

'If there is a state, then there is domination, and in turn there is slavery.'

—BAKUNIN

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING UNPOPULAR

IT'S ONLY HUMAN NATURE!

A FEELING OF WRONGNESS

SPAIN—25 YEARS AFTER

CORRESPONDENCE

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Let the Capitalists solve their own crises

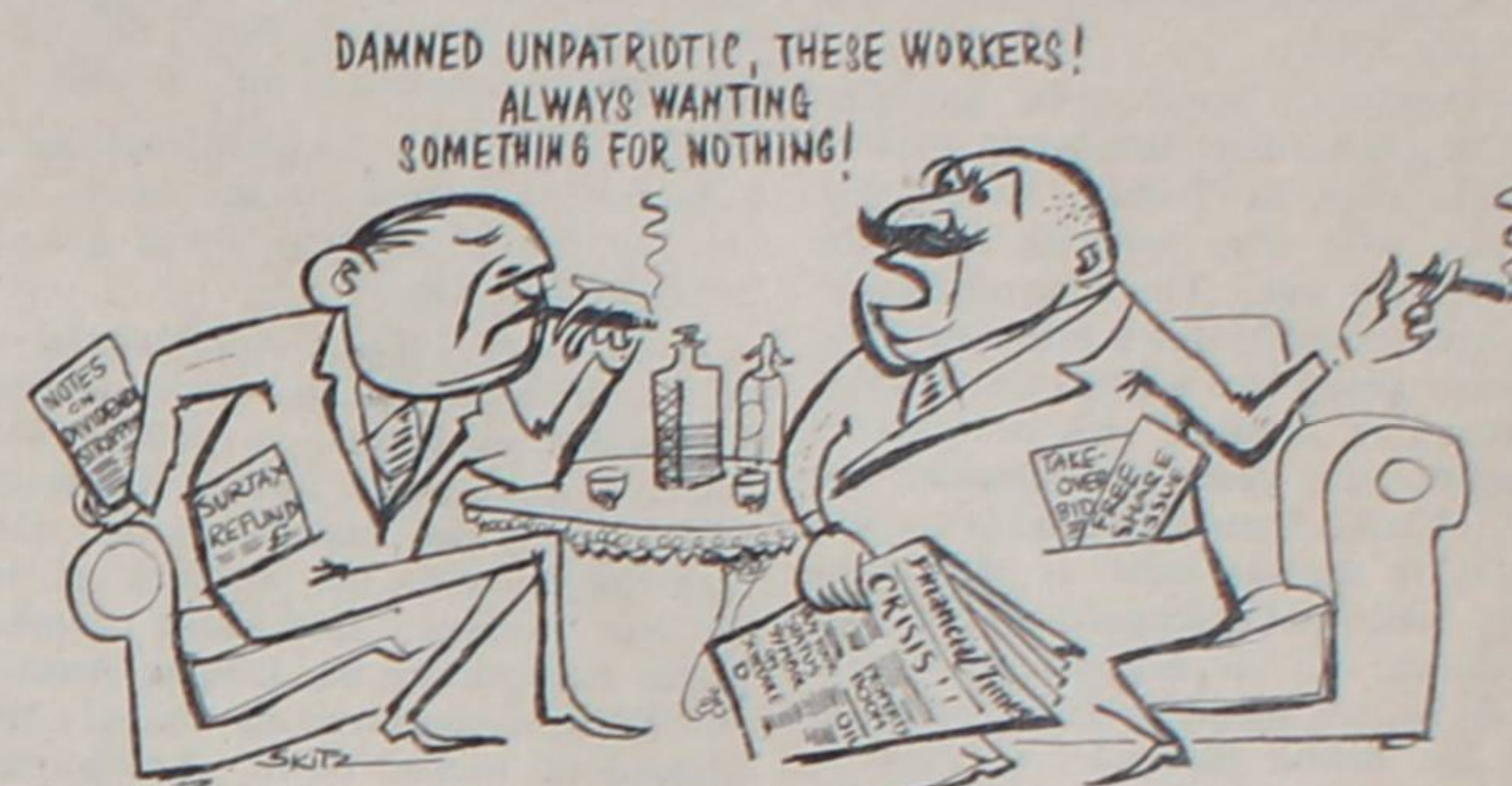
AS FREEDOM had to go to press before last Tuesday's House of Commons debate on the "Economic" Crisis we can only guess that nothing was said at that debate which has not already been said a hundred times elsewhere through the medium of mass communications by politicians, publicists, economists and other experts. And the government in any case does not propose to discuss the measures it is proposing to take; these will be announced by the Chancellor himself next Tuesday. By that time, the government hopes that the campaign of gloom about the crisis and the terrible future that awaits us round the corner if we don't make sacrifices, will have sufficiently penetrated our tough skins to make us

YOU'VE NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD !

pliable and ready to accept any measures that "our" government proposes to take to lead us from bankruptcy and stagnation back onto the paths that end in the land of "never had it so good".

With few exceptions—such as Andrew Shonfield in last Sunday's *Observer*—the way the "crisis" is

presented to the public is so fantastic that one wonders whether in fact one is reading Alice in Wonderland and not an account of the hard facts of this country's economic situation! And as for the remedies which the experts advise the government to take, not only would they all cancel each other out if adopted, but they



seem to us as dubious and conjectural as the many theories propounded about the universe by the different schools of current thought.

balance-of-payments position should be put right, and that the immediate run on sterling should be halted. This will not be achieved by long-term policy measures, however well conceived.

We made an exception of Mr. Shonfield's analysis in the *Observer* because we thought he wittled down the crisis to its real proportions—in capitalist terms, that is, when he wrote:

Some commentators and probably the government look upon the solution to the "crisis" not only in its purely financial aspects but also in political terms. To quote again from the *Sunday Times*:

When one has finally wiped away the cant that seems to stick like some super-viscous substance to any official discussion of our economic problem, one is left with the following two facts. First, Britain's national product has been growing at about 2 per cent. a year, and we would like to match our industrial rivals on the continent of Europe who have been growing twice as fast. Secondly, we are short of some £200 million of exports—the equivalent of just under 1 per cent. of our national product—to pay for all that the nation spends abroad.

Effective economic measures are all the more important because the present crisis is not merely an economic one, but extends to the whole of Britain's international position and to the country's morale. Even the European negotiations themselves are seriously prejudiced by the European view that Britain is rapidly becoming a second-rate economic power, of little value to a thriving economic community, an impotent enemy and a feeble friend.

Neither of these is a major tragedy.

The weakness of sterling affects our whole international standing.

Mr. Shonfield considers them no more than "annoying pieces of inefficiency which ought to be put right". But then he is not over-worried by the side effects of such measures as devaluation, whereas it is clear that for a large number of the "experts" as well as the government advisers the present crisis is as much a crisis of sterling as of the balance of payments. For them the measures to be taken must solve both crises. The *Sunday Times* City Editor, for instance, put it this way:

This is important for some people. But if the editorial writer of an anarchist paper may be allowed to use a common expression from time to time, our comment is that we "couldn't care less" what this country's international standing is in the political or finance markets of the world! Indeed we go further and affirm that we look forward to the day when sterling will be ignored in the international finance markets and that this country will only have standing in the eyes of the humanists and the humblest of our kind. To us it will mean that we are making progress in the right direction!

what matters at the present moment is that the economy should be given immediate treatment, that the immediate

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The Anti-Violence of Mr. Fabian

BOTH the *Sunday Times* and the *Observer* last week published reports of a meeting held at Saffron Walden by the Anti-Violence League. A comparison of the two reports makes interesting reading, and should provide food for thought on the topic of how objective can even the serious Press be. The Anti-Violence League is not, as a naive reader might imagine a pacifist body; it is, on the contrary, a very bloodthirsty organisation which thinks that the so-called wave of crimes of violence could be reduced by re-introducing the rope for all murders as in the good old days, and the cat-o-nine-tails for a long list of crimes of violence. The *Sunday Times* in a short piece headed "Be Tough with Violence, says ex-Supt. Fabian", gives a sober little account of what allegedly took place at Saffron Walden that day.

A national campaign directed against the Government's "soft" treatment of criminals was launched yesterday by the Anti-Violence League at Saffron Walden, Essex, the constituency of the Home Secretary, Mr. R. A. Butler.

Five open-air meetings were held yesterday at different towns and villages, and further meetings were planned for today and Tuesday.

WHICH PAPER DO YOU READ ?

Among the speakers was Ex-Det. Supt. Robert Fabian of Scotland Yard who said it was time the people pushed the Government hard to bring back corporal punishment. He knew of only one man who had received the "cat" twice.

He said: "Today a criminal can grind his heel in your face, slash you across the face, wipe a bicycle chain around your neck, or wipe a sleeve lined with fishhooks down your face and you must not lay a finger on him."

Of Mr. Butler, who did not attend the meeting, he said: "He is a fine gentleman but he can't do much on his own. He is in the wrong job."

Crimes had increased everywhere since the 1948 Act. In 1947 there were 3,480 cases of wounding; in 1959, there were 12,505.

The *Observer* report is much longer and presents quite a different picture of what took place as well as reporting verbatim what the Ex-Supt. had to say. One learns for instance that a group of fashion models had been employed (expenses paid for the week) to help the league in its campaign. It must have been a somewhat incongruous sight to see models handing out leaflets with such slogans as "Do you support hanging for murderers" "Do you support judicial birching" "If so Join the League". However, apart from this omission from the *Sunday Times* report, justice was not done to Mr. Fabian's fine display of histrionics as reported by the *Observer*:

Apart from the models, Mr. Robert Fabian, the retired Scotland Yard detective superintendent, was the big attraction. Grasping the microphone firmly, he said to his audience of about 150: "This is going to be good. My job is to talk to you from my own experience.

"Is it nothing to anyone that some decent people—a father kisses his wife and says: 'I'll be home for a cuppa'—is it nothing that he never comes home because some thug has hit him over the head?"

"Is it nothing? You can't do anything to these young thugs because the psychiatrist says it might upset them. Now there's a racket, Psychiatry. The confidence trick of the century.

"Do you know what a psychiatrist said in court about a man accused of a horrible offence against a girl. Do you know what—the psychiatrist said it was because his spectacles didn't fit,

"Do you think I'm prejudiced? I am.

"I'm not a vicious man at all but I'm up against the Government's refusal to bring in a bit of corporal punishment. I do know this, though: in 1948 they decided to do away with corporal punishment.

"Therefore you can slit a man's face with a razor and they mustn't lay a finger on you. Therefore we have got to get the Government to do something. I wouldn't say go back to the cat but I do say let's give them a tickle up."

It is hard to believe that such people with such views still exist, and have the nerve to air them in public. But, alas, it would seem that the floggers in our midst are more numerous than we would like to believe. At the annual scientific meeting of the British Academy of Forensic Sciences in London last Saturday Prof. Leon Radzinowicz, the retiring president, said at least 65 per cent. of people would favour the introduction of corporal punishment for a wide variety of offences.

"Whatever the reasons," he said, "the belief that flogging has some extra quality in the field of deterrents with respect to offenders not at school or in the family, is still firmly entrenched and widely shared."

The Importance of being Unpopular

"I AM anxious but I am not afraid," were, more or less, the remarks of a well-known public figure whose name for the moment escapes me. Another public benefactor promises that certain measures he is about to take (either a tax on breathing, or one calculated on the heartbeat output) will not be very popular but he doesn't care.

There is enormous competition these days to be the political Erich von Stroheim (Vote for the Man you Love to Hate; Conservatives Hate Battersea, Labour Loathes You); the poor man's Sacher-Masoch or de Sade for the masses.

The old bribery is not enough, no longer are the intelligent voters deceived by specious promises of the primrose

path and the bed of roses, now they are deceived by promises of everlasting bonfires, beds of nails, do-it-yourself Iron Maidens and knitting patterns for hair-shirts. Competition is pretty fierce and it will be difficult for parties to compete in this race for superior grimness.

The path to prosperity is by making ourselves poor, the path to peace is by living (if you call it that) with a landmine under the bed.

No longer is it sufficient for the candidate to ask for your blood, toil, tears and sweat, the new candidate employs leeches, has you on a treadmill and is tapping your ducts and glands with all the marvels of modern science and he has to watch out for the man who employs vampires (DON'T BE A SUCKER

ALL YOUR LIFE! LET US DO IT FOR YOU), hot-boxes, bicycles and catheters in his vote-catching.

The path to political popularity is paved with millstones (necks for the use of), grindstones (noses for the use of), milestones (for eventual reaching), and just stones (for turning or not casting). The candidate who can tie, apply, reach, turn or not cast the greatest number of stones has reached lapidarian perfection.

The politician who promises that the task of preserving peace will be onerous, that the export drive must be kept up and home consumers must be taxed in case they buy the goods that may be sold abroad; that factories must be taxed on the number of workers they employ in order that employment be kept down, so that money can be spent on missiles (which may ultimately lead to us all being blown to bits) these are vital to the national economy and houses, roads, schools and hospitals are economically not feasible, as a man destined for political success.

The candidate who promises life is on a sticky wicket with the death wish as the public image. Liberty is out of favour in the welfare-state and social-security but the pursuit of happiness is okay as long as you never promise to catch up

JACK SPRATT.

ANARCHY 6

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It's only human nature!

THE Eichmann trial has opened up old wounds and led to futile debates as to whether we should either forgive or forget, or both or neither. The lesson of 'the final solution' is that we remember, and Herbert Agar in *The Saving Remnant** has brought to our memories and knowledge an account of Jewish survival since 1914, which stresses the elements of mutual aid and co-operation which helped Jewish survival in spite of governments—both democratic and totalitarian.

The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee was founded in 1914 to help the Jews in Turkey, Russia and Germany who were suffering from the effects of the war. This Committee was made up of wealthy Jews, orthodox Jews, a Labour group and a small but vociferous group of Zionists. Its composition throughout the years has remained the same. Unlike most charitable organizations it regards itself as only temporary and looks forward to its own dissolution, but its life has been prolonged by an unending series of crises from the British blockades of 1914-18, to the pogrom at Kielce of 1946, and the Libyan pogroms of 1945 and 1948.

In addition to relief work the Joint-sponsored publications such as the re-

search work on famine produced by doctors in the Warsaw Ghetto (who based the work upon observation of their own personal condition) and the setting up of work schemes, the maintenance of hospitals, convalescent homes, etc.

The basic assumption of Joint is "that Jews have a right to live in countries of their birth, or in countries of their adoption; they have a right, as human beings, to reside there; they have the right to emigrate if they so wish".

This simple wish has been regarded as subversive not only by the Nazis, but also by the British and Soviet governments in their turn.

In February 1916, a representative of Joint, Bernard Kahn, met General Ludendorff at Kovno to discuss what could be done about feeding the Jewish population which had fallen into German hands with the advance of the German armies. Ludendorff contemplated transporting the Jews to America but Kahn disapproved so strongly that Ludendorff backed down. Russian and Polish anti-semitism were intensified by the war, but, as Agar observes, "anti-Semites are as easily bribed as anybody else, and Joint was able to carry out relief work.

With the outbreak of the Russian Revolution the charity of the Joint was not encouraged. Jews were accused (outside Russia) of promoting the revolution and (inside Russia) of being implacable capitalists or religious maniacs. It was not until 1921 that Joint was enabled to start a land-settlement scheme.

In 1918 and 1919 there were pogroms in Lemberg, the Ukraine and Vilna. The Joint started relief work in these areas which was interrupted by the Polish invasion of Russia, and their subsequent retreat but they managed to evacuate fifteen thousand Jews from the war-zone to Danzig.

After 1920 in Poland the Joint thought they could work through their programme of direct relief to reconstruction and thence to withdrawal and retirement. Their programme included child-care, medical aid, credit-banks, care of refugees, founding of schools. It was also possible in those days to emigrate to America and the Joint became patron of many emigrants. In their work Joint set-up many credit co-operatives in Poland and Lithuania.

In 1924 the Statue of Liberty lowered her lamp and the United States passed the Immigration act which limited immigrants, from Russia, for example, to 2697. The Jews in Russia were, by reason of Czarist restrictions confined to non-productive trades hence under the Soviets they were petty-bourgeois and were a despised class. "The outside world blamed the Jews for having started the Revolution; inside Russia they were blamed for having opposed it". Many Jews became civil servants and tax-collectors which did not add to their popularity.

In 1926 Joint started, in co-operation with the Soviet government land settlements in the Crimea which only came to an end in 1938 when the Russians suddenly called a halt to the work. After the German invasion the whole population appears to have been killed.

In Palestine in 1918 the Joint had set up Committees for relief and the care of orphans but as yet they were not fully involved in Zionist affairs.

Joint was busy in relief work as far abroad as Abyssinia and Vladivostok. In Abyssinia there was a colony of Falashas who claimed descent from the Jewish people. In Vladivostok, Jewish refugees from the pogroms of Kolchak had to be taken care of.

Joint in addition to its relief work was active in cultural work. In the Soviet Union it was forbidden to study Hebrew, but the Jewish Art Theatre managed to keep going until 1926 when it left Russia for a tour of Europe. In 1928 it settled in Palestine.

After the pogroms, wars and revolutions of the twenties, Joint seemed to be dying of inanition but the advent of Hitler gave it new work and new refugees. Many prominent Jews refused to leave Germany which they regarded as their Fatherland. With the passing of the Nuremberg Laws the High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany appointed by the League of Nations resigned because nothing was being done

(apart from private initiative) to help the refugees. Immigration laws remained largely unchanged.

In 1938 President Roosevelt called a conference on the subject at Evian, but as little came out of this as out of later conference at the same place.

Australia agreed to receive five thousand refugees a year for three years which was a drop in the ocean and only (of all people!) General Trujillo of Dominica offered to take any appreciable quantity of refugees (one hundred thousand). It was felt that the Dominican Republic was too tropical—in fact, one of the Joint's organisers caught malaria. However a few hundred settled in the Republic and four thousand Dominican visas were issued to German Jews which enabled them to escape.

The conference set up an inter-governmental committee for the resettlement of refugees. The chairman, Lord Winterton was handicapped by apathy in high places.

A black market grew up in visas, which many consuls sold for their own profit, but knew that their governments would disavow them. Nations would not receive penniless refugees, and systems were worked out for financing emigration without benefitting the Nazis.

In 1938 the Nazis launched a great anti-Jewish campaign and in the same year the British issued a White Paper on Palestine that limited Jewish immigration to 75,000 in the next five years and thereafter it would be subject to Arab control. Agar says "the story of World Jewry, since 1914, cannot be told without an occasional note of unkindness towards British policy in Palestine."

Between 1935 and 1939 the number of refugees accepted in Britain had grown to 80,000 and all with an assurance that they would not become a charge on public funds. The Home Secretary (Sir Samuel Hoare) lifted in 1938 the passport restrictions for children and also for adults who were offered jobs as servants or minor employees (this latter was a trade union stipulation). The medical profession had to be coaxed into accepting more doctors and surgeons.

A Feeling of Wrongness

THE Academy Cinema is currently showing a programme of three films. One, a dribbling piece on the music of Debussy, politely unexciting with clever though uneventful photography, is not really worth anyone's time but the rest of the programme is excellent.

A short documentary on apartheid in South Africa with scenes actually taken from South African life entitled "Let My People Go" is masterly and vivid with indignation. The film begins with Verwoerd's description of apartheid as "good neighbourliness" at which scene after scene of police brutality, military coercion, underfed children, crumbling shacks and writhing mutilated bodies of Africans shot in the back at Sharpeville are flashed onto the screen; behind these grim examples of "good neighbourliness" we hear a cheerful cockney rendition of "Hey Neighbours!" which drives the hypocrisy home. One is roused to a loathing of Verwoerd's ugly lies and methinks several would-be David Pratts stirred in their cinema seats filled with an instinctive urge to see justice done to this inhuman coward.

The lunacy of apartheid is revealed in all its rottenness, once when a white child dies because the mother refuses to let the child be taken to a hospital in an ambulance manned by African personnel, and again when a man is discovered to have "coloured blood" and is immediately treated differently by the callous bureaucrats who inform him of his so-called "inferiority". The film is packed with driving social comment with its best points brought out in a way which leaves one coming to inescapable conclusions about the evils of South African society.

"Breathless" is the tale of a young man who steals a car and when halted by the police shoots one. From then on a chase ensues in which life becomes intensified and friends become more than

The Joint functioned in Warsaw until 1941 when it worked underground there until the Ghetto rising of 1943. During its time money was dropped by parachute or was smuggled in. The S.S. and the Polish police were corruptible and food was bought. On one occasion "Aryan" Warsaw became short of bread because of the smuggling.

Agar in his history tells all of this and of more, of Government indifference and hostility and the resourcefulness of the individual. Reading of the horrors of transports, camps and gas chambers we forget that "human nature" that unanalysable quantity has other factors beside the impulse to destroy and dominate. *The Saving Remnant* emphasises the creative, co-operative tendencies which are also a part of human nature. Agar quotes Menander's saying: "A man's nature and way of life are his fate and that which he calls his fate is but his disposition."

J.R.

S. E. PARKER.

Interested in Individualism?

COMRADE EDITORS,

I would be very grateful if you could find space for the following in FREEDOM: "Comrades who are interested in the ideas of individualist anarchism and who would like to help in the following initiatives:

- (a) Sponsoring the publication of new and out-of-print individualist anarchist writings;
- (b) Translating into English the works of such authors as E. Armand, Albert Libertad, Han Ryner and John Henry Mackay—are invited to contact S. E. Parker, 75 Cotsworld Road, Bristol 3, England. (Other anarchist publications please copy)." Fraternaly,

The Law takes its toll

ONE of the great clichés of the supporters of the death penalty is that they are merely asking for a 'life for a life'. Very often, as if to oblige them, some poor, unhappy, crazy killer takes his own life. The disappointment of the authorities at such 'cheating justice' is almost felt when, as with John Hall, a man doomed to death by the Homicide Act evades the solicitous nursing back to life and goes to his own death-sentence.

The high suicidal proportion of murder suspects is more evidence of mental instability; in fact much homicide is merely a suicidal impulse expressing itself in a distorted, roundabout fashion.

But many cases are 'closed' after the suicide of a questioned suspect, it being assumed that the suspicions are well-founded but often this may be the result of other factors, such as human fallibility in judgment and the questionable methods used to obtain information from 'suspects'.

According to the *Guardian* (29/6/61) a man committed suicide in Chesterfield after being questioned by the police in connection with a murder in April 1961. We may feel that here is the operating of a guilty conscience until we discover that two other men previously com-

mitted suicide after being questioned about the same case.

Our Panglosses may think that this was the triumphant unveiling of a murder conspiracy, which, since the victims drove bubble cars, must have been a tight squeeze.

Since our capital punishment supporters have now got three lives for the price of two they may now be satisfied.

It is highly improbable that all of the three dead men questioned were responsible for the murders. It is possible that none of them were responsible. From interior evidence it is obvious that the three men were questioned about their private lives, which in the parochial morality of the small town were open to some criticism.

It is doubtless the knowledge of this by the police and the possibility of exposure, which led to the deaths.

This ceaseless questioning by the police on the slightest pretext, on the most tenuous of clues throws a strain upon the weaker members of society which may lead as in these cases to suicide, or in more serious cases to confessions of doubtful value.

The fallacy that in British law 'a man is deemed innocent until he is found guilty' dies hard.

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EXPORTS—THE NEW IMPERIALISM

Continued from page 1

IT is perhaps worth while spending a few moments considering the Exports aspect of the present "crisis", for this is the point on which all the "experts" seem agreed. Mr. Harold Wilson, Chancellor-to-be in a future Labour government, if the Party manages to win the marginal votes, writing in the *Daily Herald* last week on the "Ten Wasted Years" (of Tory rule, of course), blames the government for an uncontrolled boom on the home market which "sucked in expensive imports and damped down essential investment and exports" and draws attention to such "facts" as

Exports lagging far below those of our industrial rivals, far below the level necessary to pay for our inflated imports. In the past three years our exports rose by a pathetic nine per cent. against figures four and five times as large for Italy, France and Germany. Today we account for a bare 15 per cent. of world exports of manufactures against over 25 per cent. 10 years ago, and the rate of decline is sharpening.

Let us examine Mr. Wilson's "facts". "Exports lagging far below those of our industrial rivals". The *Guardian* last week published in its "Finance and Industry" page a chart showing what the principal industrial countries exported in manufactures in the first quarter of 1961, and in view of what Mr. Wilson has to say about the exports of Britain "lagging far below" some of his fans may be surprised to learn that only the United States and W. Germany had exported more in those three months than Britain, who, with sales exceeding £900m.* was exporting almost twice as much as France and at least three times as much as Italy, countries with a population comparable with Britain's. It is true that the rate of increase of exports of these three countries has increased at a faster rate during the past three years compared with Britain (it should however be pointed out that for the first quarter of 1961 though Italy has increased her exports by 15 per cent. compared with the same period in 1960, while Britain can only show an improvement of 2½ per cent., France on the other hand exported 4 per cent. less than in the corresponding period last year). But what conclusions are we to draw from these statistics? That Germany should be the leading European exporter of manufactures is not surprising. Apart from the fact that her production has not been frittered away in an expensive—that is from

*These figures were determined by measurement and therefore only approximate and dependent on the accuracy of the chart.

the point of view of man power, machinery and raw materials—defence programme (whereas Britain for political reasons has been spending more than £1,000m. a year since 1946 on military "deterrents" and membership fees to the Nuclear-bomb Club), the German economy has been controlled, until quite recently, to Crippsian standards of austerity. We have no doubts that in due course W. German you've-never-had-it-so good prosperity will be threatened by financial crises of the kind experienced in turn by the United States and Britain.

But to suggest as Mr. Wilson does that this country should still enjoy the 25 per cent. of exports she enjoyed ten years ago, presupposes an acceptance of the *status quo* as valid for all times. According to all the politicians and economists of capitalism, exports are the index of national prosperity. It follows, therefore, that exports are a new form of imperialism if one country can only increase its exports at the expense either of another exporting country or by preventing certain countries from becoming economically self-sufficient. While accepting the idea of an expanding market it is also clear to us that the industrial productive capacity of all countries is increasing potentially at a faster rate than the markets—as distinct from the needs; the latter, a concept on the human scale, the former a purely capitalist value. To our minds it is inevitable that the industrial, exporting nations which have hitherto enjoyed the lion's share of so-called "prosperity" should be challenged on all sides by emergent capitalism in the "younger" nations, as well as the hitherto "defeated" nations. It is significant that the most spectacular increases in exports in the first quarter of 1961 compared with 1960 and the 4.2 per cent. average increase for the 11 main exporters, are Italy (15 per cent.), Germany (8 per cent.) and Japan (7½ per cent.), all defeated nations in the last war as well as being considered, in orthodox circles, directly responsible for World War II.

If the volume of exports are the index of this country's prosperity equally are they the index of prosperity in such countries as France, Italy and Germany. Does Mr. Wilson, professed socialist, suggest that Britain's "prosperity" should be acquired at the expense of the working people of these countries? If not why does he refer to them as "our industrial rivals"?

higher wages by the thought that this may mean that in future a pound will buy abroad rather less than \$2.80. What

THOUGH we have never read an out and out denunciation of capitalism in Mr. Schonfield's column in the *Observer*, the following extract is nevertheless more revolutionary than the recent utterances of either Mr. Cousins or Mr. Hill.

It is not clear why British workers should be frightened out of demanding

they risk, if there is devaluation, is just that part of the benefit of their extra wages may be wiped out by the increased price of imported food and other foreign goods. The general effect would be to raise employment, not diminish it.

For consciously or otherwise Mr. Schonfield is recognising that the crises of capitalism do not affect the working man one way or another. If that is so it is palpable evidence that the majority of working people have no stake in the fortunes of the capitalist system, whatever its protagonists in all the political parties may say to the contrary.

★

IT needed the *Times* of all organs of the Establishment to draw the public's attention to the fact that the problem that faced this country was one which "it is as well to say now . . . is beyond him [the Chancellor]. It is beyond any Chancellor of the Exchequer". In the opinion of this august tail that wags the dog, "no measures on their own will cure the deep seated ills" of the economy. "Nothing short of an effort by the whole nation can do that". But while approving government measures to "redress the balance" where "the administrative, professional and business classes" are concerned, the editorial writer recognises that the "surtax reductions have aggravated the Government's problem". And the *Times* adds these home truths:

The dilemma is not stated merely to deplore it. It is the heart of the whole matter. In spite of the virtual abolition of poverty, in spite of the rise there has been in the rewards of labour, in spite of the fact that one of the disadvantages the Labour Party has to contend with is that the great bulk of the nation now

regards itself as middle class, Britain is still a jealous and divided nation.

For this it is not enough to blame the contumacy of the workers. Short-sighted and unduly suspicious they may be. They can be accused of still fighting yesterday's battles and so in danger of losing today's. There is also much to be said on their side. They can point to examples of equal obscurantism elsewhere. An effective answer to those who say all that is wrong is that wages are too high would be to publish the menu of one of those luxury hotels that cater for expense accounts. Britain's failure to improve exports is more due to the apathy of managements than to the shortcomings of workers. The world of the pools can be matched by that of capital gains. And above all this—and much to the workers' credit—is the fact that those who said the Conservatives' materialistic appeal would not suffice in itself have been proved right. "You've never had it so good" prompts the centuries-old response "To what end?"

Lest it should be assumed that the *Times* has, with these wise reflections, abandoned Printing House

But the old demands for Sacrifice

THE measures which the government will take will undoubtedly raise the cost of living. For the privileged classes it may mean cutting down on some of the luxuries; they may have to put up with the same car for an extra year, and do with one new suit less next season. All admittedly irritating interferences with their freedom but, *c'est la guerre*, and as the *Times* says we must all make sacrifices.

But for the ordinary working family, who live from day to day (with the aid of the streamlined moneylenders of the affluent society—the H.P. finance houses) increases in living costs and interest rates means a real lowering of their day to day standards. We hope that the working people of this country will not succumb to the crisis propaganda, but on the contrary will resist every attempt to lower their living standards either by increased taxation, or the speeding up of production, or by creating a pool of unemployed as a threat to "slackers". Maybe the government has "two wars" on its hands at the moment. Let them fight their own wars. The working people of all countries, if they have a social con-

Square for more modest surroundings in Fulham, we should quote another observation from the editorial in which it is pointed out that

In fact, social cohesion will never be achieved and Britain become one nation unless whatever is asked of one class is voluntarily matched by equal renunciations from the other.

So while deploring on the one hand the fact that we live in "a jealous and divided society", on the other the *Times* expects that all classes should do their bit in making sacrifices. In other words the unequal society is OK so long as there is equality of sacrifice in times of "crisis"! And for the *Times* we are now fighting two wars:

a cold war in alliance with the rest of the free world in which economic defeat is an avowed aim of the enemy; a war on her own in which the stake is her standard of living and eventually her way of life. This is not an exaggeration. If Britain goes on as she is, there will come the economic crisis she will not survive.

science, should be permanently at war against privilege and against Government, for government is the symbol of privilege, whatever the Socialists may say to the contrary. The "crisis" is simply a manifestation of the injustices and greed fostered by the capitalist system. If the government is intent on saving the system they should take action *but among their own people whose wealth and privileges would be jeopardised if the system were to collapse*. To expect the victims of capitalism to make sacrifices to save the system is to add insult to injury. And for the victims to believe that they have something at stake in these purely financial crises would only go to show how little they understand the working of the society they live in. We welcome the crises of capitalism. Our only regret is that they are not fundamental enough and that the working class is not sufficiently socially conscious to see that it is in the interest of the majority of the people to increase their demands at these periods of "crisis". If we really want to abolish privilege and class we must fight capitalism; and the time to fight is when the enemy is weakest and not when he's riding on a boom!

REMEMBERING SPAIN—25 YEARS AFTER

LAST Sunday's meeting to commemorate the beginning of the Spanish workers' social revolutionary struggle 25 years ago, was very well attended, and anyone who might have been misled by the *Daily Mail* into believing that it was a Trotskyist meeting was soon made aware of the mistake.

The first speaker was L. Bailey of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, who recalled the ending of various monarchies and empires and the rise of fascism and pointed out that whatever the regime "the church was always in the middle of the road". Philip Sansom then spoke for the L.A.G. He mentioned the achievement of the Spanish workers and tried to draw a lesson from them which could be applicable here and now. He remarked that the C.N.D. was the only movement which could get mass support for demonstrations, because in spite of our "affluence" deep down there was always the fear of annihilation. People must be made to realise that if they are to survive, they must save themselves. In spite of different conditions in Spain 1936 and Britain 1961, the libertarian solution was equally relevant and the true memorial for the Spanish revolution was to build a revolutionary movement here.

Salvador Gurucharri of the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth spoke of a telegram received from the youth group of the CNT in

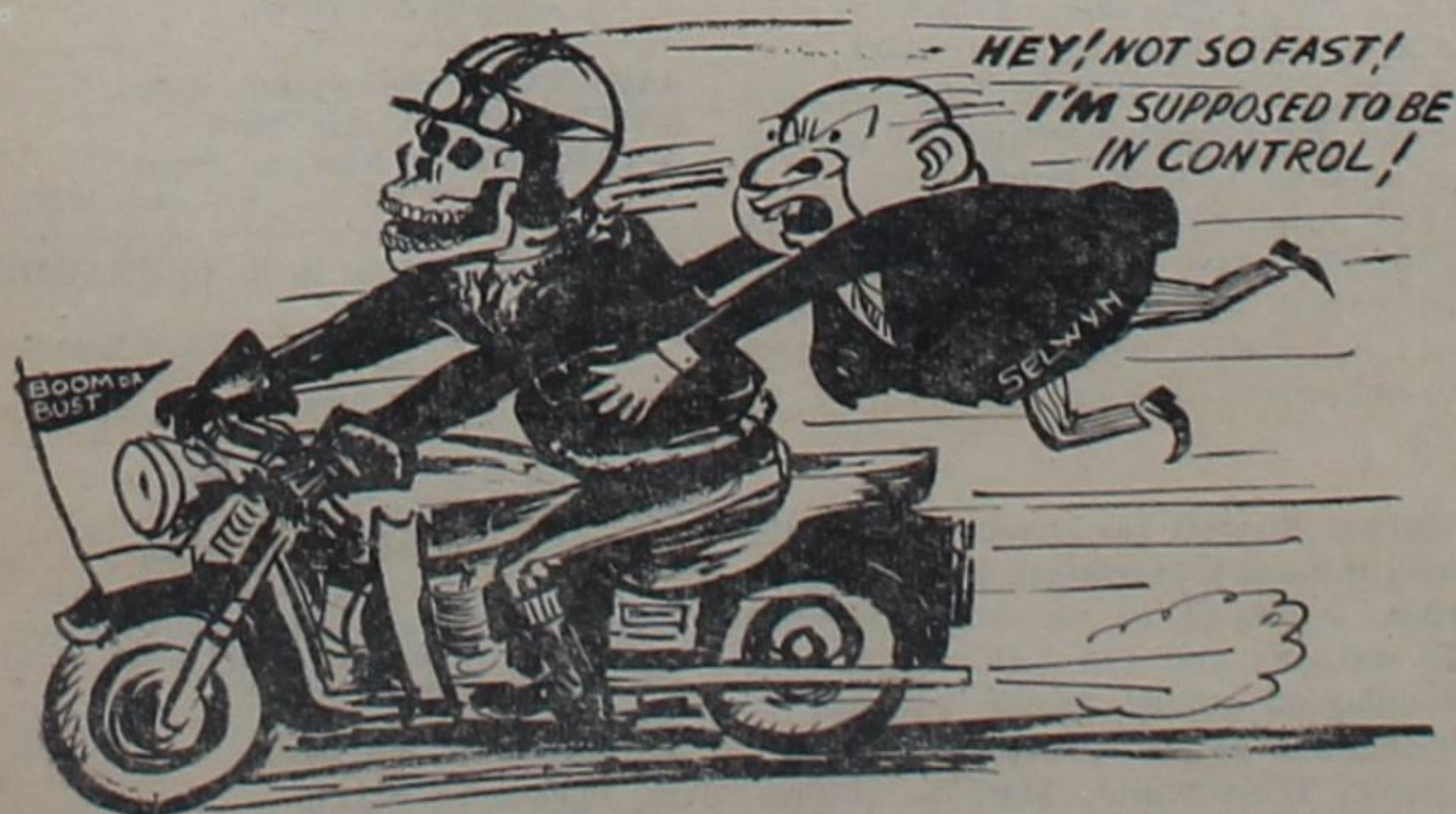
exile in Paris, who were picketing the Spanish Embassy there. He said that similar demonstrations were being held in other parts of France, and in a limited way in Spain. He declared that their youth groups were aware just how little the so-called Western Democracies believed in Freedom and Democracy. They were prepared to carry on the struggle to free the Spanish people, although they realised from the former experience that no help would be forthcoming from any of the "free democracies".

Francisco Crespo, a comrade from the CNT in exile in Paris, came over especially to address the meeting. He told how the committee of the CNT in Madrid had realised the danger of the insurrection and had sent out warnings to places where it had most support to prepare for trouble while the Government was still convinced that there was nothing to worry about. He condemned the trade unions and other working class organizations in other countries, which gave no support to the Spanish people, because they were suffering from what he called "Leaderismo". He went on to point out that, first of all the "Non-intervention Pact" and then later, American Aid had helped to get Franco into power and then keep him there, when he could not have lasted out on his own. Crespo said that one of the most helpful

things to Franco was the so-called Russian aid for the Popular Front. He said that there was no lack of Red Army Generals among the Republican Forces, but they were there to purge the anti-communist elements and sabotage the achievements of the people. He thought it was a fantastic achievement that the war had lasted so long as 33 months, when the people of Spain were fighting one enemy in front of them and another behind. He finished by saying that the CNT in exile was ready, when the opportunity arose, to prove that the Spanish people were not vanquished.

The last speaker was Ken Hawkes for the S.W.F., who said that the Spanish workers had proved that the working class could only be emancipated by the workers themselves. He said that although the CNT made mistakes, the pressures for forming a united anti-fascist front seemed overwhelming at the time, and they had in any case, learned from their mistakes.

The film "Fury over Spain" was obviously a propaganda film made to get support for the Spanish workers from abroad. It showed on the war and nothing of the social revolution, which might have limited the sphere of support, but it gave a good picture of the lines on which the army was run, and of the support of the people for the CNT and FAI.



'Operation Abolution'

To the Editors:
The editor of *L'Adunata dei Refrattari* who considered my report on the film "Operation Abolution" merely a repetition of the lies of the American yellow press is mistaken. The lies are, I hope, my own.

My report gave an impression of what the film was about. I then said there were many distortions in the film. I gave the address of the National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y. 27, and mentioned that the distortions in the film are itemized in a 50 cent pamphlet put out by the Council.

I spoke about three groups: the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Communists and, finally, the students singing and chanting inside City Hall.

My point about the film was that it was a very skilful job of revealing all three groups. I did not say that the students inside City Hall were Communist dupes. But I certainly felt they were the dupes of so-called liberal thought in America.

This liberal thought would like to censor this film unless it is shown with a speaker and/or printed material to explain the distortions. My report said—and I repeat it now—that this liberal group is as dangerous and frightening as HUAC or the Communists. The liberals will defend censorship of films like

Correspondence

"Operation Abolution" in the name of truth and honesty. (The K Administration in Washington is full of ex-chanting students who now defend the world in the name of truth and honesty. I hope English readers feel more secure now that the liberals have the bomb instead of the reactionaries. Or don't you feel any difference? If you don't, then you get the point of my report.)

For those who do not have access to the film, House Report No. 2228, which can be obtained from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Wash. D.C., gives a text of the film.

A final note: HUAC has recently completed a version of "Operation Abolution" which is toned down but still just as distorted as the first version. This new version does not have Chairman Walter or any other HUAC member speaking in it, so it can be easily recognized. Again HUAC has exposed itself by tampering with history in the best 1984 fashion. This seems to me to be another opportunity to expose HUAC—so why cry foul and attempt to censor the film?
New York, July 11. A.B.

Too logical on Cuba?

Dear FREEDOM,
I am not an anarchist, only a friend of mine (a libertarian) passes me the four pages under your name once in the while.

Reading you I become to know the anarchist ideas. Oh! they are very nice. So nice that I can't understand how the entire world is not convinced by now, after so many years of propaganda. But after your articles about the Castro's revolution I fall down from my nest: you, dear FREEDOM are too logical, you explain everything through the logic and everything result false or at least dark.

Specially because you utilize only one way in your logic. For instance; you don't see the Castro's case as it is really; a Russian beach-head ninety miles to the American coast; you don't see the want for American tractors as it really is: Castro needs not agricultural tractors but heavy American tractors to drive the big Russian cannons that can't be driven by Czechoslovak machines with aerial refrigeration; you think that if the Cuban majority is against Castro there would be no trouble to pull him down... Well; why don't you remember Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Trujillo and the others? When no matter at which country it is only a kind of Press, radio and TV; when the youth is intoxicated through 24 hours of indoctrination and when the most little dissent will mark a man as counter-revolutionist and may take him to jail without any chance (we have not Habeas Corpus or any other way to be get before a judge) when by only a printed leaflet found on a citizen he can be taken to the *Paredón*, the most elementary logic will say that any movement from inside is near impossible.

Of course my English is so poor I can't tell all that I want to tell, however I will finish this letter with an homage to your logical stand: the one who believe that because the Democracy murdered Sacco and Vanzetti and the two Rosenbergs (I don't care a straw for any spy) the Democracy is worse than the Com-

munist, this one I said must do as you do and write as you write.
La Habana, Cuba, June 28, M.D.

Subscriptions and Coercion

DEAR SIR,
Noticing your Renewal Form still about unpaid, I realised how essentially capitalist is my thinking in matters financial. I got my cheque book out to pay another bill, and was going "not to bother with yours". Why—just because if I didn't pay the other, I would be dunned and put in court. You relied on my honesty and have been unlucky for 12 months! Here is a small cheque at last.

Which leads me to reflect that coercion is effective and I rather believe that corporal punishment is too! I never enter into arguments as to whether it is a deterrent or not, for I will have none of it either way.

For if it is right to flog criminals to reform them, it is right to use thumb-screws, rack, etc.—there is no difference except in extent i.e. severity.

This line of argument may be familiar to you, but it is rarely emphasised by opponents of corporal punishment, I find.

Yours sincerely,
H.W.
London.

Individualism & Common Owners kip

DEAR EDITORS,
I am interested in the extract from E. Armand's letter written to Mr. Parker. In common with all anarchist communists, I agree that the ideal society is one where social problems are resolved by voluntary associations functioning automatically, but I cannot accept that "the liberty of each one of us stops where it invades the liberty of others". In the absence of coercive power, who is to determine this limit? I have always

been taught that liberty is absolute, and cannot be qualified. To impose conditions is illogical and would allow all manner of authoritarians to claim to be libertarians.

The only safeguard against infringement of the liberty of others is by the interference being unnatural and without reason through identity of interest which I believe can best be attained by common ownership. As the material conditions determine all social relationships, this identity of interest will provide the antidote to anti-social action generally. Where the interests of the people conflict, it is certain that liberty cannot function.

My letter in the issue of July 8th suffered through typesetting, the two lines at the top of the last column being reversed. I am made to say that with common ownership there can be no liberty of thought, which was the exact opposite of my real meaning.

Yours sincerely,
F.B.
Woldingham, July 15.

.....!

To the Editor, FREEDOM,
SIR,

While cordially sympathising with Mr. Laurens Otter, may I suggest that he is a little pessimistic and unnecessarily so. Historically, Anarchism is natural to Latin and Slavonic genes, whereas State Socialism is natural to Teutonic genes. Castro is quite obviously a natural Anarchist, so we must assume that he is being forced by the folly of his opponents and his followers into acts which are distasteful to him. Given time I have no doubt that—especially if he can find good Yugoslavs and Spaniards to help him—he will be able to pull out of Socialism and change over to Anarchism, at the same time emptying his prisons. But do let us remember that Anarchism is the most delicate form of government conceivable and possible only amongst the spiritually integrated. We must not expect it to spout spontaneously out of the foul sewers of Capitalism for us to wash our souls in.

Probably the two most lovable anarchists of our day are Krushchev and Castro. Both are fighting gallantly to distil Anarchism out of Capitalism. By all means let us criticise them, but let our criticisms be sympathetic and understanding. If we dislike blood and dungeons, then let us join the Quakers and accept them instead of imposing

them. But we can't expect Krushchev and Castro to join us.

Yours etc.,
RICHARD HOPE.

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The theme for this year is "Anarchism and Respectability" and the speakers will be: Alan Albon, Colin Ward and Bob Green.

Enquiries and Bookings (plus deposits) to: Mary Stevenson, 17a Maxwell Road, S.W.6.

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L.A.G. Central London meetings are suspended for the time being pending the booking of a new meeting-place.

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**International Libertarian Youth
Summer Camp 1961**

As in past years this libertarian gathering of youth will take place at Remoulins, near Avignon, France, during the month of August.

English comrades will be warmly welcomed.

For further details write to:
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**American Big Business
Weathers the Recession**

ACCORDING to the latest computation of the American magazine *Fortune* the 500 largest industrial companies in the United States weathered the 1960 recession a good deal better than their smaller counter-parts. Combined sales of the 500 rose by 3.7 per cent. to a record figure of \$205,000 million (that is about £70,000 million). Profits however declined by 3 per cent. to the not inconsiderable sum of \$11,600 million (about £4,000,000,000), but compared with other companies whose profits were reduced by 12½ per cent., the Big 500 were doing very well in spite of the recession and more than 5 million unemployed.

DINE (AND DIE?) IN SOHO

Tuberculosis of the lungs is at least four times as common among members of the catering trade in the Soho restaurant area of London as among the general population, and almost certainly commoner than in the same trade elsewhere in Britain.

A group of investigators led by Dr. Peter Emerson, of Westminster Hospital Chest Clinic, made this discovery after X-raying the lungs of 2,611 persons serving food or drink in the electoral ward of Soho. In yesterday's "British Medical Journal" they report finding eight cases of active disease per 1,000 workers X-rayed. (The national figure is under two per thousand).

Radiological evidence of past or present pulmonary tuberculosis was present in 86 volunteers. Of these, 53 were either in immediate need of treatment with anti-tubercular drugs, or required to be kept under supervision at a chest clinic. Eleven of the remaining 33 with healed disease were still attending such clinics.

Infection was twice as common among the immigrants as in those born in Britain. Chinese from Hong-kong had the highest incidence of disease, with

IN BRIEF

53.8 per 1,000 X-rayed. More than half of the workers evidently had the condition before joining the catering trade.

Those infected workers born in Britain and others from such places as Cyprus, where the incidence of tuberculosis is low, usually developed the disease in the first five years after coming to this country and starting this work.

The writers of the article urge that all new entrants to the catering trade in Soho should be X-rayed and tuberculin tested.
Guardian 14/7/61.

**Thunderbirds, Bloodhounds
THE ANIMALS OF DEATH**

A Thunderbird guided rocket knocked the recording cameras off its radio controlled target aircraft yesterday at its first public firing at the Royal Artillery Guided Weapons Trials Establishment in Anglesey.

Two Royal Artillery units are training with the weapon—36 Guided Weapon Regiment, which carried out yesterday's demonstration, and 37 Guided Weapon Regiment. The Thunderbird is meant for air defence of the Army in the field and can operate from mobile bases. The units carry generators to power mobile radar stations which provide the guidance, and the demonstration showed that assembly testing and arming can be done in three hours.

The original estimate of cost was £2,500,000, now Thunderbird, a solid fuel rocket with four rocket boosters, and its radar equipment will cost £40 millions to develop.

(*Guardian*).

Bristol Aircraft has announced that the Swiss Federal Government has placed an order, estimated to be worth between £25 millions and £30 millions, for the Bloodhound guided missile system. Sweden had decided to adopt the Bristol-Ferranti Bloodhound, Mark 2, surface-to-air guided weapon system as a major element in her air defence.

(*Guardian*).



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