

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"In our contemporary mechanised society, most men and women play a passive part. We have got to restore to our society the conditions in which spontaneity is again possible."
—LE CORBUSIER

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Threepence

What Some Planters Would Do In Malaya

THE PLANTER, a planters' journal in Malaya, has recently advocated the public exhibition of the bodies of executed Resistance fighters. In an editorial comment on this proposed barbarity of the men who would bring civilisation to the "backward" peoples of the world, the *Manchester Guardian* condemns the "morbid mental underworld which the proposal evokes", but also refers to it in the same sentence "as politically an exceedingly unwise one". By so doing, the *M.G.* by implication would be prepared to forget the "morbid" aspect of the proposal if "politically" it produced results favourable to the British objectives in Malaya. Perhaps unconsciously, the editorial writer in that sentence also clearly reveals what a dirty business politics really is.

If the "sort of medievalism" advocated by *The Planter* is morally repellent and contrary to the most elementary standards of civilised behaviour then it should be denounced without any "ifs" and "buts". By referring to its political inexpediency, the *Manchester Guardian* destroys the human and moral grounds on which such a proposal should be condemned.

It is a sad fact that the *Manchester Guardian*, editorially, has ceased to be one of the few voices that expose injustices without allowing political opportunism to influence their views of the issues at stake.

READERS may recall that only a fortnight ago we referred to another lukewarm *M.G.* editorial on Malaya, dealing with Major General Templar's actions in the village of Permatang Tinggi ("Templar Strikes Again," FREEDOM, 30/8/52). Apparently other readers of that journal shared our views, judging by two letters published in its correspondence columns. The one from a soldier who has returned to this country after serving in the British army in Malaya is of interest because though the writer does not appear for one moment to question

Deliver the Bombs but not the Plums

The following letter appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* (August 28th):

SIR.—Two months ago we had a bumper cherry crop. My lowest "returns" from the market were 2s. 4d. a chip (12 lb.) We were lucky, as some growers did not get as much as that. No wonder that many trees were left unpicked, especially in orchards where the owners were dependent on paid labour at the rate of 2s. 6d. a chip. I was informed that in some of the industrial cities in the North 1s. 6d. a pound was about the lowest price at which cherries were sold.

We read that a Canberra jet bomber has flown the Atlantic at over 600 miles per hour, but we cannot help questioning the value of this type of progress when the mere problem of getting perishable fruit to the industrial areas seems to baffle "the powers that be".

And now we are in the midst of a heavy plum crop but again no market, and so the orchardist shakes the trees for the pigs. It is at least a gesture "to save his bacon."

The writer of that letter has hit the nail on the head. In the society we live in, when it is a question of choosing between guns or butter or cherries or plums, the guns win every time.

the reasons for the presence of the British army in Malaya, and refers to the "Communists", and assumes that the choice for the people of Malaya is one between Western "democracy" and communism (presumably by this he means Russian domination) nevertheless he realises many truths which seem to escape the attention of the general public.

"Having recently returned to this country after serving with the Army in Malaya, I was interested by your comments on General Templar's action at Permatang Tinggi. I was glad that you made an attempt to see the point of view of the Chinese villagers, for too many people fail to do this.

"I don't think that anyone with personal experience of the Malayan campaign will dispute the High Commissioner's contention that our ability to defeat the Communists depends very largely on our ability to induce the Chinese to co-operate. The British authorities in Malaya attribute unwillingness to co-operate to fear of bandit reprisals more than to any other single cause. I should be the last to deny that such fear plays a big part in determining the attitude of many. But even if the fear of reprisals were removed, I doubt whether we would get maximum co-operation from the ordinary Chinese under present conditions.

"If the Chinese squatter or rubber-tapper is as much of a realist as he is supposed to be, he must occasionally ask himself what he would gain or lose by a Communist victory. He might easily come to the conclusion that in terms of economic advantage he would be no worse off. And as for the democratic values to which we attach importance, it is unlikely that the people behind the barbed wire of the resettlement villages attach much importance to them. And even on this point it is possible to argue that in a so-called People's Democracy

"The first day of the Trades Union Congress is always like the opening chapter of Waverley—as dull as ditch water and not half so full of life.

"After the local mayor—on this occasion a sweet and succinct silver-haired lady—has welcomed the comrades, they listen to the president's address, which they have all read already in a printed hand-out, with Spartan resignation and well-bred acquiescence.

the Chinese worker would take a no less active part in the political life of the country than he at present takes in that of Malaya.

"Let us be frank. Though the Sultans still exercise considerable authority the British Government is ultimately responsible for policy in the Federation. From an admittedly slight study of the political situation in the Federation I formed the impression that progress towards removing the civil disabilities of the native-born Chinese was unnecessarily slow. This might in part be owing to the clumsiness of the administrative and political machinery through which reforms have to be effected, but I suspect there is no sense of urgency in the state legislative councils. I think that the British Government could with propriety bring more pressure to bear on the Sultans through the influence of the British advisers in each state. We cannot afford to appear sympathetic to the more reactionary elements in the Malay hierarchy.

"While it would be worth while to speed on political progress in Malaya for its own sake it might also pay military dividends in the long run. In the circumstances of the Malayan emergency we must accept the necessity for an occasional resort to strong measures, but they must not be an excuse for putting more liberal policies into cold storage. For it is on these policies that we depend to convince the Chinese workers that they have everything to lose by a Communist victory. But second-class citizens are hard to convince."

WANTED: UNCOMMON SENSE

"Then the official wire-pullers—described on the programme as the General Purposes Committee—get down to the job of rigging the conference and generally switching the business on to the right rails.

"This usually means that nine-tenths of the resolutions so laboriously drawn up by the various trade unions, after months of industry and intrigue, are scrapped in favour of guileless composites, which are intended to please everybody, but, in the event, never please anybody, not even the wire-pullers themselves."

THE above is not, as some of you may have thought, the reflections of a cynical anarchist. It is the reporting of a socialist journalist on the *News Chronicle*—Ian Mackay—who is in fact sympathetic to the unions and their cause. And to prove it, he goes on to say: "This, like the block vote, is one of the prices we pay for democracy. And if the man who sees the result of all his hard work go to the Transport House abattoir before the proceedings even begin is a little sore about it, the net effect is that things get hammered out more or less satisfactorily, before the end."

"More or less," one could say, are the operative words, for it is indeed a strange democracy that has to be bought by the undemocratic procedures that prevail at these annual gatherings of wire-pullers and block voters.

But what, in fact, can be said about this year's Congress? Only that it was, as we suggested last week it would be, the mixture as before. If it was at all different from previous years' gatherings, it was so only in the ease with which the General Council was able to jockey the whole thing along the way it wanted.

And perhaps, a little more obvious than usual in some ways, the underlying political motives showed themselves. Those who thought that the advent of a Conservative Government would free

the official unions from the chains their loyalty to Labour had fashioned round their necks, have been shown not to have understood the Machiavellian nature of the political struggle. For the Labour Party to get back next election, it must retain the middle-class vote. To do this, it must not be embarrassed in Parliament by the behaviour of its supporters outside.

So the workers have to keep quiet, not only when Labour is in office but also when Labour is out—in order not to spoil its chances of getting back.

Knowing, however, that the workers are not going to swallow everything just so easily, the T.U.C. was careful to leave loopholes in its wage restraint resolution—carried by a staggering majority of over 6,000,000 votes (how misleading as to the real feelings of trades unionists these card-vote figures are!)—by so wording the resolution that "legitimate" wage claims can be allowed to go forward. This has had the effect of winning for our responsible leaders the plaudits of all the capitalist press with the exception of the *Daily Worker* and putting them in the position of always being able to say, "Well, we did our best to restrain our members—blame the Tories for making things so bad," when the workers push their way through this year's "restraint" just as they did through Cripps' "freeze".

The issue that seemed to embarrass the General Council more than any other, however, was that in which they were defeated by Congress' demand for more nationalisation. One would indeed have to believe that the workers of Britain were gluttons for punishment if we thought they were really demanding the extension of State control and bureaucracy. It is much more likely however, that the demand came from union officials who have their eyes on the many jobs that nationalisation opens up for them. The General Council are already high enough up in the income scale and the hierarchy to have satisfied most of their ambitions in those directions.

The whole attitude of the Congress, however, showed once again the poverty of thought and total absence of revolutionary conceptions of society in the Trade Union movement. Was workers' control mentioned once? Was their any criticism of the capitalist mode of economy? The "responsible" leaders who showed so much "common sense" have not even the misgivings about Britain's mode of economy that, say, the *Conservative Observer* has been expressing.

Our "working-class leaders" have swallowed whole the capitalist "export or die," "rearm or perish" arguments and could do nothing but belch them back at Margate.

If that is common sense, then we are very badly in need of a little uncommon sense. P.S.

Scientists Champion Freedom

THE ethical problems of science and scientists have been frequently discussed in FREEDOM over the past years and it seems likely that the resolution of these problems will have great social significance. FREEDOM has always held, as is natural for an anarchist journal, that the tackling of this problem must be a matter for the scientists themselves, since they are the "men on the job". Hence it is with considerable satisfaction that we received the news that this very problem was the basis of Professor A. V. Hill's presidential address on "The Ethical Dilemma of Science," to the British Association for the Advancement of Science holding its annual meeting this year at Belfast.

Professor Hill declared that the essence of the dilemma lay in the fact that all knowledge can be used for good or evil. Man therefore has been regarded as facing the choice of either abandoning the search for further knowledge and concentrating on how to put to the best use existing knowledge; or of acting on the belief that more and more science will of itself bring happiness and prosperity to the world. Professor Hill held that both views are wrong.

They are, however, widespread. The first is represented by those whose horror of certain scientific discoveries, e.g., atomic science, and of the ethical nihilism which man, scientists seem to show, makes them cry out against science and knowledge itself. The second choice is that of the ethical nihilists themselves. The first reason is, in the main, that of cranks. Professor Hill thought the second more dangerous because it is more likely to

be commonly accepted. Indeed, we may remark, if scientists ignore their ethical and social responsibilities they receive every encouragement from a world which looks to science as a panacea, scientists as a new priesthood.

Wisdom and Knowledge

Professor Hill thought that "completeness and dignity" were brought to man by three main channels, first by the religious sentiment and its embodiment in ethical principles, secondly by the influence of what is beautiful in nature, human personality or art, and thirdly by the pursuit of scientific truth and its resolute use in improving human life. If we discount the confusion likely to be caused by identifying

The Forgotten War

The forgotten war—that in Indo-China—drags on without any signs of ending, in spite of repeated "successes" by the French. Last week, French Union troops in an operation N.W. of Hué, described as the biggest French success in the last six months, resulted in the killing of 380 Vietminh troops and the capturing of 700.

Reuter reports that foreign observers believe, on the basis of these casualty figures, that Hué should be secure against attack when "the main fighting season begins next month, after the rains". How indifferent the world has become to the horrors of war when journalists can write that "the main fighting season begins next month" just as if they were announcing that "grouse shooting starts next month."

the religious sentiment with ethical principles which seems to us to have muddled human thought for far too long, this seems a very sound argument.

In brief, it means that science will be beneficent if scientists are men of wisdom as well as knowledge: men for whom human happiness is measured in other ways than purely material ones, while the actual material conditions of the bulk of mankind are given a true appraisal and science used to better them.

It is not enough to urge that the scientific and the religious spirit should not be in conflict but should co-operate. Religion, like other political structures, exploits ignorance and hence must obstruct science. What science needs to co-operate with is the ethical outlook in its humanist form.

But this requires still more than mere good intentions. It must not only act by good principles, it must also attack the bad. Must criticise and oppose the general social economic and political organisation of mankind which so plainly does not advance human happiness.

Some such recognition that Professor Hill's discourse required something more forceful than mere piety to give it life was shown by Professor A. Macbeath in his address "A Plea for Heretics."

There were in every direction, Prof. Macbeath declared, symptoms of a reaction against liberty.

Indeed, some people were beginning to wonder whether the conditions necessary for the spirit of free inquiry to flourish, instead of being a natural

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End of Colour-Bar in the Front Line

In a *Reuter* report from Frankfurt this week it was pointed out that:

Fighting units of mixed white and Negro troops are taking part in the United States Army autumn exercise for the first time in any major American manoeuvre in Germany.

Basing its action on the value of such units in the Korean war the United States Army in Europe began earlier this year to break down racial barriers between Negroes and white troops by mixing them. The aim is to have about 10 per cent. of Negroes in all units, the same proportion as Negroes are of the population of the United States.

Mixed White-Negro units form most of the Second Armoured and Fourth Infantry Divisions which are taking part in the three-day manoeuvre which began yesterday. About 30,000 Negroes are believed to be serving in Europe.

It would appear that to date the coloured man has won the right to die alongside the white man. Even that has taken a long time, so one can imagine how many years will have to pass before he is allowed to live alongside the white American as equals.

SOCIAL PROGRESS & THE CHURCHES

IF the Christian religion has exerted any force for social progress it is through its doctrine of the brotherhood of man and the unique significance of each individual. And though the Churches have for nearly two thousand years sidestepped this teaching of their founder and have occupied powerful positions in an organisation of society which is openly hierarchical and anti-egalitarian, this doctrine nevertheless survives and receives occasional expression.

In the world, to-day the most explicit and outspoken attack on the idea that all men are equal comes from Dr. Malan, himself, ironically, an ordained clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church. It is perhaps true to say also that the conscience of English-speaking people (in so far as such a term has any meaning to-day) has been stirred up against South African race discrimination by another clergyman, the Rev. Michael Scott.

It would, however, be quite misleading to found any opinions about the attitude of the Churches towards racial discrimination on the behaviour of these two men, Malan and Michael Scott. Both are quite unusual exceptions and the "average churchman" is unlikely to resemble either of them. For this reason it seems more significant—because in the folds of the orthodox—to hear of Malan's racism being roundly condemned from the pulpit in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Canon L. J. Collins, preaching last Sunday, must have startled the placidity of the congregation of St. Paul's by calling upon all Christians "to break away from neutrality and come out boldly in support of those liberal forces who are taking a stand against the policy of racial discrimination in South Africa" which he went on to describe as "an evil fabric". Dr. Collins appealed for a bold and courageous stand on principle. "And may we be more courageous still," he added, "and come out quite openly in favour of the passive resistance movement now taking place in South Africa."

There can be no doubt that such an appeal carries potentially considerable weight. Canon Collins said that Christian Action was hoping to collect money, food and clothing for the dependants of those taking part in the passive resistance movement.

Such a call demonstrates how powerful an element for social progress the doctrine of human brotherhood might be. But it also shows—if one is realistic—how ineffectual the Church of England has become, for one immediately feels it to be a wholly inappropriate torch bearer of such social dynamite.

On the other side of the ecclesiastical fence an even more stark *volte face* was recently enacted. The Pope, in his address to the International Congress of Astronomers now meeting in Rome, urged them not to depart from the principles of "such great scientists" as—Galileo, Kepler, Copernicus and Newton! In his book, *The Roman Catholic Church against the Twentieth Century*, Mr. Avro Manhattan instanced the first three of these men as examples of how the Church had sought to obstruct the advance of science and human understanding! One can only gasp at the solid

effrontery of the Pope, can only admire the elasticity of the only true faith.

In the countries where the Roman Catholic religion is strongest—Southern Italy, Spain, Ireland—so the Church is still found opposing modern education in the very areas where the darkest and most destructive ignorance prevails. While the South Italian and Irish peasants believe in spirits and live under a reign of metaphysical terror, the Church flourishes; and the Pope, conveniently forgetting the inquisition, holds up Galileo to act as a brake on the science of to-day!

Meanwhile, one can only speculate on what modern scientists felt on being told by the Holy Father that "many modern scientists have reached the extreme limit of human reason, namely the knowledge of God as sole creator. . . . It is God alone who omnipotently creates, conserves, and governs."

Shame, bewilderment, derision?

Business is Business

In spite of the fact that Switzerland was said to have increased her defences and military effectiveness during the war out of fear of a possible invasion by the German armies, the recent settlement of war-time and post-war debts by which Germany repays £53 millions of the £97 million she owes Switzerland, reveals that "the debts have accumulated from war deliveries, support granted to German soldiers interned after the war, and from damage caused by German aircraft shot down over Switzerland."—(Remyer.) (Our italics.)

American Letter

CHICAGO in September presents one of the year's best examples of the way in which the various segments of big business and government work together for a common cause. The House Un-American Activities Committee has continued its peripatetics, and on September 2nd settled in the courtroom here.

To understand the purpose of the committee's hearings here, it is necessary to go back a few months to the steel strike. During this strike, International Harvester claimed that it did not have sufficient steel to continue operation, and laid off most of their workers. The unions published statistics indicating that the companies did in fact have more than enough steel. Since contract negotiations were due to come up in September, most of the Harvester workers had been saving their vacation time to tide them over any strike which might result. The company, however, realising how close to their income the workers were living, called the phony lay-off in July and August in order to force the workers to take their paid vacations then.

The next step in the Harvester strategy was the announced closing of the twine mill, and its removal to the cheap labour area of New Orleans. A sit-down strike in protest of this run-out was quickly cleared up by police strike-breakers who hauled the strikers into paddy wagons.

Now that the Harvester unions were sufficiently softened up, it was an appropriate time to introduce the *tour de force*. Simultaneously with the opening of contract negotiations and a strike at all Harvester plants, the Un-American Committee opened hearings in Chicago with the avowed purpose of "showing that the officers of the Farm Equipment Workers Union are Communists from top to bottom,"

Letter from India NEHRU AND KOREA

PANDIT NEHRU said that we can do nothing about the bombing of the Yalu Power Station in Korea. Yalu is only an episode but why Yalu only? We can do nothing about the whole war in Korea, which is a civil war backed by big powers. Pandit Nehru protested against the bombing of the Yalu Power Station and called on both sides to cease fire. Pandit Nehru claimed that India had to be consulted as a member of U.N.O. before the bombing. But the U.S.A. acting in the name of U.N.O. did not consult even Britain. Even when U.N. troops went into Korea, U.N.O. had not authorised sending them there. The U.S. Government sent the troops and U.N.O. obligingly later on confirmed it on their behalf.

U.N.O. IS U.S.

The U.N.O. cannot exist one day without the U.S.A. Nobody would contribute funds to a U.N.O. and act according to its decisions if the U.S.A. were not in it. Most of the Governments are helped to remain on the saddle in their own countries with the military and economic help of the U.S.A. If that help was not coming, all the so-called free world would be a prey to Bolshevism.

TWO CAPITALISMS

The war in Korea is but a fight in the battle between private capitalism and State Capitalism which is raging all over the world. U.N.O. supports the private capitalist order while the Chinese and Russians support the State Capitalist order. The Koreans themselves are ranged against one another as partisans of state or private capitalism—the former going as communism, the latter as constitutional democracy. Both say they want freedom and unity of Korea.

UNITY UNDER DICTATOR

Both say they want to unite Korea which means simply they want to bring both parts under state capitalism or private capitalism. Even if foreign champions of one or the other systems did not intervene or help in Korea.

Korean fanatics of state and private capitalism will continue to fight each other, and decimate the people, in order to "unify the country" as they claim. *Unity in the Grave!* Now, of course, there will be no more Koreans left alive before Korea is unified by one or the other side. Both sides do not mean to unite, even to keep the two systems separately as before this war.

BOTH ARE FOR SLAVERY!

It is good for India to protest when nothing can be done about it by India, and to ask both parties to cease fire and come to truce. But there is no chance at all for uniting Korea under their own rule. If Korea is given over to Syngman Rhee, he will have pro-Bolshevik enemies behind his lines. But if it is delivered to Kim Ir Sen, the Koreans will be complete slaves, as in Russia. Korea will be a vast forced labour camp. Constitutional democracy will be used for private capitalist exploitation and dictatorship under which only a few will be pleased while Bolshevism will make Korea a vast prison house in which only the Bolsheviks will be happy as jail warders, as in Russia.

CONSTITUTION FACADE FOR DICTATORS

Pandit Nehru wants to see Korea united and free but there can be only dictatorship, exploitation and prison-freedom whether state or private capitalism is established in Korea either with the consent or without the consent of the Koreans. If that is unity and freedom, it does not matter which is freedom: both will be slavery. Only the Bolsheviks will profit by and exploit the constitutional democracy if it is really maintained. It will soon degenerate into fascist dictatorship and civil war.

HARMONY AMONG DICTATORS!

This slogan "United Korea", "Free Korea", "Hands off Korea", whether of Bolsheviks or private capitalist friends of Korea is meaningless. Pandit Nehru is a naive man to think there need be no conflict whether either Bolshevism or private capitalism is established.

Democracy is a facade for dictatorship while Bolshevism is naked dictatorship. Both stink in the nostrils. Both Kim Ir Sen and Syngman Rhee want their own dictatorships with foreign backing.

THE ONLY HOPE OF KOREANS

In Korea there is only a group of persons who are against Syngman Rhee—and Kim Ir Sen and their foreign helpers. They neither want foreign governments nor native governments. They want a *Korea free from government as the only solution.*

They were only 70,000 persons but they work among workers and peasants to wean them from all political parties who are out to establish governments. Early in the Korean war, we published their manifesto in these columns (FREEDOM, 28/10/50).

Their leader and six others were arrested by Syngman Rhee. They were sentenced to death and now pardoned.

Again they go among the people to wean them from war and civil war on behalf of native and foreign rulers. They are the only hope of unity in Korea except for a "unity" in which the Koreans will be extinct.

M. P. T. ACHARYA.

ARGENTINA TO BAR DOCTORS UNLESS POLITICALLY INJECTED

The Government-controlled University of Buenos Aires said to-day that only "political indoctrinated" physicians and dentists would be permitted to practice in Argentina in the future.

Special courses in "political formation" will start for medical students. —New York Times, 26/8/52

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The Chicago Steel Strike

according to Representative Velde (Rep., Ill.) To further illustrate the impartiality of the "hearing", Velde stated: "Officers of the council, composed of two unions ousted from the C.I.O. for radical activities, are using workers as tools. By and large, the workers are not Communists or Communist sympathizers. Now is the time for them to revolt and elect new representatives as bargaining agents."

The other union besides the F.E. involved is the United Electrical Workers. The hearings also threaten the left-wing workers, and there are even many rumours that the witch hunt at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College will be renewed by the committee.

Refused admission to the courtroom where the hearings are being held by U.S. Deputy Marshals who put their backs to the door from the

inside, the strikers set up a picket line around the courthouse, in the centre of Chicago's Loop. About 200 pickets marched around the building singing and shouting until they were asked to disperse by the unions' own left-wing leaders (!)

The hearings in themselves are nothing new; the same stoolpigeons and turncoats singing for their supper.

If the strike and unions are not broken now, it will be through no fault of the combined forces of big business and government.

It will be remembered that it was a similar dispute with International Harvester and its minions of the law which precipitated the Haymarket Riot. We may be excused for agreeing with Representative Velde that "now is the time for them to revolt." R.J.D.H.

FRANCO FACING BOTH WAYS

THE government of Generalissimo Francisco Franco, whose anti-Communism not even his bitter enemies question, is playing with the Communists and getting a neat profit to boot. His régime is right up to its ears in East-West trade, making most of its deals in this thriving commercial centre.

Franco is trading wolfram, cork and minerals to the Soviet bloc for hard cash—dollars, Swiss francs and gold which are deposited either in banks here or in Tangier, which makes it a little handier to the Spanish mainland. The commerce has been thriving for some time in dribbles until about a year ago, and fair quantity to-day.

About \$15,000,000 a year changes hands in goods or value received between Franco's official economic experts who transact with Soviet or satellite business agents. That's the amount computed that passes through Switzerland. His deals are, and have been, known to U.S. and British economic information analysts. The reports, based on documentary evidence, interpretations and spot-checking of Communists interest in specific commodities, have all been submitted to Washington and London in fair abundance. Yet nothing has been

mentioned of this blacklisted trading, although any NATO country found violating the spirit of no East-West trade gets dressed down promptly.

Franco, however, finds that the U.S. owes him a living because of American interest in bases below the Pyrenees. He is holding out for an extortionate amount of assistance in return for what he can provide—which is simply the real estate that must be developed before it can be used for military or naval purposes.

Besides, his government is demanding guarantees from the U.S. in the event of aggression. If Spain should be threatened by Soviet armies, it will mean that Russia had already washed like a tidal wave over Western Europe.

The paradox in Franco's position is, at this point, self-evident. He is trading actively and heavily with the force which he claims his government has quarantined. At the same time, he proclaims publicly that the Americans had better put up the kind of money he thinks his assistance to collective security requires. Otherwise, the whole Spanish base deal is off, he suggests strongly. —New York Post, 21/8/52.

