

## Desperate Nations

IN THE NAME OF YOUR SECURITY  
CRIPPS WILL REWARD INFORMERS!

THE impartial observer is presented with a strange spectacle as he looks at the activities of the nations to-day. The Comintern countries are part of an economic block whose unifying principle is devotion to, and slavish dependence on, the Soviet Union. While the nations of the West are seeking an economic unification bearing also some kind of political structure in common as a condition of the continuation of Marshall aid after 1950 and 1951. Before the 1914 war it was possible for a man to travel where he pleased without a passport (with a false name if he so wished) and enter almost any country in the world without any real official scrutiny. Moreover, he could buy anything which fell within his means and bring it home with him—such commodities as wines and silks being the only substantial exceptions. It is unnecessary to labour the change which has taken place in these simple liberties.

The pressure of economics and of monetary problems is now forcing suggestions of inter-convertibility of national currencies on such groups as "Fritalux" (France, Holland, Belgium and Italy), and the ideas of freeing the flow of goods between Western European nations is in the air. It should not be thought, however, that there is any real possibility of returning to the free movement of individuals and goods of forty years ago, for the same economic forces still enforce the accumulation of restrictions and orders which effectively tie up any spontaneous and free travel. The various orders in council which regulate all these economic devices are not merely a nuisance and a strangling influence, they also have most serious administrative consequences. Thus, actions which a few years ago were perfectly innocuous and legal are now illegal.

### TOWARDS THE POLICE STATE

Most laws can be justified at least in part by an appeal to public morality and conceptions of socially harmonious living. But these various restrictions can have no such justification. "Offences" against them are regarded by ordinary people in the same light as they regard smuggling—something which everyone does without any qualms except fear of being found out. Whereas the majority of laws remain unbroken because of the inherent morality of the citizens, no such morality protects these later restrictions. That would not matter were it not that the administration has to resort to questionable methods of enforcing them. Thus, in answer to a question, Cripps recently stated that rewards would be available for those who give information to the authorities leading to conviction under the Exchange Control Act. The *Economist* rightly denounces this as a step towards the creation of a British Gestapo, and goes on to say:

"Exchange control is one of those departments of the law for which the public may—or may not—be prepared to concede a justification in expediency. It has no moral basis. How could it—since it prohibits transactions

which were perfectly legal only ten years ago, and are still in most people's minds, honest (though illegal) to-day? Yet this new branch of law interferes at countless points with the ordinary life of the ordinary citizen. It prohibits him from going abroad when he wants to, it prohibits her (if the ordinary citizen is a woman) from taking her normal jewellery with her, it involves such absurdities as a prohibition on the sending of stamp collections to schoolboys abroad. To enforce this collection of irritating restrictions, the secrecy of the mails can be, and is, violated in peace time. And now there are to be rewards to informers and relators; the state is deliberately to put a premium upon private spying and grudge-bearing, not among the criminal classes, but throughout the whole population. No form of economic control is worth this price. Away with it."

Yet the steps in this direction are all perfectly logical and derive from the various squirms and wriggles whereby every country seeks to extract itself from the surrounding economic difficulties. American production has reached such vast proportions that it oversteps the ability of the dollar area to absorb it.

Hence America's interest in the ability of Britain and the sterling area to buy American goods. (It should not be forgotten that the sterling bloc is still much the biggest in the world.) Hence also the necessity for Western Europe to seek some economic unification, and hence also the gradual recognition of the need for some kind of political unification also. The point here is that every administrative action has its roots in the general pattern, and it is unrealistic to crab at particular manifestations (excessive orders in council and multiplication of regulations with the creation of an army of

informers and spies to make them enforceable) without destructive criticism of the whole trend.

### NATIONS AND MEN

The justification of all this economic knot tying is proclaimed to be the desire for prosperity among the nations. But it is time to look closer at the terminology of politics. In the preceding paragraphs we have uncritically used the current terms—"America is interested in . . ." "the monetary needs of the sterling bloc . . ." and so on. But these terms do not refer to the inhabitants of

(Continued on page 4)

## Civil Defence Again

THE House of Commons has approved a series of Civil Defence regulations, and recruitment is likely to start on November 15th.

Already the various London authorities—the L.C.C., the City and the various borough councils—have agreed on an all-London plan, co-ordinating the recruitment and training of volunteers.

The measures to be taken at present are to be limited to preliminary planning, nomination of officials, "car-marking" of premises and so on, and some councils are already appointing their Civil Defence chiefs—at salaries around £600 a year.

How futile! It is admitted and obvious that the only defence in an atomic war will be to smash the enemy's striking power first—and it is extremely unlikely that any one power could do that to another so successfully that it would be unable to hit back.

There is no adequate defence of civilian population in a bombing war—we have learnt that by bitter experience. The only defence is to prevent war. Refuse to serve! Boycott all the preparations! Let those who want wars fight them themselves.

## Bet on Yourself!

IT is a commonplace argument among Socialist opponents of Anarchism that direct action by the workers is useless in the face of the tremendous power of the modern State.

They point to the modern armed forces with their formidable striking power and great mobility, and in their fear take cover in the ballot-box as the only way to combat the reactionary forces in society, completely forgetting that it is the working-class who maintain these forces either by direct support or mere acquiescence. A recent recruiting advertisement for auxiliary forces for the R.A.F. admitted that without ground staff there would be no flyers—a patently obvious fact, of course, but of significance to us because it is from the working-class that "erks", or A.C.'s, are recruited, but from ex-public school "types" that the glamour-boys of the fighter squadrons and the bomber-pilots are chosen.

In the forces, in fact, as in society as a whole, the workers do the drudgery, the maintaining, the necessary work, but the middle and upper classes do the directing. Add to this the fact that for every fighting man in uniform, several others in overalls are

necessary to equip and feed him and it becomes clear that without the support of the workers, the armed forces of the State could not last a week.

Perhaps at the back of the Socialist arguments against direct action lies their inherent belief in themselves as an enlightened minority acting on behalf of the working-class, leading the ignorant workers. From this point of view, it is clearly better to be a minority pushed into power than pushed into action. But the anarchist conception of social revolution is completely different from any idea of political revolution. It is a conception of the people as a whole rising to take away from the State, away from the capitalists, the power they have usurped in Society, and if our anti-militant propaganda has been well done, support for the State should fall away.

This is making it all sound very easy, but in fact the difficult part will not be the actual taking over by the

workers, the de-centralisation of power, but the difficult part is now, persuading the ordinary people of their strength. In as soon as the working-class becomes aware of its potentialities, and knows how to realise them, no power in society could successfully oppose it.

### The Police Were Helpless

In this connection, we were interested to see the recommendation by Sir Harold Scott, Metropolitan Commissioner of Police, to the Royal Commission on Betting. It is perhaps in a minor way only that he confirms our view, but confirmation it is, nevertheless.

Sir Harold's recommendation admitted that the police are helpless to control street betting. That the gambling laws are archaic, the police themselves know, but—their's not to reason why. They do their duty to the best of their ability in enforcing the law, but it just can't be done.

These laws, said the Commissioner, "do not command the support of large sections of the public. The prohibition of cash betting off the course is regarded as an example of 'One law for the rich and another for the poor.'" He added: "I do not think we have a solution of street betting at present. What we have got is a universal breaking of the law."

We need not bother here with the suggestion that legalised betting shops should be opened as an answer to the problem. It is pointed out elsewhere in this issue that governments are forced to legalise positions created by the people's own action, and this is simply another example.

What we want to stress is the fact that widespread action by ordinary, powerless people is defeating the powerful, organised police force. There have been the casualties. Week after week, streams of bookmakers and their runners have passed through the courts, paying up more or less cheerfully the various fines. But there have also been casualties on the other side, in the numbers of police who have fallen for bribes, or who are sympathetic to the people among whom, after all, they have to live.

### We Could Win Every Time!

If the betting laws are changed, it will not be due to the benevolence of the Government, wanting the poor man to have his flutter at work, while the upper crust bet their fivers at the race-course. It will be due to the poor man being determined to have his flutter in spite of the persecution and petti-fogging laws.

If this can be done on a small scale, it is only a question of degree to do it in things that matter more. Naturally, when ownership and control of the means of production become the stakes, resistance by the State will be fiercer. But if the people are as determined to change society as they have been to lay the odds, they could win every time. Let's bet on ourselves!

## AMERICAN POLITICIANS WOO 'BUTCHER' FRANCO

DURING the past few months, American politicians and industrialists have been doing their best to "sell" Franco to the American people, presumably with the intention of bringing Spain into Western Union and with the North Atlantic powers on defence. At the end of September, a group of seven Congressmen visited Spain and one of them, a Democratic representative, James J. Murphy, of New York, described his 40-minute interview with Franco on relations between the two countries, in glowing terms. He summed-up Franco as a "very, very lovely and loveable character."

Last week, at the weekly luncheon of the American Club of Paris, Mr. Hobart C. Ramsay, a Director of the National Association of Manufacturers asked: "How can we keep diplomatic relations with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary and not recognise Spain?"

And this is, indeed, a ticklish problem for the politicians. But Mr. Ramsay did not suggest breaking with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary! In fact, he came back from Spain most impressed. "Mr. Franco

may be a dictator," he said, "But he is doing a good job."

The very day we were reading the report of Mr. Ramsay's speech, we received information about a political trial which has just ended, in which 56 members of the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labour) have been sentenced to death and a sixth to 25 years penal servitude. The latter, had spent 9 years in Franco's prisons awaiting trial.

The names of the six men are:

Basilio Luna Cortés, Antonio Velasco Velasco, Juan Velasco Velasco, Juan Ortiz, Juan Gil Heredia, Saturnino Carot Lerin (25 years penal servitude).

Our correspondent also informs us that Juan Gil Heredia was sentenced to death by hanging, a method of execution used only in exceptional cases ("for the most despicable type of murderers").

Yes, Franco is indeed "doing a good job". It is more than ten years since he marched into Madrid, and during those ten years he has been responsible for the cold-blooded murder of thousands of his political opponents and the imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of men and women who refused to bow to his regime of intimidation.

And this is the "very, very lovely and loveable character." But, behind the mask, it is "Butcher" Franco.

Further Foreign Commentary on page 3



# ANARCHO-SYNDICALISTS AND THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE

JUST as the worker cannot be indifferent to the economic conditions of his life in existing society, so he cannot remain indifferent to the political structure of his country. Both in the struggle for his daily bread and for every kind of propaganda looking toward his social liberation he needs political rights and liberties, and he must fight for these himself in every situation where they are denied him, and must defend them with all his strength whenever the attempt is made to wrest them from him. It is, therefore, utterly absurd to assert that the Anarcho-Syndicalists take no interest in the political struggles of the time. The heroic battle of the C.N.T. in Spain against Fascism is, perhaps, the best proof that there is not a grain of truth in this idle talk.

But the point of attack in the political struggle lies, not in the legislative bodies, but in the people. Political rights do not originate in parliaments, they are, rather, forced upon parliaments from without. And even their enactment into law has for a long time been no guarantee of their security. Just as the employers always try to nullify every concession they had made to labour as soon as opportunity offered, as soon as any signs of weakness were observable in the workers' organisations, so governments also are always inclined to restrict or to abrogate completely rights and freedoms that have been achieved if they imagine that the people will put up no resistance. Even in those countries where such things as freedom of the press, right of assembly, right of combination, and the like, have long existed, governments are constantly trying to restrict those rights or to reinterpret them by judicial hair-splitting. Political rights do not exist because they have been legally set down on a piece of paper, but only when they have become the ingrown habit of a people, and when any attempt to impair them will meet with the violent resistance of the populace. Where this is not the case, there is no help in any parliamentary opposition or any Platonic appeals to the constitution. One compels respect from others when he knows how to defend his dignity as a human being. This is not only true in private life, it has always been the same in political life as well.

The peoples owe all the political rights and privileges which we enjoy to-day in greater or lesser measure, not to the good will of their governments, but to their own strength. Governments have employed every means that lay in their power to prevent the attainment of these rights or to render them illusory. Great mass movements among the people and whole revolutions have been necessary to wrest these rights from the ruling classes, who would never have consented to them voluntarily. One need only study the history of the past three hundred years to understand by what relentless struggles every right has had to be wrested inch by inch from the despots. What hard struggles, for example, had the workers in England, France, Spain, and other countries to endure to compel their governments to recognise the right of trade union organisation. In France the prohibition against trade unions persisted until 1886. Had it not been for the incessant struggles of the workers, there would be no right of combination in the French Republic to-day. Only after the workers had by direct action confronted parliament with accomplished facts, did the government see itself obliged to take the new situation into account and give legal sanction to the trade unions. What is important is not that governments have

THE article below is part of a chapter from Rudolf Rocker's book, *Anarcho-Syndicalism*. We reproduce it now because we think that many workers must be wondering about the value of political action, and that this excerpt, written in 1937, remains as true to-day as when the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists were proving the value of direct action.

decided to concede certain rights to the people, but the reason why they have had to do this. To him who fails to understand the connection here history will always remain a book with seven seals.

But the Anarcho-Syndicalists would be the very last to mistake the importance of these rights to the workers. If they, nevertheless, reject any participation in the work of bourgeois parliaments, it is not because they have no interest in political struggles in general, but because they are firmly convinced that parliamentary activity is for the workers the very weakest and most hopeless form of the political struggle. For the bourgeois classes the parliamentary system is without a doubt an appropriate instrument for the settlement of such conflicts as arise, and for making profitable collaboration possible, as they are all equally interested in maintaining the existing economic order and the political organisation for the protection of that order. Now, where a common interest exists, a mutual agreement is possible and serviceable to all parties. But for the working class the situation is

very different. For them the existing economic order is the source of their economic exploitation, and the organised power of the state the instrument of their political and social subjection. Even the freest ballot cannot do away with the glaring contrast between the possessing and the non-possessing classes in society. It can only serve to impart to a system of social injustice the aspect of legal right and to induce the slave to set the stamp of legality on his own servitude.

But, most important of all, practical experience has shown that the participation of the workers in parliamentary activity cripples their power of resistance and dooms to futility their warfare against the existing system. Parliamentary participation has not brought the workers one iota nearer to their final goal; it has even prevented them from protecting the rights they have won against the attacks of the reaction. In Prussia, for example, the largest state in Germany, where the Social Democrats until shortly before Hitler's accession to power were the strongest party in the government and had control

of the most important ministries in the country, Herr von Papen, after his appointment as Reichskanzler by Hindenburg, could venture to violate the constitution of the land and dissolve the Prussian ministry with only a lieutenant and a dozen soldiers. When the Socialist Party in its helplessness could think of nothing to do after this open breach of the constitution except to appeal to the high court of the Reich instead of meeting the perpetrators of the *coup d'etat* with open resistance, the reaction knew that they had nothing more to fear and from then on could offer the workers what they pleased. The fact is that von Papen's *coup d'etat* was merely the start along the road to the Third Reich.

Anarcho-Syndicalists, then, are not in any way opposed to the political struggle, but in their opinion this struggle, too, must take the form of direct action, in which the instrument of economic power which the working class has at its command are the most effective. The most

trivial wage-fight shows clearly that, whenever the employers find themselves in difficulties, the state steps in with the police, and even in some cases with the militia, to protect the threatened interests of the possessing classes. It would, therefore, be absurd for them to overlook the importance of the political struggle. Every event that affects the life of the community is of a political nature. In this sense every important economic action, such, for example, as a general strike, is also a political action and, moreover, one of incomparably greater importance than any parliamentary proceeding. Of a political nature is likewise the battle of the Anarcho-Syndicalists against Fascism and the anti-militarist propaganda, a battle which for decades was carried on solely by the libertarian Socialists and the Syndicalists, and which was attended by tremendous sacrifices.

The fact is that, when the Socialist labour parties have wanted to achieve some decisive political reform, they have always found that they could not do so by their own strength and have been obliged to rely wholly on the economic fighting power of the working class. The political general strikes in Belgium, Sweden and Austria for the attainment of universal suffrage are proof of this. And in Russia it was the great general strike of the working people that in 1905 pressed the pen into the tzars' hand for the signing of the constitution. What the heroic struggle of the Russian intelligentsia had not been able to accomplish in decades, the united economic action of the working class quickly brought to fulfilment.

The focal point of the political struggle lies, then, not in political parties, but in the economic fighting organisations of the workers. It was the recognition of this which impelled the Anarcho-Syndicalists to centre all their activity on the Socialist education of the masses and on the utilisation of their economic and social power. Their method is that of direct action in both the economic and the political struggles of the time. That is the only method which has been able to achieve anything at all in every decisive moment in history. And the bourgeoisie in its struggles against absolutism has also made abundant use of this method, and by refusal to pay taxes, by boycott and revolution, has defiantly asserted its position as the dominant class in society. So much the worse if its representatives of to-day have forgotten the story of their fathers, and how bloody murder at the "unlawful methods" of the workers fighting for liberation. As if the law had ever permitted a subject class to shake off its yoke.

## PIONEERS OF FREEDOM IN EDUCATION—2 WILLIAM GODWIN 1756-1836

EDUCATION was the most constant preoccupation of Godwin's life. As a youth he taught in a rural school and later attempted to establish a progressive school to practise the ideas he had evolved. When he could gain no support for this scheme he took to writing but he continued to experiment with the teaching of individual children. In *Political Justice* education played an important rôle and later, when he began to realise that his libertarian teachings had fallen on stony ground, he advocated education of the young as a means by which the minds of men might be made receptive to freedom. Even at the very end of his life, he was still sufficiently interested to write very soundly on education in *Thoughts on Man*.

### Purpose of Education

At the beginning of *The Enquirer*, Godwin says: "The true object of education is the generation of happiness." Over simplified perhaps and needing some qualification, this is probably one of the most revolutionary statements that have ever been made about education. Outside the few freedom schools of our time, it would be extremely difficult to meet any teacher who was prepared to accept it. Godwin's writings on education, taken as a whole, represent the most advanced thought on freedom in education up to the end of the eighteenth century and embrace important ideas which are

still recognised only by a minority of educationists.

Like Rousseau, Godwin believed that the child at birth was innocent and capable only of good, and that tendencies to evil were not inherent but imposed by bad environment. Therefore, he conceived education as a process strictly in accordance with a definition of the word itself, a process of "leading out". It was a matter of leading out the natural good and strengthening it against the hostile forces that would attack it in a corrupt society. Eventually he came to the two-fold conclusion that freedom is the basis of education and that education is the basis of freedom. The realisation of this reciprocal relationship is what makes Godwin's writings on education so important to the anarchist.

### Individual Attention

According to Godwin, education should strive to develop the natural propensities of the individual child. Uniformity of teaching is to be avoided, for to this method is due the prevalent condition of the schools where a few pupils appear to be brilliant and the rest dull. A good education will bring out the latent capacities in all children. No kind of tyranny should be used to force a child to undertake work for which he is not suited and every child should be taught to reverence himself and his own talents. A practical effect of these ideas was that Godwin condemned strongly the idea of teaching children in large classes where the treatment must necessarily become impersonal and cannot be concerned with individual characteristics. In the proposals for his own school he limited the number of pupils to twelve.

The child should learn only what it wished to learn. "Study with desire is real activity," he says in *The Enquirer*, "without desire it is but the semblance and mockery of activity." The teacher's rôle therefore was to be passive, following where the child led. "According to the received mode of education the master goes first and the pupil follows. According to the method here recommended it is probable that the pupil should go first and the master follow. If I learn nothing but what I desire to learn, what should hinder me from being my own preceptor?" In displacing the teacher from his position of authority and superiority, and making the desire of the pupil rather than the will of the teacher the motive element in education, Godwin made a truly revolutionary departure in method. It superseded not only the thoughtless cramming practised by the old-fashioned schoolmasters of his day but also the advanced ideas of Rousseau who still regarded the pupil's mind as matter to be moulded rather than as an organism to grow according to its own natural tendencies.

### Harshness and the Family

Elsewhere in *The Enquirer*, Godwin treats of some of the problems which face parents and teachers in their relationship with children. He indicates the disadvantages of family life with its tendency to cause the child to grow up in a stultifying environment of authority. Harshness in the treatment of children can produce great social evils. Godwin sees as clearly as a modern psychologist that unhappiness in childhood is the cause of

much of the mental illness of adults and much of the disorder in society. He shows that harshness defeats its own ends for instead of bringing the child to a sense of his error its result is "to fill him with indignation against your despotism, to inspire him with a deep sense of the indignity to which he is subjected and to perpetuate in his mind a detestation of the lesson that occasions his pain."

Godwin suggests that one of the most important causes of this harshness is to be found in the undue familiarity which is the consequence of family life. He therefore considers that, even if some form of family life is found necessary, those who participate in it should be made aware of the danger of acquiring a contempt for the rights of individual members of the family and particularly of children. He goes on to argue the greater value of an equal basis of discussion between the parent or teacher and the child. At the same time he condemns that pretence of equality which is used as a mask for authority. This merely rouses a sense of injustice in the child. Nor should we in any other circumstances use deception in the treatment of children.

### State Education

Godwin's ideas of education were based on freedom, and that, as he realised more fully than any of his contemporaries, is incompatible with the interference of the state or any other institution in the practice of teaching. Therefore, while so many of his contemporaries were looking forward to an era of state education, Godwin condemned in very definite terms the idea of any connection between authority and the school. His argument on this subject in *Political Justice* expresses this condemnation in terms which have never been improved.

The accuracy of Godwin's premonition of the results of state interference in education is shown only too clearly in our own day. Education has been the most formidable of the dictator's methods of misleading the people into accepting his authority. Even the democracies have turned education, from its true purpose of awakening the mind, into a device for adapting children to become useful soldiers or mechanics.

The anarchist has probably more to learn from Godwin than from any other educationist. Godwin has obviously had a great influence upon people like Herbert Read and George Woodcock. The freedom schools of to-day have rediscovered much that Godwin taught, long buried in the authoritarian age of Victorian teaching. His work in education was remarkably acute in its perception of the nature of the child's mind and the means by which it could be developed in freedom. The emphasis on freedom as the basis of education, on desire in the pupil as the necessary motive factor in development and on the position of the child rather than the teacher as the central figure in the educational process are elements in Godwin's teaching which have anticipated the best in modern educational theory and practice.

[No real understanding of Godwin is possible without paying special attention to William Godwin, a Biographical Study by George Woodcock. I am indebted to him for much of the substance of this article.]

## ART FOR THE LAYMAN

THE MEANING OF ART, by Herbert Read. (Pelican Books, 2/6)

THE person who knows little or nothing of painting and sculpture, and who is bewildered by the language in which such work is discussed, could hardly lay his hands upon a book more helpful than this one. Herbert Read begins with a general discussion of the nature of painting and its relation to life and the other arts. He defines beauty, form and other such terms in a simple manner—sometimes his definitions are too well-rounded and rattle against one another instead of fitting neatly together—and gives a practical and satisfying account of how line, tone, structure and other elements make up a picture. Then he recounts the history of art from primitive times until to-day, paying special attention to styles and remarking the material influences upon the work of schools and individuals. He packs an enormous amount of information into his space and adds a good deal of suggestive speculation. His own interest in the subject seems to be always fresh and so he writes clearly and with curiosity about the problems another author might take for granted. He does not give a lecture, but opens a discussion. His sympathies are wide and so is his knowledge, and there is not a dull or trivial page in his book. This reprint contains an extensive gallery of half-tone illustrations, very well reproduced. L.A.

"The history of the English factories, the American trusts, the exploitation of African gold, diamonds, ivory and rubber, outdoes in villainy the worst that has ever been imagined of the buccaneers of the Spanish Main. Captain Kidd would have marooned a modern Trust magnate for conduct unworthy of a gentleman."

BERNARD SHAW.

## The curtains are drawn,

keeping out November's fogs and cold. The temptation is strong to stay indoors, once we are home in the evening. Settle down with a good book, and remember, Freedom Bookshop can supply any book in print.

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# Contradictions of French Capitalism

Paris, Nov. 3.

THE ministerial crisis which left France without a government for nearly a month, did not lack its amusing aspect, and has once more shown the growing decay of the parliamentary form of government.

But beyond the political scene, where the political parties were losing what remained to them of doctrine and dignity, the back curtain of the serious problems that beset the regime, remains intact.

The drive towards economic freedom, provoked by the industrialists, demanded by the parties which represent them, and which according to them was to bring abundance and prosperity, has come to a sudden stop.

All commodities are more or less freed. But wages are blocked. The system of free competition demanded for the internal market, proves fatal for these very same people the moment they are faced with foreign competition. And the method of defending such a system, internally and externally, police and army, gives the State a crushing rôle, which is paid for by stifling taxes.

## LETTER FROM FRANCE

A backward agriculture, an antiquated industry, an imperialist system which has been left behind, an ever-encroaching State apparatus, a chaotic administration, these are the characteristics of the French bourgeois régime.

It will not therefore be a short-term policy, nor the daily expedients which are thought up, which will give affluence, power and glory to France. The governmental crisis is but a faint reflection of the crisis of the whole system.

This crisis, which, in the opinion of the believers in the Socialist religion and of the faithful followers of proletarian messianism, must inevitably and inexorably lead to the coming to power of the working-class, is not in any way, or at least, not to a sufficient degree, exploited by the proletariat.

Far from making the difficulties of the system insurmountable; far from accelerating the process of decomposition of the ruling class; far from demanding for the working-class organisations the rôle of initiators of radical solutions—the parties and the trade union hierarchy, making use of the workers, struggle to preserve and maintain, to piece together or patch up the bourgeois world in which they have been born and have developed.

Apart from a small political strike, organised by the Communist-controlled C.G.T., of an hour's duration, the aim of which was to bar the way to the Socialist Minister of the Interior, Jules Moch, and prevent him from becoming President of the Council—apart from this, then, the organisations representing the working-class just sat back and waited patiently for everything to be settled, limiting themselves to making known their demands.

The reasons for this systematic refusal to consider the situation as a revolutionary one (not in the romantic sense of the word, but in a more objective sense) are numerous, but it all comes back to a common feeling amongst all leaders: the fear of the proletariat and mistrust of its constructive capacities.

The Communist Party and its syndical branch, playing the rôle assigned to them by Russian strategy, limit themselves to drawing together all discontents and using them to bring pressure on the present rulers, leaving to

Soviet diplomacy to exploit these forces on an international scale.

The Socialist Party, the social content of which has changed during the past twenty years or so, and which tends to become simply a framework of professional politicians, without active rank and file sections, is afflicted with parliamentary cretinism. The wide tendencies of Statism and international organisation act as a doctrinal screen, and to the spontaneous phenomena arising from the disorder and decadence of capitalism, they place their labels.

Force Ouvrière, where the emptied brain of Jouhaux acts as a thinking machine, revels in apathy and anti-Stalinist statements and hopes for a natural progress which reality daily disproves.

As to the C.G.C. (Confédération Générale des Cadres), it is by its incessant demands for the rights of the hierarchy that it reveals its true nature: that of representative of the rising class, the vehicle for a technocracy avid to reap its heritage.

It is true that a programme of proletarian action, clearly orientated towards libertarian socialism, is emerging and defining itself among the thinking sections of the working-class.

Its principal points are the ending of the war in Indo-China by a workers boycott of the transport of men and material destined for the Far East; workers' control in the nationalised industries; joint control of other industries; the elimination of intermediaries in distribution and the development of direct distribution by workers' co-operative organisations; an international workers' agreement for the exploitation in Europe of the large centres of hydro-electric power and of raw materials: the Alps, the Ruhr, Lorraine and the Sarre.

But we are not so simple as to believe that the formulating of such a programme means its application. At the most it underlines that there exists a proletarian alternative to the present crisis.

For there is no critical situation which cannot be resolved. The unification of Europe, which capitalist blindness makes impossible by the entente and by federation, will be resolved by the largest common denominator: the dollar. The solution to the war of Viet Nam will be found by the establishment of a vast system of security in S.E. Asia, under the aegis of the United States. The elimination of unadaptable industries will be achieved, the moment the knife of credits is placed to the throats of recalcitrant States.

And without counting on the fact that war, as well, can be a solution.

The theoreticians and macehiavelli's of the workers' movement in their desperate attempts to save the bourgeoisie, to which they maintain that their fate is closely tied, forget the ABC of Socialism.

S. PARANE.

# PERSECUTIONS OF HAMBURG ANARCHISTS

From a German Correspondent

ON the incitement of the Nazis, police invaded the hall of the Culture Federation and attempted to drive us out.

Our comrade, Carl Langer, is primarily responsible through his indefatigable efforts and work that we have to-day a strong anarchist group in Hamburg. The Youth Federation alone numbers several hundred young members. There is no doubt at all that the anarchist group in Hamburg is the strongest in Germany.

The Culture Federation was founded immediately after the "Liberation" but it has had to wage a severe struggle since its inception. In the name of "democracy" the "liberators" seek to impede and obstruct the work of the Federation by all means possible. On account of the co-operation of the garrison powers with the former Nazis from the very day of "liberation", they have at their disposal sufficient spies to be able to check up on everybody in Germany. The active anarchists were listed by the military regime for their speeches and answers as to what they intended to do in the future. If they asked permission to organise or publish a newspaper it was forbidden them. The occupation authorities recognised that libertarian ideas were more dangerous for them than National-Socialism.

Anarchist ideas must not be expounded but former big Nazis who sit in the Bonn Parliament and make laws against the Anarchists, can openly declare that Nazism was "a good thing".

The Culture Federation in Hamburg has been from the first against this Neo-Nazism but as the reaction became stronger and surer through the support of the occupation powers their hostility has increased until they have believed themselves strong enough to suppress the Culture Federation.

Last year they arrested Carl Langer and his daughter Regina, the first as leader of the Culture Federation and the latter as leader of the Youth Federation. Carl Langer was imprisoned four months and his daughter two months.

## S-sh!

THE Government of the Emerald Isle has decided that a certain publication by the Government of this Scepter'd Isle is not nice to read.

Eire's official Gazette has published a notice saying that the Censorship of Publications Board disapproves of the British Royal Commission's Report on Population. The wicked paper "advocates the unnatural prevention of conception".

## FOREIGN COMMENTARY—continued

# Trouble Brewing in South Africa

EARLY in September, Dr. Malan, Nationalist Premier of South Africa, announced that to protect the European race everyone in the Union would have to carry an identity card, classifying him as European, native, coloured, or Indian.

He told the Transvaal congress of the Nationalist party that the Government was determined to enforce apartheid (racial segregation), and that in the next session of Parliament it planned at least to create machinery to make it possible to enforce apartheid.

As it had abolished the representation of Indians in Parliament, the Government was now resolved to abolish the direct vote of coloured people in Cape Province.

He also said that the Government was determined to stop non-European students mingling with European students at Witwatersrand and Capetown Universities where they enjoyed equality.

Yet another victory for Hitler and the Klu Klux Klan!

A newspaper report from Capetown now informs us that (1/11/49): "One African was killed and others were wounded when police opened fire to-day as striking natives surged towards them in a disturbance at the Munsieville native location, Krugersdorp, twenty miles north-west of Johannesburg. Four or five policemen were hurt by stones.

The Africans, protesting against the transfer of registration and the issue of passes to the Krugersdorp Town Council, had thrown stones at non-strikers and at passing cars. Police patrols got the situation under control, but later the Africans, screened by their women and children, rushed towards the assembled police, who opened fire. With one hundred policemen

and patrol cars surrounding the location a truce was afterwards declared."

The native Commissioner later explained "that much of the blame for the day's events could be attributed to the African children who, whenever there was trouble, stoned the police." Which shows how much the children must like the policemen!

## U.S. COMMUNISTS OUT ON BAIL

THE eleven Communist leaders who were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for conspiring to teach the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government (*Freedom*, 29/10/49) have been released on bail of \$260,000 (nearly £90,000) pending their appeal. The Communist dominated Civil Rights Congress went bail for that amount.

Our contemporary *l'Adunata dei Refrattari* (New York) has published two front-page articles on the case, and though in greater detail, their arguments were identical with those of *Freedom*. And our Rome contemporary, *Umanità Nova*, reproduces *l'Adunata's* article on the front page of its October 30th issue.

We think it important that these facts should go on record as one more proof of the anarchists consistency in their world wide struggle for real civil liberties for all.

As an example of Communist "consistency", a report in *Peace News* (28/10/49) of a recent mass meeting of the (Communist) British Peace Committee is in a way amusing yet makes one despair. Apparently, when Sybil Morrison, the P.P.U. speaker, said that the idea of Communism would not be destroyed by killing Communists, "there was a roar of applause". But, the report continues:

"When the ovation died away she remarked that by the same token neither would the idea of capitalism be destroyed by killing the wicked capitalists. This was received in cold and deadly silence!"

## MOSCOW'S GRATITUDE

AND, finally, a news item which has been crowded out of this column but which has not lost its point with the passage of time. The *New York Herald Tribune* (30/9/49) reported that because the dock strikes in the Port of London had "increased their shipping costs Russia and Poland have decided not to use the port as a trans-shipment point for Australian wool".

It is also stated "the Poles have placed wool orders totalling several million pounds sterling with Australian exporters, but have stipulated that the wool must not be unloaded in London".

An official of a large wool-buying organisation in London said: "The Russians and the Poles are refusing to risk having to pay extra charges because of delay caused by dock strikes in London. They have also complained that the wool has been badly handled and their shipments have been short because the wrong tallies have been put on."

Though *Freedom* did not share the *N.Y. Herald Tribune's* view that it was a Communist-inspired strike, nevertheless the British Communists made every effort to use the strike and certainly wholeheartedly supported it. And the result is that the leaders of the workers' paradise prefer to send their boats to ports which refused to support the London dockers. That's what is called gratitude! But for Moscow, too, "business is business"!

LIBERTARIAN.

# THROUGH THE PRESS

## HAVE WE SWEATED LABOUR?

Lord Lucas, speaking for the Government in the House of Lords yesterday said it saw no reason why appreciable unemployment should develop in the United Kingdom as a result of the recent relaxation of import restrictions to liberalise European trade. He added: "It is our intention to safeguard the employment of the British workers against low-priced imports where these are the results of sweated labour."

*Manchester Guardian*, 2/11/49. No doubt Lord Lucas would have no objection to reducing the price of our exports by sweating British labour.

## WHAT IS THE TRUTH?

Mr. E. Thurtle (Lab.—Shoreditch) asked the Home Secretary if he had now received the detailed information for which he asked last week in order that he might institute an inquiry into allegation against the police contained in a letter recently published in the *New Statesman*, written by a correspondent whose real name was not published.

Mr. Chuter Ede: No, sir. Mr. J. Platts-Mills (Ind. Lab.—Finsbury) asked if the Home Secretary was aware that the police now knew the identity of the writer, that they had visited his employers and that he had been dismissed.

Mr. Chuter Ede: I have seen a statement to that effect in one morning paper. It did not go quite as far as the hon. member. I have made inquiries of the police at Scotland Yard and they informed me they do not know the identity of the person.

*Manchester Guardian*, 4/11/49.

## DIRECTION OF LABOUR TO STAY

Until Sir Stafford Cripps announced devaluation on Sept. 18th, it had been expected that control of engagements and direction of labour might be dropped at the end of 1949. With devaluation and new possibility of movement of labour into the export industries, the Government, employers, and trade union officials, apparently feel that the Control of Engagement Order may have further uses.

*Daily Telegraph*, 4/11/49.

## MORALITY MAN

"I'm a clerk during the daytime," he said. "At night I keep an eye on excessive drinking and loose living in the West End."

"Another part of my job is to buy and read the obscene novelettes from the doorway stalls which appear in the West End at night, I mark the objectionable bits and send them to the Council."

"That and watching the nude shows in the small suburban theatres or patrolling the parks keeps me busy on my spare nights."

"No, I don't get any pay for it. Just my expenses."

—Interview in the *Evening Standard*.

## HE'S LEARNING

Experience on the Scheme has given me a new sympathy with the demands for more workers' participation in the control of nationalised industries at home. On the Groundnuts Scheme the "proletariat" is, in effect, African, so it is not a question of wages or working conditions; but exactly parallel demands have arisen on the executive level, both in East Africa and the London office. Perhaps, after all, the main argument for letting coal miners run coal mines is that they may know more about it than any superior body appointed over their heads, and may make fewer mistakes.

—The former Public Relations Officer of the Groundnuts Scheme in *New Statesman*, 5/11/49.

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# The Attack on the Young

The comments below are all, by coincidence, dealing with the world and its treatment of the young. It has truly been said that this is an adults' world, and not the least disturbing aspect of it is its easy sacrifice of youth.

## KISSES AND LAUGHTER

ONE of the benefits of co-education is that it eliminates "awkwardness" between the sexes during a period in life when it is most likely to develop—adolescence.

When one grows up in the company of the opposite sex, it is not easy for the silly shyness or the "putting girls on pedestals" attitudes to remain very long. Nor, when boys and girls are in class together, can the "girls are sissy" attitude flourish, for in both academic studies and in sports, sex equality is demonstrated.

Not that the fact is lost that there are the two sexes, but the dawn of sexuality during the process of growing up can be regarded as something natural and simple, and young people's first experiences of affection with the opposite sex is often gained at school social functions (or perhaps walking home afterwards?) and can take their places with all the development which education is supposed to encourage.

One would imagine that teachers at co-educational schools would be aware of this—and especially the headmasters, whose duties are more administrative than tutorial and who should be able to view their schools in much wider perspective than form teachers, so often concerned with end-of-term exam results.

It is thus particularly shocking to hear of the recent case of a headmaster who caned six of his boys for kissing girls. There seems absolutely no excuse for such action, and the fact that a headmaster could do that is surely an indication that he is basically unfitted for his job.

But the sequel is even shodder. Questions were asked in Parliament of Mr. Tomlinson, Minister of Education who "saw no reason to intervene" and said that in his judgment he would "imagine that the youngsters thought it was worth it". There was laughter at this from the assembled representatives of the people, several more of whom went on to make jokes about the matter. These pompous asses, who have long ago forgotten—if they ever knew—the pleasures of kissing

the girls, found nothing more than an excuse for stuffy jokes in the punishment of six boys.

An ordinary housewife knew better. Writing to the *News Chronicle*, she quoted the case of her son, treated similarly for a similar "crime". His reaction was to feel so ashamed that he refused to continue at his school although he had always wanted to become a teacher, so that his career was stopped before it began. "Too many teachers," his mother wrote, "think only in terms of punishment."

That quickly becomes, we could point out to her, the mentality of those in authority.

## THE GENERATION OF UNHAPPINESS

ELSEWHERE in this issue, Tom Earley quotes William Godwin's dictum that the purpose of education is "the generation of happiness". How far we are from that ideal to-day, 150 years after, can be demonstrated by quoting the case of Patricia Turner, 15 years of age.

When she was at school, Patricia was never very good at figures, and at home in the evenings used to cry over her arithmetic homework. But her education was not designed to discover what she was good at, what she enjoyed doing, it all led up to the day when she left school and took a job as a junior clerk in a furnishing store.

As a junior clerk . . . faced with the prospect of perhaps years of struggling with figures, Patricia Turner, 15 years of age, went home and gassed herself.

## BENEFIT OF BUREAUCRACY

IT is not often that we find anything to commend in bureaucracy, but when it threatens the institutions it is designed to protect, we clap our hands in approval.

The Cadet Corps, compulsory training units at our public schools, are in the words of a War Office spokesman, "a vital foundation of the armed forces. The pre-conscription training of 48,000 Army cadets, 3,600 Air Training Corps cadets and 1,400 Sea Cadets is carried out by schoolmasters who are mainly ex-officers. It is from these cadets that most of the officers and N.C.O.'s come during National Service.

The happy circumstance in red-tape which is now threatening these militaristic institutions—which were a feature of British upper-crust "education" long before Hitler's Youth were thought of—is that the amount of form-filling attached to running the Corps is getting intolerable for the responsible masters. So much so, in fact, that some smaller schools may soon have to abandon their cadet training if relief from paper-work in triplicate is not forthcoming.

We hope it won't be.

## SITTING ON THE FENCE

The teachers are very strong on equal pay—the women teachers, that is. Most men teachers are very sceptical about it, though their union supports it. The men hold that they have in fact more responsibility. I shall be a Parliamentary candidate at the next election and, therefore, nothing would induce me to pass judgment on this case.

—W. J. Brown, M.P., in *Evening Standard*, 2/11/49.

# Gentlemen of the Press

WHEN that great body of workers, the British Journalists, take up the cudgels for better wages, the results are certainly enlightening, as can be seen from the skirmish going on at the moment between the National Union of Journalists and the Newspaper Proprietors' Association.

No timid demands for a £5 basic here, but a vigorous determination to pursue their claim of 15 guineas a week *minimum* in the face of the N.P.A.'s refusal to even discuss the application.

Steps have already been taken by the N.U.J. to press their claim, and one branch has decided that unless an agreement was made by November 9th, a special meeting would be called to formulate plans for what is termed "working to rule". Unlike some other groups of workers taking strike action, these rules are made by journalists themselves, meaning—"No colouring or distortion," "Nothing but the truth basis". It is no news to most of us that many journalists distort the facts for political, religious or other reasons, but until now few of them would admit this, and it is fairly certain that the N.U.J. realises that the Newspaper Society, rather than risk a mass publication of uncoloured facts, will ultimately come to an agreement.

Now, the newspaper proprietors can afford to pay their workers 15 gns. and more, and one hopes that in any wage dispute between worker and employer that the worker will succeed, but quite apart from the important fact that this claim, like any other wage claim, is only perpetuating the present system, it is difficult to feel even the natural sympathy one usually has for workers' struggles. There are a few reasons for this, one of them being that journalists as a body are constantly sabotaging industrial strikes, by attacking through the press, the worker who is rightly demanding a living wage. It is obvious then that the journalist who now claims a minimum of 15 gns. a week, feels that his needs are greater than those of industrial workers.

The following report is an example of the snob value that is attached to journalism as a job, and gives another insight into the bourgeois mind. The Sheffield branch of the N.U.J. claims that the average weekly wage of steel workers is £7 9s. 10d., and is higher than the average for reporters on the Sheffield newspapers, and goes on to say, "If there is a disparity between the earnings of reporters and industrial workers, how much greater is the disparity between the earnings of the reporter and the professional man with whom he has to associate." The implication being that £7 9s. 10d. is good enough for a steel worker, but not for a journalist.

When J. P. Mallalieu, journalist M.P., addressed a meeting at Huddersfield, he said he thought it was wrong that he could get £25 for writing in a national newspaper when a skilled miner had to work at least two weeks for that. (That it is "wrong" we will all agree, but if he had said a miner had to work four weeks for £25, it would have been nearer the mark.) When he went on to say that he would like to see a sewer worker's wage increased and a journalist's substantially cut, he was reminded that the union was pressing for higher wages, and such statements did not help the case.

But the most ludicrous remark of all came from an industrial correspondent who asked, "How are we going to attract the better educated people to Journalism if you are going to pay them such rotten wages?" No signs of solidarity here for steel workers, dockers or miners, who not only have rotten wages, but usually rotten conditions, too.

It is a pity that working journalists cannot realise that their interest lies with those of other wage-earners, and not in aping, or aspiring to, or selling themselves to, the upper middle classes. R.M.

# DIRECT ACTION To Relieve Suffering

A VERY interesting example of courageous defiance of the law with the declared aim of getting it changed occurred recently. It affects a small number of people only, but the principle involved and the direct action used are of much wider importance. A surgeon, Mr. Wilson Hey, of Manchester, who was also a mountaineer, was a witness of a climbing accident some twenty years ago in which a man's thigh was broken. The difficulty of getting him down with only an improvised stretcher increased the damage of the original injury, and no morphia was available to mitigate the pain or reduce the shock. As a result the leg had to be amputated.

The surgeon thereupon began to organise rescue parties through a Mountain Rescue Committee. He also distributed to them morphia for use in such emergencies, despite the fact that in law lay persons are forbidden to administer this drug or to have charge of it. In 1934, he wrote to the Home Office asking for permission to distribute morphia to these rescue squads. It was refused, so he continued to distribute it on his own responsibility. This year the Home Office sanctioned the administration of morphia by lay persons on airfields and mining rescue squads, and such administration was common during the war. Mr. Hey therefore wrote once more to the Home Office asking for permission once more. He pointed out that he had been distributing morphia in this way since 1934, and in the event of another refusal invited prosecution. This request was acceded to, and he was duly charged before a Manchester magistrate.

It is apparent that the surgeon's position is morally impregnable. His counsel explained to the court that "to transport someone with a fracture down a mountainside to a place of safety without first administering morphia is like conducting a major operation without giving an anaesthetic, because the severe shock is an enemy to life and an enemy to surgery." And he added that Sir Harry Platt, a vice-president of the Royal College of Surgeons and an adviser to the Ministry of Health, was present in Court, and if he was called he would say that the most important thing in dealing with a fracture was to provide morphia on the spot before the transportation of the casualty was commenced. A revealing dialogue between defence counsel and the magistrate followed:

The Magistrate: "Isn't this a matter for legislation?"

Counsel: "That is why we are here. It is a matter of getting someone to move."

Magistrate: "Am I not bound to act upon the law as it stands?"

Counsel: "Yes, but it is to be hoped it will not stand for long in its present form."

The magistrate fined Mr. Hey £10. His final remarks are interesting. "He has taken up the cudgels both as a doctor and as a mountaineer but I wonder that steps have not been taken through some organised body to bring about the change he desires. His motive is the highest anybody could have but he flouted the authority of the Home Secretary. While there seems to be little danger of there being any abuse of these drugs at the rescue stations his action has been a distinct breach of the law."

Few normal people will not applaud his action. When a government department acts in such a way, its authority unquestionably should be flouted, and the more people there are to act responsibly on their own initiative the sooner the world will be improved.

The sequel follows. In answer to a question in Parliament on the subject, the Home Secretary, very much on the defensive, said he was considering ways and means of arranging for morphia to be

administered to injured climbers—to make, in fact, Mr. Hey's illegal actions legal. "He was anxious to meet the practical situation but he could not wink at absolute defiance of the law for 15 years."

It is as well that someone was not prepared to wink at administrative inertia, incompetence, and callousness either. The whole case is a remarkable instance of how a determined man, with right and knowledge on his side, can defy the State and the law, and compel changes in the latter. It make one want to cheer.

## THE "OBSTRUCTION" FUND

IN the issue before last, it was mentioned that the London comrades were collecting the cash required to pay Leah Feldman's fines for obstruction, earned while selling *Freedom* at Hyde Park. We are gratified by the response which has come in both by those who know our indefatigable comrade personally and other Anarchists. The total received was £5 3s. 3d. within a very short time, and we have asked comrades contributing late to place the balance of contributions towards the other fund announced in the same issue, towards the organising of the International Anarchist Congress.

A.M.

Readers may be interested in the following correspondence in the *Hackney Gazette*, an East London tri-weekly:

### Good Riddance

I NOTICED the remark of a woman who had been charged with obstructing the police and selling political papers. When told to move on she said: "It is much better to be in Russia."

How much better it would be for us if people of this opinion would only try and go there. We would certainly be well rid of them and their Marxist theory.—REGULAR READER, Hackney, E.9.

(24/10/49)

### Anarchist Answers

WHILST selling the Anarchist paper *Freedom* at Hyde Park recently, I was seized by a constable and told I would be charged with obstruction. I told him "it was getting as bad as Russia". By the time the remark was repeated in Court and reproduced by your newspaper it apparently appeared that things were better in Russia!

Hence, I take it, the remarks of "Regular Reader" on Monday, as I presume I am "the woman" referred to. For his benefit, I would tell him that I was opposed to Marxism in Russia from the very beginning, not because I supported Capitalism, but because I have stood all my life for a free society without government or repression of any description, ranging from the arrests for obstruction to the deportations to Siberia.

For the sake of accuracy kindly inform your "Regular Reader" that I am not a Marxist but an Anarchist; but I am afraid it will not endear me to him, as it means I am more forcibly and logically opposed to Fascism and Capitalism.—L. DOWNES. [Leah Feldman.—Ed.]

(28/10/49)

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## DESPERATE NATIONS

# Where is the Security?

(Continued from page 1)

America as a whole, nor to the needs of the individuals using sterling as a medium of exchange. Such terms only represent reality if one remembers that they mean the interests of traders in these countries; they bear no such relevance to the needs of ordinary men, women and children. We are told that we have to give up certain liberties—for instance freedom of movement, or freedom from such absurdities as exchange control—in the interests of security. Yet it may be doubted if the ordinary family ever felt, less secure than in

recent years. War or the shadow of war; depression, fear of unemployment; anxiety at political trends; the continual attrition at the standard of living; universal housing problems; the perpetual anxiety inherent in a mode of life which makes it nearly impossible for an individual to plan his future, or take steps to secure a pattern of life of his own choosing—all this is the security for which continuous incursions on liberty are tolerated.

It seems likely that politicians themselves have no faith in the economic and administrative

shifts which pass for policy to-day; it is even less likely that they make any strong appeal to the individuals who comprise the nations. We may be moving into an era in which the ruling class are losing faith in their capacity to rule. Such a loss of faith is a precondition of revolutionary change. It is important that those who keep their eyes firmly on conceptions of social living, on real satisfaction of social needs, and on a way of life which is satisfying to every individual, in these times is important that these people should clarify their ideas, for they may be needed.