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Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Good people, affairs can only go well in England when there shall be neither serf no noble, and when all shall be equal.

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Threepence

NOTES ON THE FORTHCOMING CRISIS

STOP BLAMING THE WORKERS!

IF the economic crisis succeeds in raising its ugly head in spite of the monetary surgery of Dr. Butler and the injections of patriotism prescribed by Sir Anthony himself, it will undoubtedly be ascribed to a number of causes depending on the school of economics to which you subscribe or the daily newspaper you read. For some it will be the unpatriotic workers daring, like Oliver Twist, to ask for more instead of producing more; for others it will be due to excessive profits and bad management; some will blame expenditure on armaments or the "pampering of the workers" with the Welfare State; others will blame the loss of markets on the "dumping" of goods by Japan and now Germany. A hundred different reasons will be offered (many of them cancelling each other out) and as many solutions. But only a handful of anarchists and a few unorthodox socialists, have the temerity to suggest that perhaps the real answer has eluded the City experts, the Oxford dons and the wizards of Economics: that the clouds on the horizon are a crisis of Capitalism. But it is too much to expect that the experts, the Press, the Politicians and Industrialists and the Trade Union leaders whose very existence depends on the System should dream of questioning its validity!

THE disease from which we are suffering (and apparently not in this country but in America for instance and even in Western Germany), is called an "inflationary situation". "As everyone knows", writes the *Observer* (21/8/55), "the trouble consists in too much money chasing too few goods and too many jobs chasing too few workers". The "obvious remedies" for this ailment are "to take away some of the spending money and to increase the

output of goods, while making more workers available by eliminating some existing jobs". And we are assured by the *Observer* that "however it may be wrapped up, there is no getting round this awkward truth". For those who understand the finer points of the theory of capitalist economics it may well be a "truth" however "awkward"; for us such "truths" belong to the fantasies of *Alice in Wonderland*. To our minds "too much money chasing too few goods" indicates that too many workers are producing non-consumer goods (armaments, prestige buildings and the like) or no goods or services (for the public) at all (soldiering, chauffeurs for Lady Docker, door-keepers and butlers for Lord Muck and the like) and that there is a great deal of money in circulation which has not been worked for (profits).

We realise that to advocate the

abolition of profits, and production of goods for use, and services for the benefit of the public as a whole (less chauffeurs and flunkies for the Lady Dockers and more service flats for the aged, for instance!) we are advocating the abolition of capitalism. But if Mr. Butler and his economist friends had in fact the public good at heart this is what they would have to advocate.

IT may be true, as even some anarchists maintain, that increases in wages are only effected at the ex-

pense of the community as a whole, but we do not think that the extent of exploitation (that is, profits from the employment of labour) in certain industries is sufficiently realised. Whilst the statement by Sir John Braithwaite, chairman of the Stock Exchange was prominently headlined in last Monday's Press (that since 1947 the advance in wages and salaries was nearly fourteen times as much as the volume in interest and dividends) the cold figures contained in the *Report of the Commissioners of H.M. Inland Revenue* for

1954 receive much less publicity, yet seem to us to be much more significant in what they reveal. In the year 1952-3 Company profits amounted to £1,860 millions. In the corresponding period the earnings of 19.6 million employees under the Pay As You Earn (P.A.Y.E.) scheme was £8,155 million. In other words if the profit system did not exist either the public would have paid £1,860 millions less for the goods and services they obtained or the 19.6 million wage earners could have earned nearly £100 a year more in their wage packet without any increase in prices. We have purposely erred on the wrong side so far as our argument is concerned; * we think the

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A Dangerous Proposal

PHILADELPHIA, AUGUST 23.

The American Bar Association yesterday approved a proposed bill that would allow the theories of communism to be taught in United States schools to show how they differ from the American way of life. The bill is sponsored by Mr. Daniel Flood, Democratic member of the House of Representatives from Philadelphia.—*Reuter*.

THE EVENT OF THE MONTH The Pleasures of Commercial TV

(From our TV Correspondent)
ON September 22nd war is scheduled to commence between that worthy and conservative institution the B.B.C., and a brand new protagonist the Independent Television Authority. For in this enlightened era the great British public is to be permitted to see commercial television, and will be subjected to the serious dangers of having its cultural standards lowered. No longer will it be possible to forecast with absolute certainty that at whatever time one may tune in the pro-

gramme will be above reproach. Where commerce is concerned nothing is sacred—programmes may even be broadcast with no cultural content whatsoever—unlike B.B.C. television. But this is not quite true, for the independence of the I.T.A. is to be tempered (or is it tampered?) with a little governmental control. Only 52½ hours transmission are to be allowed; nothing on Sunday mornings (on no account must television temptations detract from church-going); blank screens between six and seven p.m. so that the children may be more easily persuaded to go to bed (or is this the only way to separate parents from their sets?); no advertising from moneylenders, matrimonial agencies, fortune-tellers, undertakers, bookmakers, slimming experts, manufacturers of bust-developers or contraceptives, smoking cures or alcoholic treatment products. (An interesting if somewhat motley collection). Finally, programmes for children must include "no method of advertisement . . . which takes advantage of the natural credulity or sense of loyalty of children." (Perhaps this should also apply to adults). Otherwise the I.T.A. is almost as free as the air. For the advertiser there will be innumerable problems. As yet it is

impossible to say just how the adult population of Britain will react to commercial TV.—even the adolescent Americans dislike having breakfast food thrust upon them by an excruciatingly amusing comedian—even though in I.T.A. the sales "plug" will only be permitted for six minutes in the hour during "natural breaks" in the programme, it is an open question whether Mr. and Mrs. Smith will enjoy even a subtle reminder that "Tuz" is the best washing-up powder—just as they finish their evening repast. Since sponsors cannot choose their own programmes one visualises awkward and even embarrassing moments in which the overwhelming advantages of Stinkfumes cigarettes are lauded immediately before a discussion on lung cancer. The Director-General of I.T.A., Sir Robert Fraser, has forecast a fantastic rise in the sale of TV. sets from the present 4½ to 12 million, so it is reasonable to suppose that at last everyone is in a position to "keep up with the Jones." Sir Robert has gone so far as to commit himself to the following devastating remark: "TV. is the greatest of all civilizing forces . . . So long as it is not actually wicked, it is a great force—even if it is fairly bad." Now we know what to expect.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST Capital Punishment

A NATIONAL campaign against capital punishment is to be launched, backed up by the names of a number of well-known people. A letter which has already appeared in the usual papers, sets out the general idea of the campaign. It says:

A national campaign is about to be launched with the object of bringing capital punishment to an end at the earliest possible moment. The executive committee consists of Canon Collins of St. Paul's, Mr. Gerald Gardiner, Q.C., Mr. Christopher Hollis, Mr. Arthur Koestler, Mr. Frank Owen, and Mr. Reginald Paget, Q.C.; and a committee of honour is being formed, widely representative of the national life. Among the first members of this committee are Mr. Benjamin Britten, C.H., Mr. Frank Byers, Professor C. Day-Lewis, Miss Jacquetta Hawkes, Lord Listowel, Mr. Henry Moore, C.H., Lord Pakenham, Mr. J. B. Priestley, Canon Raven, Miss Moira Shearer, Dr. Donald Soper, and Mr. R. R. Stokes.

The campaign will be partly educational: books and pamphlets will be issued, and meetings will be organised. But we shall also be concerned to give people already opposed to capital punishment an opportunity for expressing their conscience. We shall suggest, for instance, that abolitionists may think fit to abstain from going to any entertainment or party on the eve of an execution, and may wish to attend a place of worship or assembly (and we shall arrange for such places to be open for the purpose). Other projects are under consideration.

The campaign will be conducted in a reverent spirit; any disruptive or sensational action, such as demonstrations outside prisons, will be rigorously discounted.

Considerable funds will be required, and we beg those in sympathy with us to send a contribution, however small (but as large as possible, please), to Mrs. Peggy Duff, National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, 14 Henrietta Street, London, W.C.2. People unable to contribute are asked, nevertheless, to send a postcard to Mrs. Duff, putting on it only the word "Abolition-

ist." and the sender's name and address in capitals—Yours &c., VICTOR GOLLANCZ, Chairman, National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, 14 Henrietta Street, London, W.C.2.

When the idea for the campaign was first mentioned in the Press, it was stated that the organisers were thinking of encouraging token strikes in industry at the time of an execution. This, however, was denied, and in our view, wisely.

Not that we do not think that mass direct action would be the most effective means of making the Government shift from its position of support for hanging. We do think so, but it is far better to announce objectives that you think you can reach and to use means that are within your scope, than to call for action that doesn't come. A failure of a big plan is far worse propaganda than success on a small scale.

Organised throughout industry, a down tools even for an hour would be a most effective way of national protest, but we do not see the names of anyone who could be called a 'Labour Leader' among the advertised supporters of Mr. Gollancz's campaign. And, things being as they are, we think it unlikely that any noticeable number of workers would take direct action without leadership of the kind they have been conditioned to obey.

The campaign seems to us very much worthy of support, and although anarchists will most probably not wish to visit places of worship, they will not doubt be able to think of many ways of supporting the work of the organisers that they can undertake in accord with their principles.

FREEDOM has consistently campaigned for the abolition of the death penalty, and we welcome all organised activity towards that end.

United Nations "Humanises" The Prisons

THE International Charter for the Treatment of Convicts was submitted by the UN. Secretariat to the 60-nation Congress on Prevention of Crime which opened on Monday, 22nd August, according to Associated Press. It calls for the abolition of corporal punishment, chains, darkened punishment cells and armed guards. The 95 articles were drafted by the Social Defence section and handed to each of the 500 delegates. Article One declares that "there shall be no discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion . . . property, birth or other status." The draft said: "Corporal punishment, punishment by placing in a dark cell, and all cruel, inhuman or degrading punishments shall be completely prohibited." Close confinement or reduction of food should never be inflicted unless a doctor consents. Article 34 lays down that: "Instruments of restraint, such as handcuffs, chains, irons and strait-jackets shall never be applied as a punishment," handcuffs were permissible as a precaution against escape during a transfer. Bad language to prisoners must be forbidden. Warders should be trained to restrain aggressive prisoners but except in special circumstances, those who are in direct contact with prisoners should not be armed.

Cells, says the Charter, should have windows which could be opened. Every prison should have a library, with prisoners encouraged to make full use of it, and they should be kept informed of world news.

Special nurseries should be maintained wherever infants were permitted to remain in prison with their mothers.

It has to be noted that no mention is made of the inhuman practise of hanging. Would this be too much of an embarrassment to the powerful Member Nation where hanging is still considered a "civilized" necessity!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 34

Deficit on Freedom	£510
Contributions received	£433
DEFICIT	£77

August 19 to August 25

Falmouth: R.W. 1/-; Glasgow: S.M. 2/9;	
London: Anon. 2/-; London: N.B.T.* 5/-;	
London: D.R.* 10/-; Oxford: L.O. 10/-.	
Total	1 10 9
Previously acknowledged	432 1 11
1955 TOTAL TO DATE	£433 12 8

*denotes regular contributors.

ANARCHISM, ZIONISM & THE KIBBUTZ-I

LAST January, in introducing the review of *Village by the Jordan*, by Joseph Baratz, the reminiscences of one of the pioneers of the Jewish Collective settlements in Palestine, I attempted to illustrate what I felt by taking as an analogy an imaginary East European family of four brothers at the beginning of this century. One emigrated to America and made good in the ladies' garment industry, another emigrated and was active in the political movements of the left, another stayed at home and died at Auschwitz. The fourth brother, I wrote,

"went to Palestine and worked on the land. He worked desperately hard for years; he survived malaria, sunstroke, and the bullets of Bedouin raiders. Today he looks around and in a lot of ways is a disillusioned man. He was a freethinker, a socialist and an internationalist, and as he looks at the nation he helped to create, he is worried by religious bigotry, commercial opportunism, the possible growth of a new depressed class of Oriental immigrants, militarism at home and hatred beyond the frontiers. But he feels at the same time that he has made something with his life, he has watched his village grow from a desolate valley which, when he came, could not even support a family of nomads, he is proud of what he has achieved, of his children and grandchildren, of the refuge he has been able to give to those who fled from oppression, he feels, in fact, that he has added to the quality of life."

SOON after writing this I met a man who was a combination of the first two of the imaginary brothers. He had gone from Russia to America forty-five years ago, and had been active in the Jewish workers' movement in the tailoring trade in New York. Eventually he had prospered, and when I met him he was stopping in London on his way home from his plane trip to Israel. I wanted to ask him his impressions of the *kvutot* and *kibbutzim*, but what had impressed him most was the Israeli army, "smarter than our G.I.'s," he said. I laughed and said, "I bet when you were young you used to say that Zionism was a means of diverting the worker's energy away from the struggle for social justice, but now, when there is one aspect of the Jewish State which evokes the admiration of anarchists, for whom *Eretz Israel* is just another State, you fall for the whole thing, hook, line and sinker."

"It's true," he replied, "but a lot has happened since I was young. Hitler for instance. We won our struggle for better wages and conditions, by now you'd call me a capitalist. And the final outcome of the Russian Revolution cooled

off our more revolutionary ambitions. And it wasn't Jewish nationalism that made Israel necessary, but European anti-semitism. Besides, not everyone then or now regarded Zionism and socialism as incompatible."

Baratz and my American friend, left me asking questions about the origins of the idea of settlement in Palestine, about the old Jewish labour movement, and about those aspects of left-wing or Poale-Zionism which linked it to anarchism and libertarian socialism. Many of my questions must have been amply answered in pur American contemporary the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, or in Israeli publications, which are closed to me as I cannot read either Yiddish or Hebrew. But one very valuable source of information about the Jewish anarchist movement, and about an absorbingly interesting period of anarchist history in general is soon to be opened to English readers. I refer to Rudolf Rocker's *Autobiography*, which we have heard of in Spanish, in German, and in Yiddish, and which has now been translated by Mr. Joseph Leftwich, and is to be published in London before the end of the year, by Robert Anscombe & Co.

I HAVE been reading Mr. Leftwich's introduction to the book, which contains his own reminiscences of Jewish life in East London in the days when Rocker was editing the *Arbeiter Freund* and *Germinal*, and organising the Bakers' Co-operative, and the strikes against the 'sweatshop system' in the tailoring trade in 1906 and 1912*. When Mr. Leftwich comes to the question of the relationship with Labour Zionism, he writes:

"If anything, Rocker seems to have had a blind eye to the inner strength of Zionist feeling among the East End Jews. He says what must then have looked justified, that 'Zionism was at that time a negligible factor among the Jewish workers in London'. . . It is factually correct. Paul Goodman, a life-long Zionist, writes in his history of *Zionism in England* that 'among the un-Anglicised section, the working classes took with alacrity to the Socialist propaganda—strongly flavoured with atheistic Anarchism—that was to bring a new world into being'. And 'as a whole, the Com-

munity, native and foreign, was too pre-occupied with the problems arising out of the Jewish congestion in certain parts of London and the Provinces to turn away from local needs to the pursuit of Palestinophile ideas, whose sole merit was their pale and rather sickly romanticism'.

"The story of Labour Zionism and the Socialist Zionist movements began later . . . It was not until 1906 that the first Poale Zion Conference was held in England. . . For a long time the young, small Socialist Zionist movement had to fight theoretical battles both with the orthodox Socialist and with the Anarchists, as well as with the orthodox Zionists. Ben Gurion looking back said of his Poale Zion movement: 'We have been mocked at by the great authorities of Zionism and Socialism who have seen in what we have been trying to do something quite unorthodox from their own dogmatic viewpoints.' Borochof, the theoretician of Poale Zionism, engaged in arguments with the Anarchists. They were an intellectual force in the Jewish working class movement at that time. 'The Anarchists try to simplify the tactics of the Labour movement', he wrote, attempting to justify the complex integration in his movement of the two ideas of Socialism and Zionism."

"When the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* celebrated its 60th birthday, the largest daily in Israel, *Davar*, organ of the government Labour Party, published an article emphasising its 'freedom of expression, even for opponents, which went so far that as long ago as 1891 it gave space to Alexander Harkavy to publish an article in its columns defending the idea of the *Yishuv* in Palestine."

"I need not be a Zionist to realise that much of the spirit of the old comrades has been poured into the new movement which has established the State of Israel. . . Of course, it worked also in the opposite direction. I knew Dr. Salkind, who succeeded Rocker and Linder as editor of the *Arbeiter Freund*, when he was a Rabbi and a pioneer Zionist. But some had combined Anarchism and Zionism even in the early days. Dr. Zolotarov, one of the pioneers of the Jewish Anarchist movement, one of the editors of the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* and a contributor to the *Arbeiter Freund*, was moved by the Kishinev pogrom of 1903 to join 'the radical Zionist movement, though he did not abandon his collabora-

tion in the Anarchist publications."

"Rocker tells the story of the printer Narodiczky, a well-known Zionist figure in the East End, whose printing press still exists there, who had printed his periodical *Germinal*. 'He had come to accept our libertarian ideas, without however abandoning his Zionism. He believed that a Jewish Palestine would offer a better field for new social experiments than the old countries of Europe'. Rocker's friend Gustav Landauer was an anarchist thinker who was interested in Zionism. Brenner, who had worked as a printer with Narodiczky in London, and A. D. Gordon, who both died in Palestine, were Anarchists in the Tolstoyan sense. Lieberman, who is to Rocker the 'father' of Jewish Socialism and Jew-Anarchism, is also claimed as the 'father' of Socialist Zionism."

"The roots of all these movements go far back in Jewish history and Jewish belief. Moishe Shtarkman, writing in the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* in 1955, quoted passages from the Talmud, and explained where he had found them, 'not in modern heretical anarchist pamphlets. These were not ideas,' he said, 'that young Jews had absorbed in London and New York. They were a revival of the old Jewish Messianic faith. The libertarian movement used a new terminology for ancient Jewish ideas, which were near to the hearts of these young Jews. If such veterans of Jewish anarchism as Zolotarov and Katz afterwards became spokesmen of the radical Zionist

movement and of Poale Zionism, it was no contradiction to their anarchist activity."

I HAVE made these long quotations from Mr. Leftwich's very interesting Introduction, because they answer one of the questions I had asked, because they throw light on a side of the Jewish anarchist movement which we have never mentioned before, and because they show how difficult it is to make sweeping generalisations about Zionism which has so many aspects, good and bad. In 1920, after Rocker's deportation to Germany following his internment during the war, Dr. J. M. Salkind revived for a while the *Arbeiter Freund*, and I notice that FREEDOM (May 1920), referred to his "having previously been a strong supporter of Zionism which he now realises is of no value to the workers",—a change, as Mr. Leftwich says, in the opposite direction to the general tendency. For by this time, America had ceased to be the Promised Land for the impoverished Jews of Eastern Europe, and emigration to Palestine had become, not for nationalistic or religious, but for practical reasons, their only hope of escape from increasing political and economic pressure in Russia, Poland and Rumania. As Henrik Infield puts it:

"Palestine, at the end of the first World War, was to become the main haven of the persecuted Jew. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 brought political recognition to the Zionist colonisation in Palestine. The post-war pogroms surpassed in intensity of terror and in

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COMMENT ON

Speakers at Hyde Park

AS a frequent listener to anarchist speakers at Hyde Park, I freely admit a considerable admiration for their prowess in putting the anarchist point of view in a clear and straightforward way, though it is perhaps open to debate as to how much value may be put upon this form of propaganda. The optimists would have us believe that an ever-increasing number of receptive listeners gradually incline towards anarchism as a result of public speaking, the cynics hold the view that the method 'does something' for the speaker if nothing else! Possibly the cynical-optimist (if

he exists), could give us the answer, but what is important is that the propaganda should be put over in the most effective way as to be likely to convince sympathisers and potential sympathisers of the essential reasonableness of the anarchist case.

To my mind there is one outstanding trap into which almost all the anarchist speakers fall, and in so doing do not gain that measure of agreement from the audience which might otherwise be possible. It is in their apparent attitude towards all politicians and others in a position of power. Usually by implication, most anarchist speakers appear to believe that all these individuals take on the mantle of power with doubtful and questionable motives—for personal gain or personal satisfaction of their own foul ends.

This seems to me to be an overstatement of the position. Whilst accepting the general principle put forward by Stirner (and others), that we are all guided by self-interest; and being in agreement with Lord Acton, that power corrupts, it does not necessarily follow that all M.P.'s are sitting in the House designing the downfall of the people in order to feather their own nests! It is unquestionably true of some M.P.'s and equally untrue of others.

It is fair to say that very little (if anything), can be achieved through governmental institutions, but the fact that a Labour M.P. who is also a Socialist cannot achieve any 'real progress' by being in Parliament does not mean that he does not have a sincere wish to do so. His motives may be entirely reasonable although his methods are wrong. One can say therefore that his own self-interest may coincide with what anarchists consider to be progressive although there is little that he can do.

The point therefore is that most anarchist-platform listeners find it difficult to believe that Sidney Silverman or Fenner Brockway (for example), are merely in Parliament for their own purposes. Whilst they may accept the argument that the system does not allow even enlightened men to succeed to any extent, should their favourite politician's motives be taken into question they become unreciprocal and the case which is being put forward may well become unacceptable.

Finally, I do not think that most anarchist speakers suppose that all power-seekers have bad motives, but that in being positive in their platform approach they tend to paint politicians black and 'the underdog' white. In reality we are all some shade of grey, and a large number of those in power are probably rather a dark shade. H.F.W.

Unearned Income

Indian Prince Uberi, on holiday from Kashmir, went to the Deauville casino last night wearing a dinner jacket, a fancy lace shirt, and a tasselled black "bootlace" tie.

Prince Uberi "rationed" himself to £20,000 for the night on roulette. After losing £8,000 he changed tables and lost the rest.

It would take a British worker nearly 40 years to earn what the prince was able to gamble in a night.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

VIEWPOINT

The Tourist Plague

ONE of the less dramatic, but nonetheless infuriating, evils of commercial society is the "tourist trade". In the eighteenth century it was still only the aristocracy who could afford to travel for pleasure. They made The Grand Tour, going round Europe as part of their education. As there were relatively few of them the harm they could do was not great. In the nineteenth century the bourgeoisie started to go on tour, and the trouble began. Partly it was due no doubt to the Romantic Movement. People who could afford to begin to take an interest in the past, and in wild and beautiful spots. Ruined castles were visited, and such places as the Highlands of Scotland, thanks to the novels of Scott. This was not all bad. With the exception of a handful of aristocrats the people of the eighteenth century had no interest in the past. If anything they had a hate of it. The destruction of the great stone circle of Avebury, which easily dwarfed Stonehenge, in order to provide building materials for cottages, was typical of the vandalism of earlier ages. There was a tendency in the Age of Reason to decry modern man's "rude" or "barbaric" ancestors. The cult of the wild and "romantic" which followed did at least lead to the preservation of many an ancient monument that would otherwise have gone out of existence.

Partly also the impulse to visit beautiful spots and places "of historical interest" was the product of the living conditions of the bourgeoisie. To live all one's life in the stuffy atmosphere of a Victorian suburb—though many modern ones are not much better—must have produced a passionate desire to escape. The trouble was, and is, that the escapers took with them the very atmosphere from which they were fleeing. The improved communications, the development of the railways, followed by the car and the bus or touring coach, made it possible for more and more people "to get away from it all".

There is no question that our island is over-populated. The result of the increased transport facilities has been that now huge hordes of people can escape *en masse* from the big cities. This looks good at first sight, until one realises that, despite their desire to escape the big city, they know only the way of life of the big city, and so they bring it with them.

All the most beautiful or interesting places are spoiled at once. I had this brought home to me in a recent trip to

Cornwall. Villages that had once been curious, and full of interest, have now become little different from Ealing Broadway. The little old houses become either "sights", at an exorbitant cost of entry, or gift-shops selling things which, if they were not decorated with little pictures and the words "A Present From . . ." would not sell even in our junk-ridden society. The people who used to live in these villages were once smugglers and fishermen, sturdy fellows with whom the government dared not meddle. Some of these smuggling communities were practically independent, having their own fleets of swift, heavily-armed sailing boats that could tackle the Revenue cutters on an equal basis. One hardly wants to go back to the brutal past, but the present may scarcely be called an improvement. If it be urged that the tourist is the sole means of livelihood, under present economic conditions, of the population of these places, then the answer is, so much the worse for present conditions. It merely displays how rotten present society is.

Land's End and Tintagel have both been seriously spoiled by the presence of huge hotels, placed right on the top of the headlands, looking as if they had been detached, and removed *en bloc*, from a London terminus, Liverpool Street or Paddington.

In Wales the Devil's Bridge has paid dearly for the fame it has acquired. This was once a wierd and lonely spot, the sort of place that one would associate with the Devil. A notice tells you that the scene has inspired poets, but it would certainly not do so now. In order to get down off the roadway you have to pay and pass through a turnstile. In order to see the bridge from both sides you have to pay twice and go through two turnstiles (run by rival organisations?) on opposite sides of the road. Then you stagger down a narrow path, continually avoiding falling over school-children, slipping on banana peel, and all the rest of it. To get the best out of a place like this, one should visit it in solitude, or with one or two people. When one has to queue for it the effect is spoiled. There is of course a perfectly huge hotel not far off.

One of the things that strikes one most about these places is the degradation of local tradition. In Cornwall small statues of "piskies" (whatever they may be),

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STOP BLAMING THE WORKERS!

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figure significant enough even at its lowest level.

The relation between wages and profits in certain industries is particularly revealing. In the "Chemicals and Allied Trades" the net profits were £94m. in an industry with a wage bill of £192m; in Iron & Steel the corresponding figures were £82m. and £266m., in Shipbuilding and non-electrical engineering £160m. and £611m., Electrical Engineering, etc., £79m. and £254m., Vehicles £101m. and £363m., Paper & Printing £113m. and £214m., Shipping £67m. and £84m., Wool £30m. and £60m. and in Cotton profits were £78million against a wage bill of only £83 million!

★

IT is a curious phenomenon of capitalism (at least for us), that whereas during the past ten years of "peace" we have heard no concern expressed by the armaments industry as to the effect that increasing output of arms would have on armament prices we are always reading about the serious effects upon world markets resulting from bumper crops of commodities such as food. Apparently British farmers last year "glutted" the market with, say the merchants and millers, corn that was damp and of poor quality. This year they have sown half a million acres less, the corn, thanks to our Indian summer, is dry but the tragedy is that the yield is much higher than in any of the past five years, so the farmers are again worried about the prices their produce will fetch! Apparently the acreage sown is determined by "the state of the wheat market" and not by the number of hungry mouths in the world.

The *Observer* advocates an "increase in the output of goods" as if "prosperity" under capitalism depended on an ever increasing output. Prosperity is a relative term, like equality at *Animal Farm* and some people are more prosperous than others.

Is the problem of "too much money" solved by increased production or by foreign investment? Is the "prosperity" of a nation achieved at the expense of the misery of other nations, that is Imperialism all over again with the only difference that now one achieves the same ends with dollar bills instead of missionaries and guns and physical subjugation?

According to figures compiled by the Commerce Department's Office of Business Economics and recently issued in Washington, private United States investment abroad last year showed a rise of nearly \$3,000 million (£1,000 million) and that of United States corporations \$1,400 million (£500 million). Private investments abroad now total \$26,500 million (£9,000 million) and the

*We have included in our figure of wage earners those workers engaged in nationalised industries (coal mining, railways, gas, electricity and water), totalling 1,860,000 and earning £845 million as well as those in Public Administration and defence (1,820,000 earning £777 million). Furthermore we have only taken in our figure for profits the earnings of Companies, leaving out of account the profits made by concerns run by "individuals" (£121 million) and "partnerships" (£62 million) though obviously a large number of these employed labour which is included in the P.A.Y.E. figures. If one took these items into account, and still ignoring the "legitimate" charges against profits such as advertising, "business expenses", prestige building and the rest, our estimate would be nearer £120 per annum for 16 million employees (including the confidential clerk as well as the sweeper-up and tea boy).

Corporations have invested abroad no less than \$10,000 million (£3,500 million) since the end of War II. We do not know what the earnings are on these investments, but one can imagine that by comparison the British figure of £293 million for 1954 must appear insignificant. It is interesting to note that "earnings" (interest, profits and dividends) from foreign investments of sterling during the three years 1952-3-4, £295m., £285m. and £293 m. respectively, appear to be almost stationary and might indicate that this country, unlike America, is not finding an outlet for its surplus money.

★
WHAT happens when the world's markets are saturated, when the world is "developed" and every country is suffering from inflation and unable to find outlets through foreign investment? Either capitalism will have saved itself by colonising and "developing" outer space or, what we would much prefer to believe, that long before such a situation is reached the teeming millions of the world who are the victims of capitalism, will have found new, less wasteful and more just ways of providing for the needs of mankind. Curiously enough the technical aspect of the organisation of production and distribution for use, is less of a problem than that of making enough people aware of the injustice, inhumanity and wastefulness of the existing system!

Anarchism, Zionism & the Kibbutz

Continued from p. 2

scope any that had afflicted eastern Jewry. The restrictions of immigration were made more stringent not only in the United States but elsewhere. To the youth of eastern Europe, particularly the 'old-new' land appeared as an oasis wherein life, if only by contrast with what they led, must be both good and happy.¹

It is here that we find the historical justification of Zionism, for not only did the situation of the Eastern Jews become more perilous in the subsequent years, but in Germany, where Jewish assimilation and 'westernisation' had been most complete, and where consequently, Zionist ideas had far less influence, the rise of Nazism brought the same perils. Dr. Arthur Ruppin, who worked so devotedly in Palestine, declared in 1933:

"I have spoken with German Jews who until very recently were among the bitterest opponents of Zionism and of the work in Palestine and who to-day admit that they were mistaken, and that the German Jews would be in even greater despair if Palestine did not exist as a moral support and an economic hope."²

and in the previous year in an address in Germany, foreseeing the accession of the Nazis he had said:

"It is a frightful tragedy, this growing up of a young, gifted, and industrious generation, which cannot find an outlet for its energies in the land of its birth. If Zionism does nothing more than bring hope into the life of this particular generation, it has achieved a great thing."³

As the terror increased, culminating in the Nazi's 'final solution', the attempt to exterminate European Jewry, the realisation that all frontiers were closed to them and that no government would help them, led the emissaries of the Union of Collective Settlements, the 'handful of devoted and courageous men and women' whose activities were recently described in *FREEDOM*,⁴ to organise illegal immigration in defiance of the British mandatory government.

★
ZIONISM has in fact four aspects, which it is often difficult to separate. The first, which we have mentioned above, is that of the physical survival of Jewish people, quite literally a matter of life and death. The second is the fulfilment of Hebrew prophecy, 'God will not

MaCarthy's Supporters

The Catholic War Veterans of the U.S.A. adopted a resolution yesterday opposing recognition of Red China or her admission to the United Nations. The organization commended the anti-Communist work of Senator Joseph R. MaCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin.

The resolutions were adopted by 300 delegates at a closed session of the national convention. Four thousand persons are registered for the convention, which is at the Commodore Hotel. Total national membership is 217,000.

American Security Hysteria

AT one time or another most of us have wondered exactly what goes on behind the locked doors of the American security investigation bureau. We have all read with comparative amazement of some of the more far-fetched reasons the investigators have given for causing individuals to be dismissed from government employment, and in many instances accusations have been completely non-proven, and still the employee gets the sack. When this happens the person concerned is automatically regarded as a Communist who's one aim is to cause the immediate downfall of the American Government, and he becomes unwanted, unloved and unemployed. Such is the general pattern.

Just recently a young Washington lawyer, Adam Yarmolinsky, who was obviously even more curious than most of us, decided he would like to find out more about the security programme. With assistance from other interested lawyers he decided to investigate the investigations, and a \$50,000 grant was made by the Fund for the Republic to enable the Yarmolinsky group to study about 300 security cases over the past year. Last week the findings of 50 typical cases were made public. Needless to say government files were not made available, but special efforts were made to overcome this difficulty, in that most of the collected evidence was forthcoming from such related documents as the written charges, written responses by those who were investigated and transcripts of hearings given to them.

As was to be expected the case histories provided the usual examples of

injustice and lack of commonsense which have become synonymous with McCarthyite hearings. It is not necessary to restate here a large number of stupid findings which resulted in dismissal for the employee, but there are two absurdities which one may mention because they show the low level at which the "loyalty boards" operate.

An employee said at his hearing that he owned reproductions of Picasso, Matisse, Renoir and Modigliani. He was considered ineligible for a permanent Civil Service appointment and barred from sitting for their examinations for three years! A negro woman employed by the Agriculture Department was questioned as to her relationship with a suspected Communist whom she said she had met two or three times. The following pointless dialogue was reported in *Time*:

- "Q. You say he was dark brown?"
A. Yes.
Q. And would you say you are light brown?
A. No, but he was darker than I am.
Q. What would you say your colour was?
A. I would call myself dark brown.
Q. You call yourself dark brown?
A. Yes.
Q. And—
A. But he was darker than I am.
Q. Considerably darker or just a little darker?
A. I would say two or three shades darker, I guess."

She eventually went back to her old job, but one can guess that her respect for the American way-of-life, as upheld by alleged intelligent men, may well have weakened by two or three points.

From Rome, currently, comes an instance of an American employed by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation, Mr. Gordon McIntire, whose passport has been withdrawn at the insistence of the U.S. Government. He has renewed his appeal to the F.A.O.

W.

The Opposition to Peron

SINCE the June uprising against the Peron Government, clashes between anti-Peron demonstrators and the Police have been frequently reported from Buenos Aires.

The principal political opposition—the Radicals—is split into three conflicting groups and therefore, disunited, does not constitute a serious threat to the Peronists. The Catholics however, are a different matter and are the most militant and dangerous of Peron's opposition, and it is they who are principally responsible for harrowing the Government.

Since June, Government policy has not remained constant. At first, there was a show of relaxation for oppositional movements and speakers were even allowed to broadcast dissident views. Known Anti-Catholic Ministers were replaced, and Rome, after its hasty decision to excommunicate Peron, implied that recantation would rectify that error.

Reports from Argentina in the last ten days indicate a return to the former anti-Church policy. The Police claim that a Catholic plot against Peron's life has been discovered following the Government ban on the traditional public holiday for the Feast of the Assumption. The Ministry of Education said that schools would remain open and children not attending would be penalised; the answer of the Church to this was a declaration that all its schools and colleges would be closed.

Further, the Peronist Party have issued a declaration to the effect that there will be a return to the days of militant Peronism operating on the streets against any opposition. But within the last two days however, there has been another change in an important office. The Foreign Minister, Senor Rómulo, has resigned from office and has been replaced by Dr. Martiniz described "as a man of conservative sympathy in no way identified with any thought of anti-clericalism".

The *Times* editorial of August 27th, commenting on the situation suggests that Peron has in no way altered his attitude to the clergy. This is our own view put forward in previous issues of *FREEDOM*. The editorial continues: "The alliance of militant clergy and disgruntled landowners is still the main threat to his authority. But he is removing leaders who have offended the Church so as to remove the opportunity from those who

to be heard on accusations of subversive activities which led to his dismissal. Both the F.A.O. and the State Department have repeatedly declined to make public what the accusations are, or produce evidence in the form of a letter from the State Department which concerns him. The I.L.O. tribunal which heard the case, consisting of three international jurists, described the dismissal as "a misuse of power" and ordered McIntire's reinstatement. The F.A.O. has refused to comply with the tribunal's order, preferring to pay \$11,000 damages for wrongful dismissal and stating that he is unsuitable for re-employment.

Three weeks ago a young would-be American Merchant Marine officer, Eugene Landy, was refused his commission on no grounds whatsoever. But the reasons were obvious enough, and had nothing to do with his inability to reach the standard required by the Marines. At the Naval Academy he was second in his class, gained high athletic honours and won a prize in naval architecture. The Navy Department 'advised' the Academy not to give him a commission although he had his degree. The grievous crime against the United States which prompted this action was that Landy's mother was a former Communist—a fact which Landy had at no time concealed. The Navy commented in true cloak-and-dagger fashion that Landy was "extremely close" to his mother. How suspicious.

And so runs the course of present American official hysteria. No one is absolutely safe in their job, whether it be with a government department or not. Accusations can be and are made by personal enemies which immediately throw suspicion upon the accused, who is in effect regarded as guilty until he proves himself innocent—even if only unofficially. Reasons for ridiculous decisions may or may not be given, but it makes little difference. The bogey of Communism has spread its shadow over the 'great American scene' and has got completely out of hand. The situation can only improve if and when the U.S. Government is made to realise that it has made itself a laughing stock throughout the world.

come to the heavenly Jerusalem, till Israel has come to the Jerusalem on earth'. The third is the idea of the Jews as a nation:

"The civil and political emancipation of the Jews is not sufficient to raise them in the estimation of the peoples. The proper, the only remedy, would be the creation of a Jewish nationality, of a people living upon its own soil, the auto-emancipation of the Jews; their emancipation as a nation among nations by the acquisition of a home of their own."⁵
The fourth is the idea of new forms of co-operative social life. The theoretical and practical origins of this fourth idea will be discussed in our next issue.

C.W.

*Woodcock and Avakumovic, in their biography of Kropotkin, referring to the founding of the *Workers' Friend* in 1885, declare that the Jewish immigrants in the East End formed, up to 1914, "the most numerically-strong nucleus of libertarian socialism in Britain." Rucker (one of whose achievements was to bring many of the masterpieces of world literature to the immigrants from Russian ghettos, by translating them into Yiddish), reported to the International Anarchist Congress at Amsterdam in 1907, said that they "took an active part in the Jewish Trade Unions of which there were eleven, regarding always Syndicalism as a revolutionary means of emancipation. The *Workers' Friend* had a circulation of 2,500 and had been clearly anarchist for sixteen years. *Germinal*, printed in 48 pages, had 4,000 copies as an issue. The Social Democratic and the Zionist movements are of very little importance among the Jews of England".

1. Henrik Infield: *Co-operative Living in Palestine* (Keegan Paul, 1946).
2. Arthur Ruppin: Address to 18th Zionist Congress, Prague, August 1933.
3. Arthur Ruppin: Address to Convention of German Zionists, Sept. 1932. (Both reprinted in *Three Decades of Palestine* (Schocken, Jerusalem, 1936).)
4. *The Secret Roads* (*FREEDOM*, 18/6/1955).
5. Leo Pinsker: *Auto-Emancipation* (1882).

Hitler's Heirs

Tests now being employed in South Africa to determine whether a man is Coloured (of mixed descent) or African seem as much influenced by the witch doctor as the scientist.

The "scientists" handling the task are weirdly skilled. By feeling the lobe of a man's ear, for example, they can tell whether he is Coloured or African. The latter, they maintain, have softer lobes.

The value of the system is its speed and simplicity. A few questions. The lobe test. A check on the profile for Negroid features. A fine comb drawn through the hair to find the characteristic African wooliness. And within 20 minutes, if the reactions are positive, a man's world is shattered.

He came in a Coloured, possessing a few privileges and a certain status. He goes out an African-by-edict, an outcast from the way of life he has known for perhaps 50 years or more.

If it were not for the sheer tragedy of the results, these "tests" would be laughable. As it is, with Strydom working from a palpably wrong formula, an explosion will come sooner or later.

And the danger is that when it comes a lot of decent, fair-minded South Africans will be caught by the blast.
(*News Chronicle* Editorial).

Give this Mine to the Miners - Now!

LAST Friday Brynhenllys Colliery, at Brynamman, South Wales, was closed down and the 193 miners who worked there were dismissed.

The decision to carry out this action was taken by the National Coal Board because the pit was 'un-economic'. The Board claimed that the men had been guilty of 'deliberate non-co-operation', as a result of which output per manshift was down to 2½ cwt. last June as compared to the usual 18½ cwt.

Throughout the whole area in which Brynhenllys is situated—the No. 9 (Neath) anthracite area—the NCB maintains that it lost 30s. for every ton of coal mined, a total of £2½ million last year.

The anthracite from this area represents a good proportion of that relatively small amount of coal which is still exported from this country. It is potentially the greatest dollar-earning area of the mining industry in Britain yet it is not making money but losing it.

Three months ago the NCB accused the men of deliberately going slow, and warned them of the possibility of closure if there was no improvement in output. Union officials agreed with the NCB that there should be no more go-slows or stoppages and that each man would work his full shift. But in spite of this, production continued to slump and so now, putting all the blame on the miners, the NCB has sacked them and closed the pit.

Profit Before Coal

We have discussed in these columns, over the last four weeks, the dependence of this country upon its coal supplies, and it would seem surprising, in view of the general shortage of coal that any production should be curtailed. The fact is, however, that the National Coal Board has not only to produce coal, it has to produce a profit also. If, therefore, less coal shows a bigger profit, then production will be curtailed in the interests of the balance sheet.

The men in Brynhenllys have by no means accepted full responsibility for the lack of output. They claim that there have been chronic

Here, I Say, Play the Game!

A VERY sinister move with very serious implications has just been reported in the *Sunday Express*. Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, the present Air Minister is learning how to fly!

Lord de L'Isle and Dudley has been Air Minister in both the present and the last Conservative Government, but it will be a very serious departure from democratic practice if Cabinet Ministers are now to be expected to start learning something about their job!

The Air Minister is forty-six years old and managed to get his job without knowing one end of an airplane from the other. In fact, as an officer of the Grenadier Guards, we can be fairly sure that he was a bit contemptuous of these new-fangled machines that had interfered with the gentlemanly conduct of war.

But the noble lord wears the right school tie, belongs to the right clubs, doesn't drop his aitches and all in all was a thoroughly eligible Cabinet Minister for a Government which learned how to play the game on the playing fields of Eton.

The idea that he should dashed well learn something about flying, though, is really a bit much. After all, it might lead to people expecting all Ministers to know something practical connected with their office. Instead of being quite happy to have a Minister of Health who failed his exams as a medical student, they might demand someone in the job with practical knowledge of the Health Service.

They might expect the Postmaster-General to do a spell as a common postman instead of issuing restrictive directives to the BBC. Or the Minister of Housing learn how to lay a damp-course. And what they might expect of the Privy Councillor doesn't bear thinking of.

No, it's a dashed bad precedent Lord Duds is setting. After all, Cabinet Lords are for gentlemen, not practical chaps.

difficulties with the management, that machinery has been at fault, and that methods of production unsuited to the conditions underground have been introduced, leading to disagreements, arguments and dissatisfaction, with consequent loss of working time.

For the men concerned, the closure of the colliery is naturally a very serious business. There is simply no other work for them in the area. Unlike other coalfields, here most pits are overmanned and the alternatives facing the 193 are to move right away to different coalfields altogether, or to go on the dole. For some of the younger men, loss of employment in the mines will mean call-up in the army. And the situation may well be aggravated soon, for there are four other pits in the same area suffering from the same unprofitable output, and the NCB is threatening to close these down as well.

Union Caved In

Fourteen days' notice was given that Brynhenllys was to close down, and in that time attempts were made to get the National Union of Mineworkers to organise a regional strike in protest. But the NUM is so far gone in its alliance with the Coal Board that it caved in without a struggle, to watch 193 of its members thrown on the dole and to give the NCB the green light that it is safe to go ahead and attack the

Let 'Em All Go!

CATHOLICISM being a universal creed, it follows that the Pope's domain extends right through the limitless universe. And to make sure that the Holy Father's claim shall be staked at the earliest possible moment, seats are being booked on the first rocket to the Moon.

The *Sunday Express* reports: 'The space travel craze has reached the Vatican. High officials are brushing up their planetary lore.'

'For the Roman Catholic Church is seriously considering the possibility that man will rocket to other worlds. And it wants to be in it from the start.'

'The official Vatican newspaper *Osservatore Romano* writes: "Priests will join expeditions into space, as with preceding discovery expeditions on earth; a new era is opening for our missionaries."

'Another journal admits that man may one day reach the Moon or Mars. So the Church is ready to send missionaries along, if not to convert the Martians at least to help space travellers.'

And as far as we are concerned—the farther they go, the better we shall like it here on Earth.

Is Prison a Deterrent?

IF the punishment meted out by our legal system is the deterrent that it is supposed to be, then surely the most law-abiding citizens should be those who know what it is like!

This is constantly being proved wrong by the number of prisoners who return for second, third and anything up to twenty further sojourns behind bars, showing that their first experience did not deter them from whatever activity landed them there.

Criminals, however, may be special cases. How about the 'respectable' people who know what prison is like? The number of such people is very small, most respectable members of society taking good care to have nothing to do with the beastly places, and so among the law-abiding citizens with 'inside' knowledge, prison officers represent a fairly high proportion.

Did we say 'law-abiding'? Well, we're not so sure about that. These strange authoritarian types who give themselves life sentences do so for a variety of reasons, and respect for the law is probably very low down on the list. A safe job with a pension is probably the

SEATTLE READERS PLEASE NOTE

Comrades interested in the formation of an anarchist group in Seattle write Box 949, 920 Third Avenue, Seattle 4, Washington.

other four collieries any time it likes.

At an area delegate meeting the day before closure, the union delegates contented themselves with merely passing a resolution demanding guarantees of employment for the sacked men. This was an empty gesture, since all the delegates present must have known the labour position in the area.

Having failed then, to make any attempt to defend the men at Brynhenllys, what is the union's answer to their plight? It seems to be nothing but a shrug of the shoulders, and to leave them to get on as well as they can.

Italian Quarry Workers' Strike

DESPITE their division between four union organisations, the marble quarry workers of Massa and Carrara (Italy) recently united in a strike to obtain wage increases and shorter working hours.

The strike was declared jointly by the four unions on July 20th, and statistics were publicly displayed demonstrating that the demands could be met by the employing company without a detrimental effect on local trade. The workers demanded a reduction of the hours from six and a half to six, an increase in pay of 200 lire (1s. 10d.) per day, and a quarter day's pay when rain prevented work. In addition, the anarcho-syndicalist organisation (U.S.I.) demanded that the day lost during the strike should be fully paid for.

During the twelve days of the strike the anarchist movement was intensely active. The Anarchist Federation and the Group "Gino Lucetti" declared their complete solidarity with the workers. The former distributed manifestos urging them to fight until complete victory had been gained, and the latter devoting its "wall newspaper", displayed at Carrara and Avenza, to their support. Of this, the second number called on the workers to go beyond their immediate demands and to occupy the quarries and organise the production of marble on a basis of workers' control. Three days after being displayed it was confiscated by the police, on the grounds of advocating "illegal" action. In reply, the Group published a third issue of protest, pointing out that they had been singled out for attack for having advocated a truly radical solution of the problem, and that, as always, law and force were being used to defend vested interests.

Another incident occurred when police arrested two young workers who were on their way to try to persuade blacklegs to stop work. The strike committee announced that it would not open negotiations until they were released, and their release followed quickly.

After twelve days the strike ended with the granting of a 10% increase in basic pay, plus 30 lire per day. Although not granting "in principle" the idea of paying the workers during the strike, the em-

least harmful incentive—and the attraction of opportunity to bully others one of the most harmful—and probably most common. The majority of prison officers are recruited from Service life and tend to be of low general intelligence. Those with any sense of vocation about their job or social sympathy towards the prisoners in their charge are very rare indeed.

The point is, however, that the morality of the criminal can be as influential on the prison officer, mixing with criminals all day, as upon the other prisoners, and the temptation to make easy money is as difficult to resist for the 'respectable' inmates of jail as for the others. And their special knowledge of what imprisonment means in terms of human misery is no deterrent against breaking the law.

This is borne out in the frequent cases of prison officers found guilty of tobacco-smuggling and like offences. This is a profitable, easy and usually safe activity which pays well. An ounce of tobacco (a valuable currency in prison), can always be obtained at three times its advertised price, and the proportion of warders who do not run any such rackets is extremely small.

The latest example comes from Cardiff prison, where a warder was found guilty of smuggling tobacco to a prisoner who was said to have set himself up as a 'tobacco baron' and bookmaker(!).

The warder's sentence? Three months in Cardiff prison. That should teach him!

Practice Workers' Control!

There is however an answer—the revolutionary one. It is for the 193 miners to occupy the colliery and begin production themselves. Let them set up their own works council and organise the coal-getting according to their own practical knowledge of the pit. Then we could see whether or no the workers, freed from a bureaucratic control from above and from the need to pay compensation to ex-owners, could run the pit on an economic basis.

Our guess is that, left to themselves, they could do it. Clearly,

ployers granted part of the money by back-dating the increase two months. Negotiations are proceeding about the question of working hours.

The successes obtained by the strikers are a testimony to the fact that this was one of the few recent strikes in Italy in which workers have fought for their purely economic interests, untainted by political manoeuvring, that they united on a specific issue despite organisational splits, and to the militancy and influence of the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist movements in the area.

(Information from *Umanità Nova*, Aug. 7 & 14, *Solidaridad Obrera*, Aug. 25).

More Volunteer Street Sweepers

LAST week we reported how the people of Whalley, Lancashire, volunteered for a street-sweeping rota rather than see their village left unsightly by coach-trippers.

It seems that in this they are not unique, for in Croydon, where there is a shortage of street sweepers, the citizens have also volunteered to do the work freely themselves at the weekends.

Unfortunately, however, complications arise at Croydon, for the official council sweepers object to citizens clearing up their own dirt, saying, through their union, 'We would be expected to put the same crazy enthusiasm into the work as the volunteers did.'

The implication behind this is clear: that wage-earners are not so enthusiastic about their work as those who undertake to do it freely in the common interest. Which is what anarchists have been saying for years and indicates that people would do the work better in a free society than under a wage system.

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whatever grievances had hampered production before could be ironed out—there would be no conflicting interests between management and labour—and the sourness and discontent which produced the non-co-operation the NCB complained of, would disappear. The men would have a common interest in getting up the coal, the proceeds from the sale of which they could share among themselves.

The Coal Board is, presumably, liable to pay compensation for Brynhenllys even if it is closed, and must be prepared to do so out of the proceeds from more profitable pits elsewhere. Let the Board continue to do so and leave the miners free to get the coal and market it unhampered by this millstone. The Board will be no worse off, the miners will be earning a living and what coal there is in the mine will be got out.

If the men on the job need subsidising—let the union play its part, and help them out of its overflowing coffers. This is what working-class organisations should be for—and would be the first-thought-of solution if the miners were organised on anarcho-syndicalist lines.

We are confident that these miners will make a living and find responsibility and security at the same time as getting the coal out for the community if we—Give This Mine To The Miners—Now! P.S.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS
Every Sunday at 7.30 at
THE MALATESTA CLUB
155 High Holborn, W.C.1.

(Nearly opposite Holborn Town Hall)
SEPT. 4—Monty Schiman
HOW I SEE ANARCHISM.

SEPT. 11—Dick Stubbs
THE PRESENT TIME

SEPT. 18—Philip Sansom
THE ROLE OF ANARCHISM

SEPT. 25—Schleim Fanaroff
Subject to be announced

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS
Every Thursday at 8.15.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

MANETTE STREET
(Charing X Road)
Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

GLASGOW

OUTDOORS
At Maxwell Street
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

The Malatesta Club

155 HIGH HOLBORN,
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