the clock, which introduced the concept of an artificial and exact time, apart from the natural duration of seasons and days, and thus helped to subdue life to a mechanical rhythm that made men better subjects for the giant factory and the conscript army. This eotechnic phase also began to use power extensively, in the forms of wind and water, and the factory system was born in the early textile industries. During the eotechnic era, however, the development of the machine remained external to the lives of most men. It assisted a comparative abundance of goods, particularly in the mediaeval cities, without interfering profoundly with the organic nature of social relations.

(To be continued.)

Trials of Oscar Wilde

THE TRIALS OF OSCAR WILDE. (Notable British Trials). Edited with an Introduction by H. Montgomery Hyde. With a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Sir Travers Humphreys, P.C. (William Hodge & Co., 15/- net).

MANY people have wondered why there has not been available to the public until now an adequate account of the Trials of Oscar Wilde. Even in this edition—a wonderful social document—the very competent editor says: "... for reasons which should appear sufficiently obvious to the reader, I have occasionally considered it desirable to paraphrase witnesses' statements"—though he always indicates the bowdlerization and, for all we shall ever know, it may not matter. But, if there are two things proved by the publication (fifty-three years after the events), of the evidence and the supporting background and commentary in Mr. Montgomery Hyde's well-documented Introduction and Appendices, they are these: (1) that the prosecution of Wilde became a persecution amounting to a sort of frame-up; and (2) that so many questions still remain unanswered that the only possible explanation of the suppression of the answers is that either (a) some names of people of 'importance' would be besmirched or (b) Wilde was regarded by the authorities as so dangerous a character that he had to be liquidated at any cost. Both these factors should be kept in mind. Otherwise, in spite of this most useful and intensely interesting book, we are more or less where we started.

There were three trials. The first was that in which Wilde prosecuted the Marquess of Queensbury (a social horror and obscenity, this man) for criminal libel; and Queensbury was acquitted. He was acquitted because Sir Edward Clarke, Wilde's eminent counsel took fright when Edward Carson (for Queensbury) threatened to put into the witness box some young men with whom Wilde was alleged to have been "criminally associated". This was Carson's strongest card. The young men in question were of the most unsavoury sort, and the most important

witness among them was a notorious rascal and blackmailer named Wood. Why did Clarke take fright at having to deal with such "gifts" as witnesses? His junior counsel, Charles William Matthews, thought otherwise, and was in favour of fighting the case to a finish. Obviously he was right, unless—! But Clarke, perhaps the greatest advocate of his day, was apparently scared stiff by the threat that these self-confessed accomplices and, by any standards, thoroughgoing bad hats, should go into the witness box. The merest novice at the bar could have torn their testimony to shreds and ridiculed them out of court. But no—Sir Edward Clarke, with hardly any hesitation 'chucked in the sponge' and, under the judge's direction, Queensbury obtained a verdict of not guilty. A public prosecution of Wilde for 'acts of gross indecency' followed, in which the jury disagreed and Wilde nearly got off on all counts. In the third trial he was found guilty and sentenced to two years hard labour, with cries of 'Oh!' and 'Shame!' from the public in court. It amounted to a sentence of death.

One is inclined to say, "That could not happen to-day! Injustice from beginning to end? No, it just could not happen!" Really? Of course it could happen to-day. Wilde was not condemned for the so-called 'acts of gross indecency' which were never proved! The whole atmosphere was against him, the reason seized upon being his alleged homosexuality—which was never proved! The real reason was something far more important than this "wickedness" which, as Lord Dawson of Penn said in the House of Lords (1937) has 'at any rate one foot in the realm of disease', and modern medicine regards as a pathological condition with which doctors should deal. It was because Wilde was a man with a humanist outlook on life which was not far short of being revolutionary; and he was a great artist in expressing it. His style, his wit, his verbal artistry created barbs which went right through the heart behind every stuffed shirt, and his ideas created fear among those in authority. It was his *Soul of Man under Socialism*—a bombfull of politically dangerous ideas—which got the powers that were thinking about him. Homosexuality and such-



like aberrations were quite common; and nobody bothered much about them. But, ideas 'politically dangerous'? These authority does not so easily overlook.

CHARLES DUFF

THE POISONED CROWN, by Hugh Kingsmill. (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1/6).

THE axiom that "Power Corrupts" was first voiced in so many words by the Catholic historian, Lord Acton, in the midst of the Victorian era; it was as unpopular a statement among his fellow Catholics as among most Protestants, and Acton narrowly escaped expulsion from the Church for further statements regarding the Pope's function which were the logical outcome of such an attitude towards power. But his aphoristic ability to sum up the thought in a phrase has perhaps concentrated too much attention on Acton; Greek and Chinese philosophers, extremists of the English civil war and disillusioned radicals of the French revolutionary era who perceived the follies of the Jacobins had already put the same thought in other words; one of the last, William Blake, attained almost as killing a brevity when he remarked:

The strongest poison ever known
Came from Caesar's laurel crown.

It was on this text, during the last war against Fascism, that Hugh Kingsmill sought to show that the ancestors of Hitler were to be found near at home, among those whom the great "democracies" have made into heroes, such figures of popular mythology as Queen Elizabeth and Cromwell in England, Napoleon in France and Abraham Lincoln in America.

His thesis is that the panacea for the evils wrought by power has been sought in more power, that the harm done by collective forms of social organisation has been sought, not in individual action, but in new forms of action where the collective is supreme. Taking each of his examples, he analyses with quite devastating ability how disastrously each leader not only betrayed the hopes of others, but even showed the futility of his own objectives. The lesson of the evils of power are shown clearly and, though we may not agree with what Mr. Kingsmill means by human happiness or "the kingdom of heaven" (he is confessedly inexplicit on this point), every anarchist will agree with him that it cannot be attained by "charters and constitutions nor established by arms", and will welcome his able documentation of the evil futility of leadership.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

DEPENDS ON YOUR SUPPORT!

sold, on an average, 750 copies of each issue at their open air meetings at Brunswick Street, at factory gates, and inside the factories and workshops. There too, the enthusiasm for selling anarchist literature seems to have passed, to the detriment both of the movement and of the paper.

On the other hand we have to report outdoor selling of the paper in parts of the country where none were sold during the war, but not in sufficient quantities to make up for the losses in London and Glasgow.

A LOSING BATTLE?

We come now to the considerations which have prompted us to take the drastic step of cutting out four pages of *Freedom*. In the first place let it be said that the "cut" and our appeal have been made to coincide because many comrades have, in the past, told us, regarding earlier appeals that since *Freedom* came out just the same in spite of the black picture we presented, they felt that the situation was not as serious as we would have them believe and they didn't bother to do anything! This time we hope there will be no doubt! But we would be lacking in responsibility if the cut were simply a stunt for raising funds. In actual fact what we have done is to make this very overdue statement of hard facts coincide with the cut in *Freedom* which has been forced on us by circumstances.

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During the past 2½ years, since the war, there has been as we explained earlier, a serious slump in political interest, which since our readership is not limited to our movement, made itself particularly felt so far as *FP* is concerned. This slump coincided with (a) a falling off in contributions to the Press Fund (b) an increase in the size of *Freedom*, (c) an increase in printing costs and of raw materials, (d) a falling off of outdoor selling. For 2½ years then, we have fought a losing battle, so much so that by the end of 1947 we had outstanding bills totalling £500 plus added obligations in the shape of two new *FP* publications and three reprints. And though a marked improvement in our affairs has been visible during the past six months, we find ourselves at the moment with debts totalling £1,100, of which £900 must be raised by an extraordinary appeal to our comrades and friends here, and wherever *Freedom* is read and appreciated.

To have continued publishing an 8-page *Freedom* without seeking a radical solution to the accumulated debts of the past would have been, in our opinion, the height of irresponsibility. The cut will represent a saving of £40 a month, a not inconsiderable sum, but it also means that we are isolating the debt in order to launch a determined attack on it once and for all, so that we may eventually resume our normal activities without it hanging over our heads.

Some comrades may want to know whether the £1,100 represents actual losses in the publication of *Freedom* and our books and pamphlets, for if it does, what is there to prevent a similar situation arising in two years' time, if we now pay off the current debt? It is a very important question since it may influence many comrades and friends who would be prepared to give large donations in the present crisis if they felt that it would not have to be poured, as it were, into a bottomless bucket. We think the answer is to be found in the present report. But it should also be stressed that as against the £1,100 in debts we can show a large stock of literature which has been produced and paid for (or the cost of which is included in the figure of £1,100), and which, when eventually sold, will more than cover the amount of our present debt.

But there is a further consideration. A publishing group such as *Freedom Press* cannot guarantee to pay its way with the income derived from the sales of its literature alone. We are pioneering ideas for which the "ready market" is very small. If our objective were simply to make *FP* a flourishing concern then we would publish the kind of books the public wants, and not the kind which we, and those comrades and friends who approve of our work, want to bring to the notice of the thinking public.

It may prove at times a costly venture, but the money spent on it is not thrown away. It is being used in laying the foundations of an anarchist literature in the English language which it will eventually be impossible to ignore.

What MUST be Done

To conclude this report we pass on to the practical considerations for ending the *FP* "crisis" which unlike the bigger crises all around us, can be solved!

Firstly, we must stress that until we raise the £900 required to pay off our debts, or at least, until we are well on the way to raising this amount, we shall continue to publish a 4-page instead of an 8-page *Freedom* every fortnight. Send us your contributions therefore, without delay, and until the crisis is surmounted, make them regular.

Secondly, with a view to consolidating the future of the paper and thereby reducing the possibilities of another crisis, we ask that every effort be made by comrades and readers to secure new subscribers to *Freedom*, and that existing subscribers take two copies instead of one, using the spare copy to introduce new readers to the paper.

Thirdly, that outdoor selling be re-organised so that in London for instance there will be a rota

of comrades selling the paper every Sunday at Hyde Park. We ask all interested (even if they can only sell on one Sunday a month) to write to *Freedom Press*, so that no time is lost in recovering this "lost market". We appeal also to our Glasgow comrades, and to isolated comrades or groups, wherever they are, to do their utmost in this direction.

Fourthly, though we are glad to have built up an important stock of *FP* literature it is only valuable when in the hands of people who want to know something about anarchism. May we suggest that comrades purchase a selection of *FP* literature and keep it "in stock" for distribution or sale to interested friends or workmates? Send us 2/6 or 5/- and we will send you a selection of topical and theoretical pamphlets from our lists—or if you prefer to, make your own selection. It will be easing our financial burden and at the same time you

will be prepared for any occasion, for instance, a local meeting, where our literature will evoke interest and discussion.

These in broad outline are our suggestions to those readers who are either anarchists or who, without giving themselves a label, consider that *FP* is doing a useful job of work and who want to help in the present crisis.

IT'S UP TO YOU NOW!

Our appeal to you is disinterested in so far as no one connected with the *FP* depends on its continued existence for a livelihood. If anything, the opposite is the case since much of our work is done at the expense of our jobs. But our appeal is not disinterested in the sense that we want to continue the work of the *Freedom Press*. During the past 12 years, with the exception of a short break in 1939 we have issued a newspaper regularly and have published a vast mass of literature to supplement the work of the paper. And what is important is that we have been steadily progressing, the paper has become larger and more varied, and the literature has increased from nil in 1941 to nearly 40 titles to-day. The present cut is the first reverse in this forward trend. We think there are enough men and women for whom *Freedom* is more than another political periodical and

Freedom Press more than what some people refer to as just a "commercial publishing house", for this reverse to be only temporary. We call on them to send us their contributions now and during the coming weeks. The situation is such that we must call for real "sacrifices". We have comrades who are in a position to make large contributions, and since the sum required is, for our limited public, a large one (£900), much depends on them. But much also depends on the modest contributions which most of our readers could afford. Yes, we know that times are hard and money is scarce. That is why we are making this appeal. That is our position. The future rests with you.

The Press and the Yugoslav Crisis

(From a Yugoslav Correspondent)

I WOULD like to draw your attention to various statements in the London press about Tito's position in Yugoslavia being strengthened by the Cominform attacks ("the Yugoslavs are a proud people, and hate foreign intervention," etc). These are not true for the following reasons:—

1. By the time of the beginning of the Tito-Cominform struggle, the population of Yugoslavia was divided into two completely different and antagonistic sections: the rulers and the ruled. This division was caused by the very nature of the regime and will remain so long as any regime whether headed by Tito or by XYZ remains in control of the means of production and distribution. Therefore it would be childish to expect that the people of Yugoslavia who know and feel this division very well, should suddenly, on account of a foreign broadcast, rally round a regime whose nature has not changed in the least in the past months.

2. It would be wrong to assume that Tito has the 100% support of the YCP in his struggle against the Cominform, i.e. the Soviet Union. Thus besides facing the opposition of the vast majority of Yugoslavs he has to deal with opponents in the ruling class itself, i.e. the party, the army and the bureaucracy.

It would therefore be foolish to follow the lead of either the *Times* or the *New Statesman* and expect that a bureaucratic regime could grow stronger because it was attacked by another similar state.

The main reason behind such articles in the London press is that Tito is fighting the U.S.S.R. and therefore will be given support by the West. Since material support goes hand in hand with moral support, the Anglo-American populations have to be given a favourable picture of Tito and his regime.

Whether, when, and how, the U.S.S.R. will be able to overthrow Tito will depend largely on the development of the world conflict between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., on the ability of the Yugoslav Stalinists to stage a successful palace revolution, and on the willingness of the Cominform to use anarchist slogans; for example, attacks on the bureaucracy and the armed forces, demands for Workers' Control, the 40-hour week, etc.; in the struggle against Tito.

However, despite the Jesuitical tactics of the Stalinists, the use of such slogans by the U.S.S.R. is extremely unlikely as it might lead to a state of affairs which Stalin would be unable to control.

Foreign Commentary Reorganising Revolutionary Workers' Movt. in S. America

THE Argentine revolutionary syndicalist organisation F.O.R.A. has recently announced that steps have been taken to re-organise the Workers' Association of the American Continent (ACAT) which was first formed in 1929 with its secretariat based in Buenos Aires, but whose work was interrupted by the triumph of the Argentine dictatorship in 1930. The original ACAT congress of 1929 was attended by delegates from Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay and Chile. A 32-page bulletin *La Continental Obrera* was published and had a circulation of 10,000 copies amongst members in Latin America.

So far Chile, Cuba, Peru and Ecuador have supported the initiative of the FORA congress in appointing a provisional secretariat one of whose tasks will be to re-organise ACAT on solid foundations.

Commenting on this news, the secretary of the I.W.M.A. (International Workingman's Association) of which the FORA is the Argentine Section, points out how necessary it is at the present time for the ACAT to be reformed. "A revolutionary counterbalance is necessary to the various attempts by the reformists to win over the American continent for interests which in many cases are purely political. There are already two continental organisations working on these lines". The first is the Confederation of Latin American Workers which is affiliated to the World Trade Union Federation and is led by the fellow traveller Lombardo Toledano. The other is the Inter-American Workers' Confederation created by the reactionary American Federation of Labour.

"DON BASILIO" IN TROUBLE AGAIN

Readers may recall that we have referred on a number of occasions in the past two years to the anti-clerical weekly *Don Basilio* published in Rome and of the efforts made by the Vatican for its suppression. Now, according to a U.P. report from Rome (29/7/48) the managing editor of the paper, Samuele Dina, has been sentenced by the Rome tribunal to a year's imprisonment for "vilifying the nation".

The charges against Dina were brought on the basis of an article published in *Don Basilio*, entitled "Dogs Would Have Voted Better" criticizing the majority of Italian voters for giving their votes to the Christian Democratic party in the April 18 elections.

The Dina case established a precedent. It was the first time the Italian courts were called upon to pass judgment on such charges and to bring a verdict of guilty. Dina has appealed against the sentence.

The *New York Herald Tribune* (30/7/48), reporting the case stated that Italian courts already have sentenced two Communists for using offensive language with reference to Pope Pius XII. The charges and sentences were brought on

the basis of the concordat vouchsafing due respect to the Pontiff as the "head of a foreign state." A month ago court action was initiated against Communist woman Deputy Laura Daiz for calling the Pope a "war criminal whose hands are dripping with blood."

The *Herald Tribune* refers to *Don Basilio* as the "Communist weekly..." We have not seen the paper for some months but when we received it regularly there was no evidence that it was Communist and furthermore we recall that it was strongly critical of the Communist Party's support of the Lateran Treaty (evidence of this was the cartoon reproduced in *Freedom* 19/4/47). It is a pity that everything that is not Right wing is always "Red" or "Communist" so far as some organs of the Press are concerned.

IMPRESSIONS OF SPAIN

The *N.Y. Herald Tribune* (30/7/48) publishes an article on Spain, "The Sequel to the Spanish Tragedy After Ten Years of Franco". Two paragraphs will be of special interest to our readers since they show that the "anarchism" of the Spanish people has not been crushed in spite of ten years of ruthless persecution

and the apathy brought about after years of suffering and privations during the actual armed struggle in 1936-39.

"Perhaps the most tragic aspect of the Spanish situation is that Spaniards see no way out of their dilemma. Their political factions are hopelessly divided. They look to no Spaniard as a possible saviour or even as a competent administrator of their internal affairs.

"Things were bad under the Monarchy, bad under the Republic, and although this government is by far the worst that I have ever seen, a change would probably bring no improvement", is the way an elderly Spaniard expressed it.

With such a philosophy it is not surprising that anarchy has seemed the best solution to more than one Spaniard."

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"As far as the danger of Communism is concerned, I would say that any highly centralized bureaucracy (this is as true of the Franco regime as of any Communist state) would appeal in no way to the Spanish temperament—the most individualistic, undisciplined and anarchical in western Europe."

LIBERTARIAN.

THROUGH THE PRESS

COMMUNISTS DEFEND PROPERTY IN AUSTRIA

The Austrian Parliament approved a law calling for a capital levy expected to yield 1,800,000,000 schillings (45 million pounds).

The bill, which provides for a levy on all capital above 1,000 schillings (£250) and a tax on capital acquisitions since January, 1940, was passed against the votes of the Communist party.

N.Y. Herald Tribune, 10/7/48.

"TITO IS GOOD, TITO IS RIGHT . . ."

"Tito is 16,000,000 Yug-Slav people!" declared Lt.-Gen. Bozhida Maslarich, president of the world-wide All-Slav Committee, to-day.

"And Tito is more than this," he went on. "He is the pride of other nations, too. Tito is nations, and nations cannot be destroyed."

Addressing the Fifth Congress of the Yugo-Slav Communist Party, General Maslarich in effect appealed to the people of the Cominform countries for Tito's support over the heads of their Cominform leaders.

News Chronicle, 24/7/48.

WHAT WOULD LORD GODDARD SAY?

The prison staff of three at Aarburg, Switzerland, unable to find substitutes during their holidays, persuaded the ten prisoners to promise to return if they were turned loose during the warders' vacation. So, staff and prisoners are now on holiday.

Scottish Sunday Mail, 18/7/48.

EXPENSIVE BREAD

As England abolishes BUs, the first consignment of bread for the 260 American Olympic athletes, who arrived yesterday, is unloaded at Heathrow. The bread is being flown in daily from a Los Angeles bakery.

Caption to photograph, *Evening Standard*, 22/7/48.

MILITARY OPERATION AT WEMBLEY

But the high-spot of the day should be the final of the men's 5,000 metres in which Emil Zatopek, the stocky Czechoslovakian, may well win another gold medal to pair with the one he gained for the 10,000 metres on Friday.

In view of Zatopek's "outstanding performance and the exemplary representation of the Czech Army and Republic," he has been promoted to First Lieutenant from Second Lieutenant. General Svoboda, Czech Defence Minister, announced in Prague yesterday.

Daily Worker, 2/8/48.

GENERAL'S HOBBY

General Sir John Crocker, Commander-in-Chief, Middle East Land Forces, has been visiting battle areas in Northern Greece for the past two days, it was authoritatively disclosed here to-day, says an Athens message.

General Crocker arrived in Athens on Sunday night, accompanied by Lady Crocker, for a "private visit."

British sources in Athens said that he "naturally" took the opportunity of visiting the front line during his holiday.

Gloucestershire Echo, 21/7/48.

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4 DEPENDENCE DAY?

What is behind Anglo-American Industrial Councils?

JULY 4TH is still celebrated throughout America as the date on which, in 1776, the representatives of the 13 original United States solemnly declared themselves free and independent of Britain. One hundred and seventy-two years have passed and the wheel has turned a full circle. July 26th, 1948 was the date on which Britain's dependence on America was established—or so it seems.

We do not believe that the actions of capitalist countries in their foreign relations are dictated by philanthropic motives. They are dictated by the needs of Big Business and its political form of expression—Power Politics. The Marshall Plan for European "recovery" was a political manoeuvre in economic clothing and the countries coming within the plan establish a zone of influence for America within which what America says goes—so long as it suits those countries.

So far the condition necessary for a country to qualify for the doubtful privilege of receiving Marshall Aid has been the existence of an anti-Communist government willing to attack any noisy Communist minority it may have to contend with. Countries with no noticeable Communist problem have been politely left alone, and for different reasons the countries in which the problem takes the form of a Communist dominated government, are automatically beyond the pale!

BRITAIN'S POSITION

The position of Britain in this matter is rather different from other European countries, however. Britain has no real internal Communist problem: her problem lies in the fact that her economy is tied to that of Europe, the Middle East and the Far East by her traditional trading commitments with these parts, and these parts themselves have the Communist problems which can be combated only by either continued British domination or a development of American domination. Which is why America is using Britain in the Marshall plan. But it should not be thought that Britain's governing class is content to be merely a stooge for America. The effects of the Marshall plan are working both ways. In providing herself with markets and zones of influence, America is also providing herself with responsibilities. In

other words, in the event of a conflict between Russia and any of the Western powers, America is bound to come to the rescue, and although Britain will inevitably be involved to her cost, she will be back in her historic role of the rejoicing third as she was when Russia and Germany were at each other's throats. For it must be understood that America is Britain's real rival for the world's markets and their friendship of the moment is not necessarily any more genuine than that of the Allies and Russia during the late war. We just want America to fight our wars for us, that's all.

INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL HOOEY

These are the reasons behind our belief that the establishment of any Anglo-American industrial councils to advise British industrialists on how to increase output is just so much hooley. It is not in America's interest to tell Britain—or anybody else—how to increase output, even if she could, which is doubtful.

Let us not forget that Britain had a tremendous start over the rest of the world in the Industrial Revolution—a start which in spite of all appearances she has never lost. We say this with no sense of national pride, for it means that in Britain were developed the means of exploitation on a grand scale which have only been imitated by the rest of the world. True, the Taylor and Bedaux systems of timing and mass production as developed by Ford's or similar concerns will appear to have their origin in the States, but it is doubtful whether the industrial descendants of these gentry can teach us much about them now.

Indeed, one production member of the National Coal Board went to America recently to discover means of boosting output, but came back empty-handed. Britain, in fact, is the only country affected by the recent war—with the exception of America, which suffered no physical attack—to get back to pre-war production figures, and is actually turning out 25 per cent. more goods than in 1938.

Naturally, if it is possible, British industrialists will be only too pleased to pick American brains, but the real reason for Cripps's brainwave to set up these Anglo-U.S. councils is to tie American economy more securely to Britain's and Europe's until war with Russia is either averted or ended successfully.

POLITICAL CAPITALS

Various political capitals will no doubt be made out of all this. The Tories will chatter about our loss of independence, the Socialists will babble about international co-operation, but underneath it all will continue to lie the forgotten man—the worker who produces all wealth, who holds in the skill of his hands the real power of the man-made world, but who, because he accepts his position there, remains the cause of his own misery. P.S.

Are they Worth the Money?

BETTY GRABLE, Hollywood motion-picture actress, was listed to-day as the highest paid woman in the United States for the second successive year. The Treasury's annual salary report showed the screen star was paid \$299,333 by Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation in 1946. She got \$208,000 in the previous year.

Highest paid in the country was Charles Skouras, who got a total of \$985,300 in 1946 as president of the National Theatre Amusement Company and president of the Fox West Coast Agency Corporation. Mr. Skouras also topped the previous year with \$566,143.

Best-paid film actor was Bing Crosby, who received \$325,000 from Paramount Pictures. Bob Hope collected \$275,000 from the same company. The figures do not include income from other sources, such as radio and stage appearances. Miss Grable was ninth on the list of the first ten high-earners and the only woman among them.

Harry James, Miss Grable's husband, earned \$100,036. Under the Federal income-tax laws in effect during the earning period all were required to give up the largest share of their earnings to the government.

Here are some examples of the amount taxes would take: salary of \$100,000 would be taxed at approximately \$63,540, \$200,000 at \$148,551, \$500,000 at \$407,896, and \$1,000,000 at \$840,146.

United Press, 5/7/48.

Student Nurses Object Industrial Notes

AMONG all the ballyhoo connected with the commencement of the National Health Service, it was forgotten that for workers in the lowest-paid groups the increase in contributions, stopped from the wage packet, was going to be severely felt.

Into this category come student nurses, upon whom much of the expected increase in work at hospitals is bound to fall. Nurses as a whole are among the most exploited and suppressed of workers, living under disciplinary conditions that can often only be compared with prison for very low wages.

With the introduction of the Health Act, however, the wages of student nurses are being cut so drastically through the necessity for them now to pay both contributions and superannuation, that a militant movement appeared to fight for an immediate and substantial raise. Beginning at St. Mary's Hospital, Plaistow, the idea spread to other parts of London, and the nurses made clear their determination to resign if their demands were

not met. They were offered £15 a year increase but they claimed that still left them £3 a year worse off than before.

They are demanding £40 a year increase, and if they stick to their guns are more than likely to get it.

TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY

WELL, we were promised that the nationalisation of the railways was going to bring a new spirit of public service and efficiency. Perhaps trains do not yet run to time—that is a mere detail. Perhaps railway buns are still uneatable—that is traditional. Perhaps rolling stock and signalling equipment are hopelessly out of date—give them time. But there is something that can be slicked up immediately—SALUTING!

It is perfectly obvious that there is nothing more necessary for high morale than that saluting by the railway police should be uniform. Most of these honourable gentlemen graduated into the railway police via the armed forces—most of the ordinary police and prison service do the same—but the dashed awkward part of it is that the three services of the Crown have three different ways of salutes are to be smart and in Army pat-see an army type salute answered by a naval or air force style salute. Don't you think?

So the order has gone out "that the salutes are to smart and on Army pattern". Saluting practice will be held at railway centres and all railway police officers above the rank of sergeant, railway officials and officers of the armed forces must be saluted. Said a British Railways official: "It's one of the many things we are standardising."

That this move has not been taken before it was due can be gauged from the fact that variation on the salute went as far as the two-finger "Wotcher, cock" style, which may have been all right for free-enterprise but is really out of place among the dignity of a State-owned industry.

THE VALUE OF NEGOTIATION

A VERY good example of the value of negotiation has been given in the results—or lack of them—of the Savoy Hotel strike of last winter. It was an official strike, and was called off after a Government inquiry. We remarked at the time that it had won nothing and that

In Brief

The Price of Make-Believe

American women spent \$300,000,000 more on cosmetics last year than they did in 1939, cosmetics statistics revealed here.

PREMATURE & TACTLESS!

In Colchester town councillors worked overtime, decided it was "not necessary at the present time" to change the name of Stalin Road, Colchester, as requested by the street's residents.

News Chronicle, 2/8/48.

SEX BY ANOTHER NAME

Sex education is to be given in practically every class-room and to pupils of all ages in L.C.C. schools from now on, though it will not be called "sex education."

This new policy was announced yesterday when the Education Committee passed unanimously a resolution ending the old policy laid down on May 26, 1914, that the "teaching of sex hygiene as a class subject in public elementary schools be not approved."

News Chronicle, 15/7/48.

The Out-and-Outers of the B. R. M.

The organised Church rarely appears in the forefront when proposals are made which most people think should meet with the approval of the official purveyors of Christian charity. In fact we have seen that the most uncharitable contributions to the debate in the Lords on the proposed suspension of the death penalty came from the Bishops. Readers may recall that it was the Bishop of Truro who not only opposed the suspension clause but suggested that the death penalty might be extended for a trial period for a number of crimes other than that of murder!

Another example of this lack of Christian charity was displayed when the recent Lambeth Conference of Bishops was asked by more than 1000 C. of E. clergymen to consider proposals to revise the baptismal laws so that a parish priest can refuse baptism to children of parents who have "fallen away from the Church". In an interview with the Press the Rev. Cyril Brunditt who is the Southwark representative of the Baptismal Reform Movement declared: "We are asking that it should be laid down as Canon Law that before a priest baptises a child he must satisfy himself that the parents, and the godparents, are themselves communicants and regular churchgoers."

In the cases of "unrepentant parents" the children's baptism should be deferred "until they are old enough to understand the significance of the ceremony". "Until then," says Mr. Brunditt, "these children should sit together in a special part of the church during services as catechumens (converts before baptism)."

The proposal is remarkable in many ways. In the first place it shows the permeation of the ideas of the closed shop even into the church, and if the B.R.M. gets its way who knows but that eventually each churchgoer will have to carry his membership card with him for it to be duly stamped (and dues collected for the branch funds) before the service starts, and one of the benefits will be that the parson will baptise one child per member for every 39 weekly stamps affixed to the card. How much better for the child to be baptised when he is still without a thought in the world than to let him grow up, seated in another part of the church with other non-Union boys, and possibly deciding on second thoughts that he won't

bother to be baptised. It is this aspect of the case which is surprising, for as the late Pope once pointed out in stressing the importance of Catholic schools, if you don't catch them young you won't fill the churches.

But the B.R.M. besides being rather naive, as we have just shown, is downright uncharitable to the parents and friends for they have asked the conference "to stop the present system of 'semi-private' christenings, held in the presence of relatives and friends and to insist on baptism during Sunday service."

This proposal is uncharitable to the parents but, what is more important to you and me—it is unpatriotic as well! We have the politicians, the statisticians and all men who put the old mother country before the Dominions and personal interest, calling to the nobler instincts in women, for if the birth rate does not increase by 1961 we shall be a nation of old people. And now the B.R.M. comes along with proposals which can only destroy the good work; and why? Simply because they are following the lead of the organised workers and are insisting on a closed shop within the closed shop, if you follow my meaning. For make no mistake about it, friends, if the B.R.M. have their way it will bring the birthrate in Mayfair and Cheltenham to a standstill. I mean to say, why have babies if it won't be an occasion for meeting friends, of having your special Hartnell creation discussed in the gossip column of *Vogue* and in the *Londoner's* Diary, and your photo in every doctor's and dentist's waiting room for weeks (and even months) to come, and to wind-up a grand day, a stand-up champagne lunch. And last, but not least the announcement in the next day's *Times* with a list, in alphabetical order, of the distinguished guests... is this not something the child can look back on in later years with a feeling of pride? And must all this go because a bunch of agitators calling themselves the Baptismal Reform Movement insist on applying a kind of loyalty test before they do the job and then even if you pass the test insist on austerity? Many of my friends will be asking, "Was this what we fought the war for", and who can say their bitterness is not justified?

the employers were bound to victimise the returning strikers.

We were right—except that the victimisation is taking the form of not allowing many of the strikers to return. Under the terms of settlement the strikers were to go back over a period of two or three weeks, the blacklegs who went in and helped weaken the strike to leave the make room for the returning workers. This has not been carried out. Up to a very short time ago, one hundred and fifty union members had not been reinstated, while Frank Piazza, the "cause" of the strike, had still not been found another job as promised. The blacklegs remain at the Savoy.

This is a direct result of the passing over of the initiative and control of the strike to an official union. Condemned to play the constitutional game, it can lead the workers only into legalism and defeat. Militants such as the Savoy workers originally showed themselves to be should not be gulled by the promises of union officials. An organisation on syndicalist lines could deal with a situation like this promptly and effectively.

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