

December 17th, 1955

Threepence

REFLECTIONS SOME ON THE MONOPOLY REPORT

THE Monopolies and Restrictive Practices Commission's report on the tyre trade in so far as it sheds official light on the business methods both in production and distribution. of the manufacturers and distributors is an interesting, and perhaps valuable, document. But it will only open the eyes of the blind if the public assumes in the first place that there is any connection between the capitalist system of productionthat is for profit—and the "public interest". Yet this is, of course, assumed without discussion by the Commission, and because of this their recommendations are valueless and, even if applied, will not break the monopolist ring.

the evils of monopoly can be ended, and the public interest served, by introducing competition at all levels, The idea is of course that competition brings down production costs as well as distribution costs and profits—all of which will benefit the consumer. Yet the fact is that except in those cases where monopoly is the result of a particular manufacturer possessing the exclusive rights, or production secrets, in a commodity, monopoly is the outcome of competition! A manufacturer intent on capturing a market will, if he is financially strong enough, offer his products at a price which even involves him in a loss, for he knows that he will in so doing oblige his competitors either to maintain their prices and lose business or reduce their prices to his level. In both cases if they are financially weaker than he is, the results will be the same whatever they do: they will be driven out of business or they will agree to be swallowed up by him. The same process applies in retail distribution. It can be argued that in the interim period-that is, whilst this monopolistic war is being fought-

the public reaps the benefits in lower prices. With a gullible public, which has not even the safeguards of an organisation such as a Consumer's Union to test and report on the quality of the competing branded goods being offered on the market, such benefits are, to our minds, ephemeral. For clearly the smaller manufacturers can only hope to hold out against their big brothers, if they can reduce their cost of production. This can be effected either at the expense of the quality, the durability, of their product or by cheaper methods of production.. If they can reduce production costs by techniques unknown to their competitors then eventually they will drive their big brothers out of business and will themselves become the monopolists! And in the circumstances what reason is there to suppose that they will be concerned with keeping down the price to the consumer. The official evidence is that monopolies operate against the "public interest", and there is no reason to suppose that a new monopoly which has been born out of a monopolistic (competitive) war between manufac-Continued on p. 3

The Campaign Against **Integration in Southern States**

THE campaign against integration in the Southern States of America appears to be intensifying, giving further proof to the argument that even "progressive legislation" is not the answer to

It does not openly adopt the more obvious tactics of such organisations as the Ku Klux Klan but wields economic. political and social pressure. It uses local newspapers to publicise the names and addresses of Negroes who have asked to send their children to mixed schools, or those who may be active in Negro organisations. The result may be that a man loses his job and runs the risk of physical attack from the cruder defenders of white supremacy.

THE view of the Commission is that the public interest will be served when competition is introduced into the industry. All members were agreed that the Tyre Manufacturers Conference (T.M.C.) should cease to concern itself with price levels and price changes and that no other body should be set up for this purpose. A majority considered that the system under which identical prices to the consumer are collectively maintained is also against the "public interest". In the Commission's view, the industry's ban on the production of unbranded tyres "promotes safety and is not against the public interest" but they consider that "the ban on private brand tyres for concerns outside the Conference is restrictive of competition and should be discontinued. The "secret end-of-year allowances paid by the Dunlop Rubber Company to certain customers, and the secret monthly credits allowed by a smaller manufacturer, provides a form of clandestine price competition which is better than none at all. They are therefore not against the public interest".

deep-rooted racial prejudice. Those white citizens in the South, opposed to the Supreme Court ruling in 1954, may be making their last stand against a process of development, attributable to the social sciences, which clearly cuts the ground away from the racial superiority view. But, even so, their fight to maintain segregation is perpetuating fear and hate which makes the future look bloody and bleak. Far from accepting the ruling of the Court, there is a wellorganised movement developing in many of the Southern States to stem the "threat" of desegregation. One such movement, The Association of Citizens' Councils, organised in Mississippi has as its aim, in the words of U.S. Senator James Oliver Eastland, the prevention of the

"monstrous crime . . . dictated by political pressure groups bent upon the destruction of the American system of Government and the mongrelization of the white race . . . those who would mix little children of both races in our schools are following an illegal, immoral and sinful doctrine".

The Association of Citizens' Councils has 260 member groups throughout the South, and has among its members businessmen, legislators and politicians.

Negro traders have been forced out of business because they have dared to indicate that they are on a par with the white man; wholesalers deny them goods; banks refuse them credit and rival businesses are opened. Negroes employed by whites are warned not to trade with them. In addition to this there has been a new outburst of violence against Negroes in some of the states. In the Mississippi Court where two white men were acquitted of the murder of Emmett Till, another white man comes up on a murder charge this week. This time, of a negro petrol-station attendant, who, it is reported, put too much petrol in his tank!

After the Supreme Court decreed an end of segregation on all forms of public transport, many Negroes "have taken their jobs and physical safety in their hands" by insisting on sitting on the white section of buses, resulting in being fired on in their homes and on buses by irate whites. In Los Angeles, the chief of the fire department had to abandon an "integration" system by relieving five Negro firemen from working in a mixed Continued on p.

From the foregoing it is quite clear that in the view of the Commission

To the Point

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 8.

Britain to-day supported a French suggestion to make it more difficult to place so-called "colonial" items on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations by requiring a two-thirds majority for adoption rather than the present simple majority. A spokesman for the British delegation said: "My delegation believes that this suggestion is a good idea. It would help in the exercising of restraint in the placing of items on the agenda, and we would support the idea." It is doubtful whether there will be time for France to make a formal move on the required change of rules at the present session of the Assembly. Should the two-thirds idea be adopted it would make difficult the placing before the Assembly of items such as Algeria, Morrocco, Cyprus, and West New Guinea. It might also have an effect on continued consideration of South African racial policies.-Reuter.

THE GLINSKI CASE Find Police are Perjurers Jury

AT the Old Bailey last Monday, Christopher Glinski was found not guilty by a jury on three charges of having given false evidence at the trial of the notorious Jack Comer in September following a knife fight in Soho. The significance of the verdict can only be properly assessed by extensively quoting Mr. Justice Omerod's summing up of the case. After dealing with the evidence of the 88-year-old parson, a self-confessed perjurer (nevertheless the principal witness for the Crown both in the trial of Mrs. Comer and in the Glinsky case), which the judge (undoubtedly protecting himself against any possible come-back in the event of an appeal), more or less discounted, unless it was corroborated by other witnesses, he passed on to the police witnesses. Of the evidence of Chief Detective-Inspector Mannings and Detective-Superintendent Sparks, he said, the jury might think it was the most important evidence, and, if accepted, the strongest possible corroboration of the evidence of the parson. And he continued:

"But the defence here is that those things said by the police officers to have been said were, in fact, not said to the police at all. "There is no mincing of words in this case. The attitude of the defence is that those two police officers have invented this conversation-that it is a tissue of lies from beginning to end. "They say that not one word was ever said by Glinsky, that it is sheer imagination and made up deliberately by the officers for the purpose of bolstering up the case against Glinsky. "It is not suggested, as it is sometimes, that the police have been mistaken in hearing what was said, or that the recollection of the police is at fault. "It is suggested that the police are deliberately lying in their evidence." Mr. Justice Ormerod continued: "You may well think that whether you are satisfied about this charge or not depends to a large extent on the view you take of the evidence of these two police officers. "You may feel that, as defence counsel has said, there is no room for mistakes. "It cannot be that these police officers thought they heard the remarks by Glinski. You may think either he said them or he did not. "If you are satisfied that Glinski used these words, that is tantamount to a confession and a strong corroboration, at the very least, of Andrews's and Mrs. Smyth's evidence. In those circumstances, you may well think he is guilty.

"If you are not satisfied that these words were said to the two police officers, then you may well think that the evidenceof Andrews and Mrs. Smyth is not sufficient here to sustain a verdict of guilty."

Glinski's answer to the case was a complete denial.

He maintained he had told the truth at the Old Bailey that he had never met Comer until after the trial and had never been to his flat until after the trial, when he went to some sort of party there.

He denied using the words alleged against him by the police officers.

The judge commenting on the conflict of evidence between Glinski and the police added:

"I cannot emphasise too strongly that there is no possibility of mistake.

"Either the two officers are speaking the truth, or it is the most deliberate lie on the part of these two officers to manufacture a case against the accused man."

After fifty-three minutes deliberation the jury returned to give their verdict acquitting Glinski and in effect saying that the two police officers were guilty of the "most deliberate lie" and that they had "manufactured a case against the accused man". Since, in the interests of justice, the Director of Public Prosecutions went to the trouble of having Glinski arrested and, remanded in custody for several weeks, charged with perjury, we are naturally waiting to hear that the two police officers who were found guilty, according to the judge, of perjuring themselves in order to "frame" Glinski have, on the instructions from the Director of Public Prosecutions, been arrested and charged with, etc. . .

The Glinski case, which has been given much less publicity than the Mrs. Comer trial, we think promises to become a cause célèbre. The Director of P.P. is obviously in a fix. Either he has to declare that trial by jury is not foolproof or he has to admit that his policemen are perjurers. He might even have to admit both! And the implications are wide. For if he admits the fallibility of juries then he gives the best legal argument possible for the advocates of the abolition of hanging on the grounds that the possibility does exist of an innocent man being executed. On the other hand if he concedes that the police, in spite of all the pæans in praise of our wonderful policemen by Lord Chief Justices and foreign visitors, can be bloody liars then, just as a jury was convinced in the Jack Spot case by an inveterate liar such as parson Andrews, so might they easily condemn a man on

the evidence of liars in the ranks of the police force. (We wonder if the jurymen in the Bentley case who sent him to the gallows on the strength of police evidence that Bentley called to Craig "Let them have it Chris" may not now be having sleepless nights?)

We are not interested in the two police officers being prosecuted and possibly sent to gaol. We are, however interested in destroying, once for all the myth. which we know to be only a myth, that "our policemen are wonderful". Policemen are policemen the world over. They are "wonderful" only so long as we, the public (and their potential victims) are vigilant in keeping them in their place. When we are intelligent and socially conscious enough to rid ourselves of the system which depends on them for its power and authority (over us), we shall also be in a position to rid ourselves of this scourge and humiliation. NEMO.



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MR. HUGHES (Letters, Wednesday) is mistaken. The Prime Minister's declaration "I wish to make it plain that we intend to act firmly against practices which clearly operate against the public interest . . . ") means nothing at all. It is noteworthy only as one of the more puerile platitudes from the greatest cliché expert in public life.

> MICHAEL SCHOFIELD. (Letter in News Chronicle).

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1955 TOTAL TO DATE

T is an indication of the stability of the British political circus that struggles for power are carried on by no more sinister methods than canvassing for votes and support behind the scenes. Not for the British Labour Party the hysterical denunciations (No?) nor the bloody purges which characterise changes of leadership in some parties in some countries.

The retirement, with an earldom (which makes his city-clerk son a Viscount) of Mr. Attlee, leader of the Labour Party for twenty years, has started a fine little game for the position of his successor. Erstwhile friends are turning their backs on each other, erstwhile enemies finding common ground. Aneurin Bevan has announced that he would stand down in fayour of Herbert Morrison if Hugh Gaitskell would do the same, thereby cheerfully ignoring the fact that he and Morrison have been snarling at each other across the near-split for the last five years This of course is because Bevan knows perfectly well that his only

chance of getting the leadership is for Morrison to follow Attlee. Morrison is 68, and therefore can't last in office many more years; Bevan at 53 is just right for the job (in his own opinion), but if Gaitskell (47) gets in, bang goes anyone else's chance for another 20 years, by which time Bevan will be past caring.

It is possible (just) that whoever the Parliamentary Party choose may be tossed out at next year's Annual General Meeting. But this is unlikely. The Labour Party is not all that democratic.

In any case: how much does it matter? The Labour Party will operate its policies for the stabilising of capitalism whether Morrison, Gaitskell or Bevan are leading. The only real factor to be considered is that if Bevan were made leader the Party would probably lose a lot of middle-class votes and not get back in at the next election. With Gaitskell they might stand a chance. This is what will sway the M.P.s in their choice.

MEDITATION IN A TRAFFIC JAM

HAD been reading a book, and it was several minutes before I realized that the bus had stopped completely. It had been crawling along for the last quarter of an hour, hemmed in by other vehicles, and now it had come to a dead halt. Behind and in front of us a double line of stationary traffic stretched as far as the eye could see. The minutes went slowly by, and still there was no sign of movement. I began to wonder whether we should ever move again. Perhaps London's traffic had at last tied itself into a knot that no-one could unravel. Perhaps we should all have to get out and walk home, leaving the motionless cars and buses packed solidly into the streets until they all rusted away.

If you think such an idea too fanciful even for a writer in FREEDOM, let me remind you that every year another 100,000 vehicles are being added to London's overcrowded streets. Every day sees an increase in the number of cars crammed into the no-parking areas, the parking spaces permanently occupied. In a few years' time, if present trends continue, we may well see a total stoppage. Nor is this chaos confined to London. Every town and city in the country is beginning to feel the effects of too many vehicles on inadequate roads. With the increase in traffic there has been an increase in accidents, and it is confidently expected that the number of casualties this year will reach the record figure of a quarter of a million. In fact, with things as they are, the number of vehicles and the number of casualties are linked as inevitably as a mathematical function is linked to its argument: an increase in the first is automatically accompanied by an increase in the second. Even the Government is beginning to realize that this is an unsatisfactory state of affairs, and some newspapers are so sanguine as to suppose that if they agitate strongly enough they may induce it to take action on the scale that is clearly needed. They will be disappointed. The Minister of Transport will continue to produce from time to time plans for wonderful new roads and other schemes, but few of these will ever

achieve concrete form. As in the past, we shall be told that the country's economy cannot possibly support such a programme-though it can apparently bear the strain of unlimited armaments. The folly and ineptitude of governments in the past is easily matched by the performance of the present one, and there is nothing to suggest that future governments are likely to be any better.

Roads are even older than governments. If we are to believe the historians they are one of the hallmarks of civilization; and as we have been civilized for quite a time now we have had roads for many hundreds of years. No doubt it is true, as G. K. Chesterton says, that the rolling English drunkard made the rolling English road, but in spite of this idiosyncrasy our roads served well enough in the days of horsedrawn wagons and stage coaches. In the last century their limitations were overcome and their deficiencies made good by the network of canals and rail-

DISCUSSION CONTINUES THE ISRAELI BRASS TACKS

REFER to Blackbeard's note. Zionism: Sentiments v. Survival and to C.W.'s reply to it in FREEDOM dated October 29th.

C.W. seems to be out to win an argument. If he is, let us not grudge him our applause. I for one wish he were right. But I do not think Libertarians read FREEDOM for amusement. Our discussions should be aimed at practical guidance, and anybody who does not feel partisan ("hopelessly"? if there is not hope we'd better save our breaths), if there be any, maybe should seek some other diversion and not dabble in matters of vital concern to his comrades.

We here may be prone to exaggerate the significance of Zionism in its various aspects, but I suggest that first of all Israelis are worth considering not less than other baffled groups, and secondly that Zionism, as a movement of segregation, and Israel, as a new State in the making, may provide some lessons for students of social trends, recent and present.

I therefore beg to be allowed to correct some of the information on which C.W. seems to base his impressions.

Communal Settlers as Zionists

The basic idea of Zionism is segregation. This seems to be one of the basic ideas of Judaism, too, and this common idea may explain at least partly the relations between Israeli Jews and their neighbours.

C.W. does not think the communal settlers in Palestine can be held responsible for the reactions of non-Jews in Palestine and in neighbouring countries to Jewish immigration, for the growth of Arab nationalism, and for the persecution of Jews in Arabic-speaking countries. I do. The communal settlers in Palestine were Zionists, part and parcel of the official Zionist plan. They were not mere Utopians offering themselves as guinea pigs for a social experiment. They regarded themselves, and still do, as the vanguard (this is the translation of the Hebrew word halutsim) of Zionist colonisation. They had, and still have, an enormous financial support, both direct and indirect, both from the Zionist funds and from the Israeli Government. To the local, Arabic-speaking, population of Palestine and neighbouring countries the Jews came as and remained foreigners, aloof, rich, educated and well organised, who made no secret of their ultimate intention to establish a Jewish State. I can think of no better food for nationalism than fear and hatred. Persecution of minorities will follow in due course. Unfortunately, raising the standard of living has very little to do with it, and incidentally the communal settlements could not, and did not, affect the standard of living of the *fellahin*. The communal settlers never bought their produce and would not employ them. On the other hand, the communal settlers were very foreign, more so than other

Jews, not only in their attire (compare their shorts for both sexes to the fellahin's abhorrence of any nakedness, from chin to ankles) and speech but also in their mode of communal living: many fellahin are still under a scandalised impression that communal settlers practise promiscuity.

Occidental Stakes in Zionism

C.W. says he does not know what are or were Occidental stakes in the Zionist venture. From the time of Nehemiah. Zionists always tried to win the approval and aid of imperialist Powers. These were not granted, or if they were, out of sheer philanthropy. When David Hareubeni brought his scheme to Venice, to the Pope, and to the kings of Portugal and Spain (the Roman Emperor), he offered trade routes and the weakening of the Ottoman Empire. I am not sure about what Herzl offered the Tsar, the Kaiser, the Sultan and the Pope (all of whom he tried to persuade personally), but we do have records of what Weitzmann and Sokolov offered the British and French governments on behalf of World Zionist Organisation, and the proposals of the Israeli government to the government of the United States are no secret. I can guess why the government of Tsarist Russia approved of Zionist activities, because I know that every time there was trouble between the Jewish settlers in Palestine and the Ottoman authorities, before World War I, the Russian Consul would be glad to interfere. I know why the Imperial German government approved of the activities of Hilfsverrein in Palestine and the French government of alliance israélite universelle and of Baron Rothschild's colonies (this has nothing to do with Rothschild's personal motives). The British government know what they wanted when they published the Balfour Declaration, and they don't seem to have done badly by the Mandate. The monies of the United Jewish Appeal come mainly from the United States Treasury, by exemption from Income Tax. In addition to this there are other appeals, beside a direct annual

ways that were built all over the country.

No great demands were to be made on them until the motor-car arrived on the scene. The evolution of this interesting invention from the "horseless carriage" of the Victorians into the aristocratic "motor" of the Edwardians and finally into the ubiquitous "car" of today took half a century, and the trend was well established by 1930. The shape of things to come was quite evident by that time, and the geniuses who rule us had ample opportunity to take heed for the morrow.

But their method of dealing with the situation was the one usually adopted by governments: they legislated. Their first brainwave was to require every motor vehicle to be preceded by a man on foot carrying a red flag. When they found that this was unsatisfactory they tried other, and equally futile, methods of keeping the menace at bay. Hundreds of detailed regulations about the size, shape, and number of lights to be carried, speed limits to be observed, and other inane trivialities were added to the already groaning Statute Book. The thousands of technical offences created, although doubtless helping the police to secure their quota of convictions, contributed nothing to the smooth running of the country's transport and completely failed to arrest the steadily mounting toll of accidents.

When the railways were built elaborate precautions were taken to fence them in so that no-one would stray on to the tracks and be killed. Yet apart from a few railings at some crossroads nothing is done to keep people off the roads. If children had to walk over the rails at Clapham Junction on their way to school every day there would be an outcry. But every day children have to cross road junctions that are just as dangerous. And because the growth of road traffic has been gradual we have come to accept the danger almost as if it were some natural hazard.

Surely it would be more sensible to build our cities in such a way that pedestrians and motor traffic were kept physically separated? We already have a model for this in the city of Venice. I is true that the Venetians have canals instead of streets, and no doubt they use bridges to cross them as much from a desire to keep dry as to avoid danger. But the principle is a sound one: in Venice the pedestrians and the "traffic" go their separate ways. It should not be difficult to adapt the same principle to a city with streets, making the footpaths and roadways two distinct systems instead of having them, as at present, complementary and contiguous.

We might well ask whether the pre-

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After the war many Londoners fondly supposed that advantage would be taken of the open spaces that had been produced by bombing to widen roads and let a little more light and air into the city. But business interests were not likely to give up their valuable freehold and leasehold interests just for that. So, incredible though it may seem in this age of "town planning", enormous blocks of offices are going up on the old sites, and the narrow little streets are not being widened by so much as an inch. But even street widening would be no more than a palliative, and such schemes as that put forward by the Evening News for a riverside drive, though they would improve matters, would certainly not solve the problem of overcrowding entirely and would do nothing to reduce accidents.

Motor traffic is a peculiarly modern phenomenon, and if we are satisfied that we really want all these vehicles in our towns and cities then it is clear that we must design our towns and cities to accomodate them. Most road casualties are pedestrians, and these accidents could be eliminated if pedestrians did not have to use the carriageway to cross the road.

sent volume of road traffic is really necessary. When transport was nationalized, one of the arguments in favour of this step was that it would enable the most suitable form of transport to be used in any given case. But in fact this has not happened. Heavy loads that might more conveniently be moved by train or barge are sent by road because it is cheaper to do so, and under our crazy economic system it is the "cost" that decides the issue. And because road transport is cheaper the British Transport Commission is busily engaged in closing down "uneconomic" canals and branch railway lines all over the country. If convenience and not profit were to guide us in these matters the roads could be relieved of much unnecessary traffic. Here we come to the whole crux of

the problem. As long as our comfort and convenience take second place to the maintenance of an economic system based on profit we shall not solve any of our public problems. That will only be done when we put first things first and make a co-operative effort to satisfy all our needs instead of indulging in cutthroat competition for the chimerical "wealth" that money represents. EDWIN PEEKE.

THE WAGES OF SIN

CINEMA

HAVING had a taste of Henri-Georges

Clouzot's style in The Wages of Fear, some of us have been waiting impatiently for the arrival of his latest film, and last week our impatience was rewarded at the Cameo-Poly.

Les Diaboliques (The Fiends) has no connexion with the book of short stories by Jules-Barbey d'Aurevilly that bears the same name, though, appropriately enough, it is decorated with a quotation from that author. Nor does it bear much resemblance to the novel it is based on (Celle qui n'était plus by Pierre Boileau and Thomas Narcejac); for, as the makers disarmingly admit, "apart from the central dramatic situation practically nothing of the original novel remains".

The situation is interesting enough. The Institution Delasalle, on the outskirts of Paris, is a middling sort of private school for boys. It belongs to Christina Delasalle, the headmistress, but her husband, Michel (Paul Meurisse), is very much "Monsieur le Directeur". There are two other men teachers and one woman, Nicole Horner (Simone Signoret). Michel is a man who likes to beat his women, and he takes a delight in humiliating his wife in front of the entire school. No doubt because she is a pious Catholic who takes the "sanctity of marriage" very seriously, Christina bears her husband's ill-treatment with remarkable restraint. And even when he takes Miss Horner for his mistress she does not appear even to consider the idea that she might separate from him. This uncomfortable ménage à trois is conducted in an atmosphere of suppressed hatred under the eyes of the whole school. Michel Delasalle is such an extremely unsympathetic character that we are not at all surprised to find that he is a candidate for a murder. Miss Horner seems to come in for her share of blows, and no doubt it is because both women are equally the victims of his brutality that an understanding grows up between them. For Christina divorce would be a mortal sin, and, what is more, everyone would know about it. But dead men tell no tales, and, although she cannot face the scandal of a divorce, she is more amenable to the suggestion that Michel should be quietly and painlessly removed from her environment.

This is to be accomplished by doping his whisky and then drowning him in a bath, afterwards dumping the body into the school swimming-pool.

Everything goes fairly smoothly until the body disappears from the pool. We can only guess at the reason for this until the dénouement, which is startling enough even if it is just a little bit improbable.

There are some who feel cheated by a trick ending, but I am not one of them. I like to be entertained, and I can forgive a story-teller or dramatist a great deal if he can succeed in keeping my interest from start to finish. And it must be emphasized that this film is an entertainment, pure and simple: it has no more social significance than a clever conjuring trick. It is as an entertainment that it should be judged. We do not expect from- O. Henry the acute observation of life that we get from Jane Austen, and it would be foolish to complain that one has not the qualities of the other. As an exercise in the macabre, Les Diaboliques has no equal in the cinema: none of the so-called horror films from Hollywood can hold a candle to it. The acting is of the high order we have come to expect from French films. Simone Signoret needs no recommendation; but those who may have thought Vera Clouzot's inclusion due solely to her relationship to the director will be disabused. Charles Vanel is admirable as Inspector Fichet, a crafty old fox who would arouse doubts about the integrity of any police force he happened to belong to. Clouzot, who in addition to directing collaborated with G. Geronimi on the script, is a master film-maker. Many writers could profit from a study of his faultless construction and skilful building up suspense. And those who believe that genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains may perhaps point to him as confirmation of their theory. For much of Clouzot's work depends for its success on his painstaking attention to detail. The classical tradition that violence should take place off-stage has contributed something to many great dramas, but the "how to do it" technique of realists like Clouzot is perhaps more to our modern taste. At any rate, if you want to know how to drown a man in a bathtub, you will know where to go for the information. E.P.

MILLY WITCOP-ROCKER

OBITUARY

last week's Jewish Chronicle:

"A telegram from New York informs me of the death this week, at the age of 82, of Milly Witcop Rocker, who, with her husband, Rudolph Rocker, the editor of the old Arbeter Fraint, was a pioneer in the East End Jewish Labour movement from the early 1890s till they left England in 1918. They had been living lately in Crompond, near New York, where Rocker, at the age of 83, is still busy writing. Milly Witcop was born in Zlatopol, in the Ukraine: she came to London as a young girl in 1894. She gained her experience of labour conditions in those days by her own work in the sweatshops; it brought her into the Jewish Anarchist movement, which was very much behind the formation of the first Jewish trades unions. The Rockers largely inspired and led the great tailors'

Mr. Joseph Leftwich writes in strike in 1912, which, more than anything else, brought about the end of the sweatshop system. They were among the founders of the Jewish Workers' Circle. Those who can remember the period will recall Milly Rocker in the Jubilee Street Club and in all the Jewish workers' activities. She was a strikingly handsome woman. Sir Philip Gibbs, in an article in the Graphic in 1911, said she had 'the face of a tragedy queen.' Rudolph Rocker was a tall, imposing figure, and the two were legends in the Jewish working-class East End. There is one son, the artist Fermin Rocker."

> The "Freie Arbeiter Stimme Group (London)" informs us that on Sunday, December 18, at 4 p.m., a Memorial Meeting will be held at Circle House, 22, Alie Street, London, E.1., to which readers of FREE-DOM are invited to attend.



Vol. 16, No. 51. December 17, 1955 REFLECTIONS ON THE MONOPOLY REPORT

Continued from p. 1 turers should be any different from its predecessors.

WE believe production should be geared to serve the public need; indeed we would put it more strongly by saying that the only justification for production is human needs (and surely everyone, including industrialists) manufacturers and shopkeepers must share this view if they take the trouble to give it a little objective thought). But we live in a world in which thought is so subjective that the only official comment to the Commission's report by a spokesman of the National Tyre Distributors' Association was: This report doesn't really mean very much until someone defines what is meant by "in the public interest". This comment is so loaded with bad-faith and devoid of any social sense that we find it difficult to know where to start in commenting on it. And it is because the Commission is as much mistaken in its conception of what is the public interest as the tyre (or any other) manufacturers and distributors are "twisted" in their assessment of the social importance of their functions. The Commission seeks to reconcile the public interest with an economic system based on production for profit; the tyre industry seeks to rationalise their belief in production for profit by pointing out that they serve a public demand (the first comments on the report by the T.M.C. were to quote the minority view that "there is no evidence to show that the industry is anything but highly efficient or that prices of tyres are excessive"). "Efficiency" is one of the most abused words in our vocabulary, and as a result has lost all meaning. In a society in which needs, happiness and the feeling of satisfaction in a thing well done are paramount, "efficiency" will be a strictly scientific term applied to machines not to human beings. A "highly efficient industry", in fact, tells us very little of the value of the contribution of that industry to human needs and happiness. The "efficiency" with which the H-bomb is being produced at Harwell means something to those scientists obsessed with the technical problem of producing Hbombs. Its contribution to human happiness and well-being is, to put it mildly, negative. The hungry peasant, on the other hand, who is given access to a bare piece of land out of which, by his labour, he can eventually grow the food which will save him from starvation, does not use such intellectual or mechanistic arguments as "efficiency" in accessing the value of his labour; there is no primary connection between needs and efficiency. Production in present society is. not based on needs but on the exploitation, and where they do not exist, on the creation, of needs. "Efficiency", therefore, is meaningless (from the point of view of the "public interest") since it is only incidentally (and often not at all), related to human needs.

Libertarian Manifestations in Russia?

[The following article, which discusses recent manifestations of liberatrian feeling, thought and activity in the Soviet Union, was written by the secretary of the Bulgarian Anarchist Communist Federation in exile, and appeared originally in II Libertario, of Milan—TRANSLATOR].

FOR many people in the Western World, Russia and the "People's Democracies" appear in many ways to be incomprehensible enigmas.

What we are concerned with here are their revolutionary aspects.

It is completely false to suppose that there is no resistance to the totalitarian state machines, particularly in Russia. The point is that such resistance does not take either the character or the forms traditionally known under other totalitarian régimes.

In Russia, even the Malenkov policies can be seen as a kind of resistance. The very conscious of the essential problems involved in social transformation.

The profusion of recent data which we have accumulated as a result of many conversations with Russian soldiers and officials, has convinced us that there is no other people in the world so capable of quickly understanding social problems and the various ideas which impinge on them, as the Russians. Although they have never read a book, pamphlet or article on anarchism, when the essentials of the anarchist case are presented to them' in so many words, these men immediately assimilate the whole idea, and reproduce and develop its detailed application.

It is an extremely curious fact that direct personal relations would help many unconscious anarchists to discover themselves.

In Bulgaria, when the Anarchist Communist Federation began to publish a journal in 1945, the circulation increased from one number to the next by tens of thousands of copies. sino", to the effect that after Spain, he did not know any other country where the anarchists were so numerous in prisons and concentration camps as in Russia, cannot be ignored. He was probably speaking of rebels who felt themselves to be anarchists rather than of organized and self-declared anarchists. However, our information does indicate that there are also anarchist groups, mostly among the Communist youth.

The varied testimonies of German exprisoners-of-war, liberated about two years ago, tend to confirm our suppositions. The strikes in the camps, the violent demonstrations, and the clear expression of anarchist and anarchosyndicalist ideas, proved yet again on the occasion of Beria's arrest, make it possible to assess how widespread is the resistance on the part of the Russian people.

The Russian socialist journal Socialist Courier, published in Paris and New York, printed in its number 8-9 for August-September 1954, under the sensational title "The Spectre of Bakunin re-appears in Russia", an article which merits total reproduction. The writer, P. Berlin, who is very well informed on the current trends of political thought in the Soviet Union, after relating some of the testimonies of German ex-prisoners, comes to the conclusion, with a certain bitterness no doubt, being a good Marxist, that the Russian dictatorship has provoked a general negation of the state, and a popular reaction which must give rise to a rebirth of anarchism. Among other things he writes :--

fierce economic exploitation could lead to nothing else but a change in the mind of the worker, peasant or intellectual, to the point of view that only the struggle against the State would enable them to win their rights and security. The Russian workers and peasants are tired of decades of bolshevik propaganda telling them that the Soviet State is their protector, and that exploitation has been abolished . . . Thus the idea of a struggle against the State is coming to replace the idea of the class struggle, and this is leading to the spread of anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist attitudes."

After reproducing several passages from a speech made at Vorkuta during the events reported by Gerland, all of which have significantly anarchist themes, the writer of the article concludes regretfully: "Here, Bakunin has triumphed over Marx!"

G. BALKANSKI.

What the Papers

youth of the country have been brought up under the illusions of the "building of socialism", which they have taken seriously, and are at last beginning to demand its results. This agitational spirit is constantly spreading, and is gaining support among the Communist youth, and even the party itself.

Another significant point which should be noted is that the long and arduous work needed in order to construct a new world has taught the masses of the people a vital lesson, and has left them These increases were due above all to the Russian readers, soldiers and officials, and the ideas expressed were propagated clandestinely.

We know that all the eminent, or more or less well-known anarchists in Russia were liquidated, and we know that an organized movement no longer exists. But statements such as that of the ex-Spanish communist general "El Campe-

Commerce Must Go On

TDEOLOGICAL differences" must never be allowed to interfere with commerce between National States. As Bulganin and Krushchev toured India recently making occasional attacks on Western capitalism, which were cheered loudly by the Indian people, the largest steel works in India, The Tata Iron & Steel Company, made a deal with the Kaiser Engineers of Oakland, California to build a 130 million dollar addition to the plant which will enable Tata to raise its production from 1,300,000 to 2,000,000 long tons of ingots annually. Tata however, still needs sixty million outside capital mainly to buy foreign equipment, and to this end is at the moment negotiating a loan with the U.S. Export-Import Bank and the World Bank. With Krupp's Steel Factories and British and American capital invested in India and now Kruschev's offer of technical assistance, Nehru has a lot to gain from his insistence that India will

not take sides in the cold war. But we wonder if the Indian people will be any better off.

In Fascist Spain last week ideological differences were also being put aside again as the British trade delegation visited Madrid on its annual commercial negotiations with the Spanish Government. (The Soviet Union have of course recently recommenced trade relations with Spain). Spain had no better market in the world than the United Kingdom, the British Ambassador said, and her sterling earnings amounted to 50 million pounds per year. The exports to Britain were mainly the many products of the Spanish sun and countryside, not competing with the things Britain herself produced.

"What interests us here is the reports on the discussions in the concentration camps, related in Gerland's articles, which refer to a certain renewed interest in anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism in Russia. It is true to say that even without this information it would be possible to predict precisely the development of these ideas in Russia. The all-pervading power of the State, suppressing all free thought among the people, the negation of all human rights by the State and the



Teach

The following passage is an extract from an article entitled "Current Affairs in the Forces" from *The Times Educational Supplement* (18/11/55):

"The N.C.O.s who come [to evening classes] will frankly admit that once the examination is over they will probably never look far beyond the sport's page or the cartoon in their daily paper. They bring the Army mentality to bear on their studies of the world situation. Discussion briefs, pamphlets or note sheets are learned by rote as if they were drill manuals, and duly reproduced for the examiners, regardless of relevance to the questions asked. The world is mentally divided into two groups-Britishers and their allies, and the Reds. A talk on the Argentine crisis, Morocco or Mau Mau is sure to be followed by the question What part did the Russians play in starting the trouble?""

Brief Takes

IN THE MONEY

IN THE BLACKEST days of the depression President Hoover was fond of telling his countrymen that prosperity was just around the corner. It seems to have taken them twenty years to find the right corner, but at long last the United States is officially enjoying a period of unparalleled prosperity. Yet a report published recently by the Joint Economic Committee revealed that one-fifth of American families are living in extreme poverty. According to this report 8,300,000 families and 6,200,000 single persons have an income of less than \$2,000 a year, the minimum sum needed to ensure a standard of living just below the borderline of poverty.

The expanding trade between Spain and Britain however, brings little benefit to the Spanish people still suffering under a Fascist dictatorship.

Israeli Brass Tacks - Continued from p. 1

grant. Are we expected to think that the government of the United States gives all this away without any consideration? Or is the Jewish vote (about two per cent. of the electorate) so important? Is the West German government paying Restitution (beside personal claims) just to ease its collective conscience? I was born in Palestine, but I was not born yesterday.

Community of Janissaries

Out of seven words, "a synthetic cutoff community of Janissaries", C.W. picks out "synthetic" to comment on. Why not "a"? Let us begin at the end. Who were the Janissaries? The Ottoman government had a system for breeding professional soldiers. Captive Christian children were brought up in camps, where their education was aimed at one purpose, soldiering. The system should be familiar to Libertarians who are interested in the power of education. Jewish education in Palestine has been almost entirely controlled and run by practising Zionists. The War of 1948 had been won at Zionist schools, where the Zionist dogma was fervently fed to youngsters from the age of three. Even now the official policy of Israeli Elementary Education is "production of builders of the State." Not only that but adults are also fed daily with "security". Movement is controlled, mail is censored, newspapers are censored, Cabinet members have their telephones tapped because of security. Any time there is a new scheme up, either for laying a pipeline or for a new settlement or for a new Solel Boneh factory-security. We have to put up with muddled accounts, we have to put up with the State itself, for security. Each has to serve thirty months with the colours and then be "a soldier on leave eleven months in a year". We are persuaded that we need the immigrants for our own security. We are forced to contribute voluntarily-for security.

in the world), but curtailed freedom. The younger generation is already showing traits of Spartan stupidity.

This is the more to be regretted by any who happened to be acquainted with and to admire the extraordinary cultural standard of the Jewish population of Palestine up to 1948. Even now I doubt whether there are many communities so socially responsible, so well read and so eager to learn, but the average presentday Israeli can bear no comparison to what he was during those months when he had no government and needed none, when his semi-voluntary army had no ranks, and when he knew what he should do without being ordered about.

Revival of Hebrew

"It could be," says C.W., "and is, argued that the only thing these immigrants from many countries had in common was a smattering of Hebrew." Strangely enough this argument did not occur to the champions of Hebrew revival when the decisions had to be taken. It did not occur to Eliezer ben Yehuda when he wrote his article "An Important Question", or to Meir Belkind when he opened his school, or to Esther Shapira when she opened the first Hebrew kindergarten, or to Yehuda Leib Metman-Cohen when he opened the first Hebrew secondary school, or to the language rebels at Jerusalem Hilfsverrein Seminar (Teachers' Training College), or to Ahad Ha'am in the Language Contention regarding Taifa Technion. Almost all Jewish immigrants to Palestine in the First and Second Waves (up to 1914) spoke Yiddish, and yet it was they who decided for Hebrew, and not in the dialect of their prayers (Ashkenazzi-Yemenite pronunciation), with which they were somewhat familiar, but the Sephardi dialect, which they had to learn entirely from the beginning. They wished to shed all vestiges of Exile. They wanted to recreate the Hebrew Nation of the Bible, or something as near it as possible. Hebrew was not revived for practical reasons,

DON'T FORGET

THE DEFICIT

(see page 1)

and how impractical (though so far successful) was the process can only be assessed by those who know the deficiencies of ancient languages and the curious vowel-less Hebrew script. However, the worst handicap young men brought up in Hebrew encounter is the limitation of its use. Even for a satisfactory secondary education they need a more widely used, richer language. 99 out of 100 books they read, nine out of ten plays they see, are translated. Because their parents acquired Hebrew only sketchily, if at all, most of them cannot master it for free, intelligent expression. Modern technique of publication, broadcasting and cinematography, apart from ease of travel, is wiping out Manx, Erse, Scot Galic and even Welsh, and lo, here some idealists (or cranks, or fanatics) devoted their lives to the creation of a new language community. I am, alas, in a position to appreciate and admire the effort, but I am also in a position to question its wisdom. It seems to me that language ought to serve primarily as a means of thought and communication and not as a means of national identification.

Apparently we are also enjoying unbelievable prosperity in Great Britain—so much so that Mr. Butler has had to blow the froth off for us before something terrible happens.

Now it is the Germans' turn. According to an article by Sebastian Haffner in the Observer West German industry has been able since 1948 "to embark upon an unbounded expansion and to create unprecedented prosperity." But in Germany, too, prosperity has become a problem. Mr. Haffner goes on to say: "The situation is complicated by the fact that two hitherto very patient classes, the workers and the farmers, are becoming restive. Hitherto the workers have been putting up with very long hours and fairly modest wages, and the farmers with low agricultural prices"

*

THE tyre monopolists maintain that co-operation in their industry is better than cut-throat competition, otherwise, presumably, they would surely support the Commission's recommendations! Why, then, do they believe in co-operation between the financiers of the industry, who neither produce nor use the tyres, and not between the consumers and producers of tyres? Answer that question for yourselves, and you have the key to the whole economic set-up of the society against which we anarchists call upon you to join with us to destroy.

The result is an excellent army (military experts consider it one of the best

Foreign Aid

As to "living on charity", if C.W. wants to compare the productivity of inhabitants of the British Isles to the curious economic system prevailing in Israel, he should begin with the value of production *per capita*, and then he will see that Britons can, while Israelis cannot, exist without foreign financial aid. Zionists admit that much. The point of difference is whether the trend in Israel is towards or away from economic stability. I regret that present symptoms are not very favourable, in spite of enormous capital outlay.

Though some Israelis are hard driven, most of them, for various reasons, take it easy. We can sympathise with them, but our sympathy does not alter the fact that their productivity is very low. Capital outlay is almost entirely controlled, and here again productivity is not the most important consideration. *Tel Aviv*, 7/12/55. J.R.

(To be concluded)

Will some kind person please tell me just who exactly is benefiting from all this wonderful prosperity?

DO IT YOURSELF

A MOTORIST at Malines, Belgium, having had his car stolen, reported the theft to the guardians of law and order and then waited hopefully for its return. The police, however, failed to recover his car: instead they served upon him, in quick succession, three summonses for traffic offences committed by the thief. Finally, in desperation, the motorist went out to look for the car himself and found it parked in a back street.

DOPEY

I NEVER CEASE to marvel at the fortitude with which moralists are able to bear the sufferings of others. In a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* about the government's ban on the manufacture of heroin. Prof, Philip Leon tells us: "A land of heroes needs no heroin." I suppose we may take it that if ever the professor needs to have his appendix removed he will be heroic enough to forgo the use of an anaesthetic? ANARCHO-COLUMNIST.

FREEDOM The Standard of the 'Socialist Standard' The New Purge in Russia

THE December issue of The Socialist Standard publishes an article by one Peter E. Newell on "The A.B.C. of Anarchism". The title is a little misleading since less than half the article is devoted to the subject, the rest being an exposure of the inconsistencies of anarchists as individuals. We will not deal with Mr. Newell's summing up of the anarchist philosophy since it is quite clear that the few paragraphs he devotes to this was simply an excuse to launch his attack on the rôle of anarchists in certain specific situations, such as the Russian Evolution, Spain, and during the last war. To criticise the actions of many anarchists in these situations is justified-and we have been among those who have provided Mr. Newell with this critical material. But Mr. Newell's purpose in criticising anarchist behaviour is to destroy the anarchist philosophy, an old trick the S.P.G.B. have learned from Marx (even if they deny having learned anything from his theoretical teachings). Instead all he does is to declare that certain so-called anarchists were in fact not anarchists. What would Mr. Newell have to say if we argued against Socialism by outlining the careers of ex-members of the S.P.G.B.?

But we suspect that Mr. Newell does not understand the meaning of honest argument. By a round-about way he adds his smear to FREEDOM and his method is worth examining. He writes:

'Although all anarchists claim to be opposed to government, the use of the ballot, and the so-called Western and Eastern ways of life, this does not prevent them, when they think fit, supporting these governments, institutions, or "ways of life."

For example, the well-known Belgian anarchist, G. Ernestan, writing in FREE-DOM (1/3/52), said : -

"The rearmament of Western Europe is necessary, and victory of the West in case of war is desirable; let us be frankly and sincerely with Truman"."

And having exposed the anarchists in the Russian and Spanish revolutions he concludes:

'Supposed opponents of war, government, the ballot box and "democracy", the anarchists in Spain-and elsewherehave supported all these things. They are neither consistent nor logical. They are both opportunist and utopian. In Britain, unlike Spain and elsewhere, they are of little consequence, but their views are similar.'

aging we agree. But the curious thing about it is that it was not written by Ernestan in FREEDOM! It was quoted in a letter from a German comrade Willy Fritzenkotter attacking those revolutionaries who support the "lesser evil" and the "third front". But that is not all. Since Mr. Newell took the trouble to delve into FREEDOM files for March 1st, 1952, he might, with little extra trouble, have looked at subsequent issues to see what was the reaction to Willy Fritzenkotter's letter. He would have found in the March 29th issue a letter from Ernestan himself in which he denies ever having written the words attributed to him but assumes that FREEDOM's correspondent was "attempting to summarise the views he put forward" in the anarchist monthly Volonta on "Il Problema della Guerra" (The problem of War). He then goes on to summarise his viewpoint under five head-

A NOTHER purge is under way in Russia, the ulterior motives for which we can only, so far, guess at. The Soviet Government has allowed it to be announced that it is punishing officials who employed methods 'contrary to Soviet law' and it is now ensuring that justice be done, however tardily, to clear the names of the past victims of the present victims.

What has actually happened so far is that five officials of the Soviet Republic of Georgia, all of them interrogators and prosecutors in the Ministery of Internal Affairs-all NKVD men in facthave been shot for collaboration with Lavrenti Beria.

It is now two years since Beria was toppled from his place in the supreme triumvirate of the Soviet_Union and executed in December 1953. His five henchmen have lain in jail in Tiflis,

in fact been dug up. For the bald statements which have been given over the Tiflis radio could have been just as easily thought up in the Kremlin itself as have been the result of patient and objective investigation on the spot. In fact, more easily, because one would imagine that secret police officials would always take care to cover their tracks and not leave any incriminating evidence about.

Among other things the five liquidated officials were charged with having framed up some of the most prominent of the victims of the 1937 purges. One such was Sergo Ordzhonikidse, in 1936. the chairman of the Supreme Economic Council and People's Commissar of Heavy Industry. He suddenly died in Fe bruary 1937 of 'heart failure' (i.e. he died because his heart stopped beating) and his coffin was borne by, among others, Stalin and Molotov, while

The quotation from the late G. Ernestan "writing in FREEDOM" is most dam-

Problem of Age in Industry

THE Nuffield Foundation published a report last week under the title Ageing in Industry, which examines the problems which arise from the necessity for middle-aged men in "heavy" industries to give up their jobs because of declining physical ability. In many instances it is impossible for these men (usually in their mid-sixties)), to find suitable employment elsewhere, and they are forced into premature retirement. The report refers to men who wish to continue working but are either unable, or do not wish to find jobs as watchmen, caretakers, office cleaners, porters, or similar employment. The authors of the report write that the "most important of the selective factors at work is the actual nature of the job itself . . . "

This problem will become greater as ageing workers require to be provided with jobs. At the present time there are only a very few organisations which even attempt to overcome this difficulty, and

these organisations are mainly concerned with ex-servicemen. Why this should be so is not at all clear, for the difficulties apply to a greater or lesser degree to miners, dockers, warehousemen, plasterers and many other industries where the nature of the job is such that considerable physical stamina is necessary.

The report states that if what is true of 32 occupations is equally so throughout industry, then about 400,000 of the 2,072,100 men aged 55-64 in 1951 would have to leave their jobs in their middle sixties, although still able to work with reasonable efficiency. This means that about 40,000 alternative jobs would have to be found each year for 10 years to avoid men retiring from all work against their will.

Here then is a task which the Trades time goes on and increasing numbers of Unions might well tackle if indeed they have the interests of their workers at heart. It would not be difficult-nor need it be costly-for the Unions to organise non-profit-making concerns for older men, providing them with suitable "light" employment for as long as they wished to continue working. This could be done, either by the individual Unions themselves, or alternatively as a joint project by two or more Unions. The task is quite simple-the problem quite clear. All that is required is a little imagination and a lot of good will towards their own working men. W.

ings. We do not propose to quote these, but instead the editorial comments on Ernestan's letter which give the lie to Mr. Newell's smear so far as FREEDOM is concerned :

Our correspondent is splitting hairs. says that Willy Fritzenkotter misrepresents him when he accuses him of advocating the rearmament of Western Europe. It is true he states that he does not "support rearmament" but he then goes on to say that (a) he does not believe in the value of non-violent resistance to Stalinist violence and (b) that it is "in the interests of libertarians to do all they can to prevent the triumph of the armed forces of Stalinism". Obviously in that case the only answer to an armed Russia is an armed West. He cannot escape such a position. We do not share his position and just as FREE-DOM took up a position in opposition to the pro-war minority led by Kropotkin in World War I, and by Rocker in World War II, so do we declare ourselves in complete opposition to those "anarchists" who in choosing between the lesser and greater evils are prepared to support World War III.-EDITORS.

We repeat, we are not attempting to gloss over criticisms that can be levelled at anarchists, but dishonest criticism in the long run is a boomerang which exposes the critic rather than the object of his criticism.

Georgia, ever since that time, but one need be no more than mildly surprised that justice takes so long to get done.

For the announcement over Tiflis radio which gave the news of the death of Beria's men, also gave some details of their offences-and since these go back 18 years-to the great party purges of 1937-it is not surprising that it has taken two years to dig up the evidence. That is, if one believes that evidence has

It is not without irony that in the same issue of the Socialist Standard the "Editorial Comm" replying to a critic complain that part of his letter "consists of grossly distorting references" and "on the false basis" created "he is able to discover a new mare's nest about an entirely mythical change in the S.P.G.B.'s view". We sympathise with the "Editorial Comm" and in the circumstances assume that they will understand our own predicament regarding Mr. Newell's article "The A.B.C. of Anarchism", which we are sure they passed for publication in all good faith and innocence, and will hasten to rectify any misunderstandings it might have created in the minds of their readers, at least so far as FREEDOM's position is concerned!

Khrushchev and Bulganin mounted guard.

At this time Molotov was Stalin's first lieutenant and Malenkov, still a backroom boy, was co-operating with the Security Services in running the purges.

Khrushchev and Bulganin mounted guard over Ordzhonikidse's bier according to Bolshevik custom, as the deceased's comrades. It is becoming increasingly clear that the current purges in Russia are more in the nature of vengeance, of getting their own back, on the part of the present strong men, against the hirelings of the strong men (or rather the strong man, Stalin) of 20 years ago.

Where this is likely to leave Malenkov -or rather when the long knife being sharpened in Georgia is likely to reach him-is anybody's guess. But it certainly looks as though it is pointing in his direction.

We shall return to this subject again shortly.

VOLINE :

Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed cloth 12s. 6d. E. A. GUTKIND : The Expanding Environment 8s. 6d. V. RICHARDS : Lessons of the Spanish

Revolution 6s.

MARIE-LOUISE BERNERI :	
Neither East nor West	
cioth 10s. 6d., paper 7s.	6d.
Workers in Stalin's Russia	18.
ALEX COMFORT :	
Delinquency	6d.
Barbarism & Sexual Freedom	
boards 3s.	6d
HERBERT READ :	

Art and the Evolution of Man 4s. Existentialism, Marxism and	could be improved.
Anarchism 3s. 6d.	It was hardly surprising that some 150
Poetry and Anarchism	delegates from 60 interested local organ-
cloth 5s., paper 2s. 6d.	izations, brought together by the Leeds
The Philosophy of Anarchism	International Council, found that there
boards 2s. 6d., paper 1s.	was "room for improvement," but what
The Education of Free Men 1s.	came as a surprise to many was that the
M. BAKUNIN :	coloured speakers thought there had
Marxism, Freedom and the State.	already been a great advance in relations
cloth 5s.	since the end of the war.
PETER KROPOTKIN :	Mr. H. G. English, a West Indian and
The State: Its Historic Rôle 1s.	a Leeds citizen of several years' standing,
The Wage System 3d.	said it was not now so difficult for
Revolutionary Government 3d.	coloured immigrants, largely because
Organised Vengeance Called Justice	they had friends to help them. But if
2d.	Mr. English thought things were im-
GEORGE WOODCOCK :	proving, the discussion showed that
Anarchy or Chaos 2s. 6d.	much remained to be done. At work,
New Life to the Land 6d.	some said, it was almost impossible for
Homes or Hovels? 6d.	a coloured man to get promotion. When
Railways and Society 3d.	he arrived he had no union card and
What is Anarchism? 1d.	could not get work without one, and
The Basis of Com.nunal Living 18.	was unable to get one until he found
PHILIP SANSOM :	work. Although religious and friendly,
Syndicalism-The Workers'	they found the churches "cold". Most
Next Step 18.	of the complaints were general-of white
*	men's fear and ignorance and of bitter-
K. J. KENAFICK :	ness in personal relations.
Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx	Leeds has evolved organizations to
paper 6s.	ease integration, but although these have
*	been in existence for some time few at
Marie-Louise Berneri Memorial	the conference yesterday had heard of
Committee publications :	them. Apart from the work of the In-
Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949	ternational Council there is a charitable
A Tribute cloth 5s.	
Journey Through Utopia	housing association run on strictly busi-
cloth 16s. (U.S.A. \$2.50)	ness lines. This has already 41 dwell-
	mgs, and the mot annual statement,
27, Red Lion Street.	published to-day, says the rents have
London, W.C.I.	been sufficient to provide a small sur-
	plus to carry over to next year.
	(The Times, 5/12/55).

WHITE MEN'S FEAR AND IGNORANCE

EEDS, which is considered by Britain's coloured immigrants to be the "happiest place" in the country in its labour relations, held a conference

The Campaign Against Integration

Continued from p. 1 station. So that even in essential services where colour would seem to be extraneous to putting out fires and saving lives, the white man must be protected against the risk of being saved by a Negro.

WHITE men who are suspected of championing the Negro cause run similar risks to Negroes who attempt to establish their basic rights. A case in point is Carl Braden who was accused of advocating sedition in the State of Kentucky and awarded fifteen years' imprisonment and a fine of 5,000 dollars. Michael Adams writing in The Mancheter Guardian (10/12/55) details the case, which leaves little doubt as to the chief reasons behind the trial and sentence of Carl Braden.

Braden, sub-editor on the local newspaper, bought a house in May 1954 in a "white" neighbourhood and transferred it to a friend who happened to be a Negro. When the family moved in they had to have a 24 hour police guard on the house against abusive demonstrators, but in spite of the guard (or was it be-

cause of it?), an explosion wrecked the

front of the house, and in September of

A perjury case was proved against Braden. But, even assuming that the evidence of the paid informer could be substantiated the fifteen year sentence was viciously long. Alger Hiss, a State Department official and adviser to President Roosevelt was released after serving three-and-a-half years of a five year sentence for the same "crime". It could be reasonably supposed that he presented a greater threat to State security than the sub-editor of a local paper. In Kentucky however, where the jury decide the sentence as well as the verdict. emotions run high against those who dare violate the white man's code of segregation. A judicial system which allows a prejudiced jury to sentence a man to fifteen years for refusing to disclose his political allegiance, even within the terms of the law, is not in accord with any form of justice. There seems to be little doubt that Carl Braden's real crime was selling his house to a Negro in the wrong part of Kentucky.

Examples of solidarity between races can do much to strike at the roots of prejudice, but such documents as that which came from the pen of Judge Brady, a "leading" citizen, is more easily acceptable to a people cradled in fear and hate. Slavery, he maintains in his book Black Monday (written to mark the day desegregation was announced), brought the Negro "the greatest benefits one man ever conferred upon another . . a moral standard was presented to him ... which he does not appreciate." "The loveliest and the purest of God's creatures, the nearest thing to an angelic being that treads this terrestrial ball is a well-bred, cultured Southern white woman, or her blue-eyed, golden-haired little girl." By contrast, he adds: "The social, political, economic and religious preferences of the Negro remain close to the caterpillar and the cockroach . . proper food for a chimpanzee." No form of legislation could alter this deranged mind. All that can be hoped for from such measures as the Supreme Court's ruling is that reiteration of the desegregation laws in the courts, in schools and other public undertakings will eventually help it undermine racial prejudice. But small beginnings can be made now by people of different races working and living together, realising that supposed basic differences are artificially stimulated, and that human beings are fundamentally the same whatever their race or colour. M.

A N NOUNCEMENTS

MEEIINUJ AND

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

MEETING

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS Every Sunday at 7.30 at THE MALATESTA CLUB 155 High Holborn. W.C.1. (Nearly opposite Holborn Town Hall) DEC. 18-Annie de Witt on ANARCHISM IN HOLLAND

DEC. 25-No meeting. 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

INDOOR MEETINGS Friday evenings at 7 p.m. commencing Friday, October 14th at 200 Buchanan Street.

1954 a grand jury was summoned to investigate the cause of the explosion. The result of the investigations read like some of the pages of the Russian trials. Braden and his wife were indicted on a charge of advocating sedition, and it was claimed by the attorney for the Commonwealth of Kentucky that the explosion was the result of a Communist plot to stir up racial prejudice. The evidence for the prosecution was based on a quantity of Communist publications seized at Braden's home, among other pamphlets on social questions. Witnesses were brought forward by the defence that as the Editor of the Courier Journal Braden was never known to "slant" a story or favour Communist policy. Michael Adams writes that in the "opinion of most observers no case of sedition had been proved and an acquittal seemed the probable outcome". On the twelfth day of the trial however. a paid informer was brought in to give evidence on Braden's C.P. membership. She declared herself to be an undercover agent for the F.B.I., and as such belonged to the same cell as Braden. (The F.B.I. refused access to their files to substantiate her testimony).

The Malatesta Club 155 HIGH HOLBORN. LONDON, W.C.I

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP Informal Discussions Every Thursday, at 8.15 p.m.

Saturday, 17th Dec., at 9 p.m. "A FAREWELL TO HIGH HOLBORN"-"TEARS PROVIDED".

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